THE COLLECTED WORKS OF MAHATMA GANDHI

XIX

(November 1920 - April 1921)





[illegible] AT THE INAUGURATION [illegible]

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PREFACE

This volume covers the five months from November 19, 1920, to April 13, 1921—a period of intense activity, during which Gandhiji carried the non-co-operation movement one step forward. Gandhiji's effort, during the preceding six months, to develop an uncompromising popular opposition to the existing system of government had borne fruit, and the task now was to help the national awakening to express itself in constructive action. At the annual session at Nagpur in the last week of December, the Congress, under Gandhiji's leadership, accepted a new objective for the national struggle : "the attainment of swaraj by the people of India by all legitimate and peaceful means", reaffirmed the resolution on non-violent, progressive non-co-operation passed at the special session in Calcutta in September 1920, appealed to the people to intensify the struggle and, finally, adopted for itself a village-based constitution which would transform it into a mass organization and an instrument of effective action. Later, at its meeting held in Bezwada on March 31, 1921, the All-India Congress Committee laid down a definite programme of action to be completed before June 30, 1921.

Except for a brief interruption during the annual session of the Congress, Gandhiji was on the move practically all the time, addressing vast audiences in the Punjab, the U.P., Bengal, Bihar, Orissa, the C.P. and the South. While he exhorted the masses to rally behind the movement, his message was especially addressed to the youth of the nation. One of the most important items of the non-co-operation movement was the boycott of Government-controlled schools and colleges, and Gandhiji called upon students to empty them and take no thought of their careers. He asked them to reject the existing system of education not because it was bad—though bad it certainly was—but because it was vitiated, even "defiled", by the very fact of its having been imposed on the country by an evil Government. Students had responded to the call in large numbers and a chain of national schools and colleges, with primary emphasis on character-building and constructive service, came into being in the country. The several speeches to students of such institutions included in this volume bear testimony to the impact of Gandhiji's call on the student world. (Items 43, 68, 126, 144, 159, 172, 176, 226 and 274.)

This appeal to students and the movement for the removal of untouchability which Gandhiji took up actively during this period provoked opposition to him from both quarters, the modernist and the orthodox. Madan Mohan Malaviya, though as ardent a lover of the Indian way of life as Gandhiji, believed that the existing educational system could be made to serve the aim of national regeneration and had laboured for many years to get the Benares Hindu University established. Gandhiji wished that the University would give up the Government's charter, but Malaviya was not convinced of the wisdom of such a step. In the speech at the students' meeting in Banaras (pp. 24-31), Gandhiji dwelt on the differences between them at some length. He asked the students to listen to Pandit Malaviya's advice with the utmost respect, and follow the course suggested by himself only if they felt the promptings of conscience to withdraw co-operation from an evil Government. They would, then, have to justify their claim to conscience by a life of self-control in keeping with the country's traditional ideal of student life. At all the students' meetings he addressed, he dwelt on the need for discipline and for respectful behaviour towards elders and did not hesitate to denounce in the strongest terms the attempts by some students to disturb speakers who did not agree with them. But critics were not reassured and, it seems, Gandhiji could not carry conviction even with a close friend like C. F. Andrews, to whom he found it necessary to protest that he did not want to neglect either science or education in general (p. 359).

But the impression that Gandhiji was blindly opposed to modern progress persisted. Hostile critics suddenly discovered his *Hind Swaraj*, published in South Africa in 1909 and translated into English as *Indian Home Rule*, and used the booklet to present him as an advocate of return to medieval conditions. Gandhiji was indeed opposed to modern Western civilization as being excessively concerned with material pursuits, but was certainly not opposed to the West as West. He took pains to emphasize the distinction when answering criticism on this score. His open letter to Narasinhrao (pp. 176-81) is a frank statement of his point of view which appeals through its profound humility and sincerity. And while he adhered to the thesis that "government over self is the truest swaraj . . . synonymous with *moksha* or salvation" (p. 80) and claimed that even then he as an individual was working for this kind of self-rule, he admitted that India as a whole was not yet ripe for it and that his corporate activity was "undoubtedly devoted to the attainment

of parliamentary swaraj in accordance with the wishes of the people of India." (p. 278.)

The opposition to Gandhiji's ideas from the orthodox was equally determined, though less effective. He declared himself a *sanatani* Hindu in his attitude to the caste system (pp. 83-5 and 174-6) and in his reverence for the cow, but the traditionalists were alarmed by his insistence that the Shastras, including the *Manusmriti*, were not infallible, that they were subordinate to the light of a conscience purified by a life of self-control and devotion to the five ethical ideals of truth, non-violence, *brahmacharya*, non-stealing and non-possession. The issue was brought to the fore by Gandhiji's public espousal of the cause of the untouchables. The senate of the newly established Gujarat Vidyapith had resolved that all institutions affiliated to it would be open to *Antyaj* children, and this set off an angry debate in Gujarat in which Gandhiji's very claim to being a *sanatani* Hindu was questioned (p. 7). Gandhiji replied by expounding in a series of articles in Gujarati (pp. 72-4, 97-100, 140-2 and 327-32) the essentials of Hinduism as he understood it and his general position with regard to the authority of the Shastras. These articles reveal the source of Gandhiji's religious inspiration in the Hindu tradition itself, which the influence of modern ideas had helped him to interpret in its essence. His attachment to Hinduism and to what, in his eyes, it stood for, made him impatient with those who appeared to be clinging merely to its outer crust. If he used strong language to denounce the evil of British rule, he was no less severe in denouncing "the Hindu Dyers" (p. 288). He was often warned of the inexpediency, from a political point of view, of antagonizing the orthodox while the country was fighting the Government, but he refused to compromise. To him, the issue of untouchability was fundamental to the future of Hinduism.

At first, the Government had tried to dismiss the non-co-operation movement with ridicule and scorn, but, as it progressed and gathered strength from month to month, critics sought to discredit it as being inspired merely by hatred, pointing to the occasional display of intolerance by some of the adherents of the movement. They warned against the danger of its ultimately taking a violent turn and prophesied anarchy and chaos if the British withdrew. Others pointed to the weakness of the people and the impracticability of the programme. Patiently, and at the risk of unending repetition, Gandhiji met all such criticisms with the skill of an inspired journalist. Answering fears of possible anarchy or foreign

invasion following a complete withdrawal by the British as demanded by the Congress, he declared complete confidence in the power of non-co-operation to transform India into a strong and self-reliant country and the power of non-violence as a purifying force. "But," he added, "I refuse to contemplate the dismal outlook. If the movement succeeds. . . the English, whether they remain or retire, will do so as friends. . . . I still believe in the goodness of human nature, whether it is English or any other." (p. 174.) Despite the painful experiences of the past two years, Gandhiji continued to believe in the possibility of an honourable equality with the British and the new creed accepted by the Congress at Nagpur had left the door open for India to remain in a future British Commonwealth as a free partner.

In terms of concrete action, the response to the 11-point programme outlined in "Nagpur Congress" (pp. 206-9) was not spectacular, but it was enough for Gandhiji that the prestige on which British rule in India had rested was destroyed. He naturally did not want the bureaucracy to exploit the visit of the Duke of Connaught to bolster up that prestige and, at the risk of being charged with discourtesy to the Duke, advised the people to boycott all official functions and celebrations in connection with the visit. Having thus succeeded in creating the proper climate for fighting the Government, Gandhiji got the All-India Congress Committee to accept, at its meeting on March 31, 1921, a limited but definite programme of action which would extend the influence of the Congress to almost the entire adult population in the country. But, ultimately, the success of the non-co-operation movement rested on the degree of moral purity which the country achieved. To Gandhiji political action was *tapashcharya*: "How should we celebrate this week? Only by showing more scrupulous regard for truth, by strengthening our determination, by being more humble and making ourselves purer, by acquiring greater strength. . . This week should be spent in pure *tapashcharya*, pure devotion to God and the purest spirit of renunciat:on. During this week let us beg forgiveness of God for our offences and of those against whom we may have committed them. In humility lies our strength. Let us not wish ill to the British or others who act in oppositon to us; we shall not talk offendingly to them." (p. 451.)

Gandhiji's letters to C. F. Andrews and Saraladevi Chowdharani included in this volume are interesting for the problems of personal relationship which they present. Andrews had not been able to understand all the items in the non-co-operation programme

and often stated his misgivings to Gandhiji. The latter's replies uniformly breathe gentleness and affection, but never evade the issue or minimize the difference of opinion between them. With Saraladevi Chowdharani, he was frank and criticized her little weaknesses. But here he does not appear to have succeeded in winning complete understanding of his views. What these letters reveal, above all, is the profound humility which enabled him to face such difficult situations with serenity.

NOTE TO THE READER

In reproducing English material every endeavour has been made to adhere strictly to the original. Obvious typographical errors have been corrected and words abbreviated in the text spelt out. Variant spellings of names have, however, been retained as in the original.

Matter in square brackets has been supplied by the Editors. Quoted passages, where these are in English, have been set up in small type and printed with an indent. Indirect reports of speeches and passages which are not by Gandhiji have been set up in small type. In reports of speeches and interviews, slight changes have sometimes been made in passages not attributed to Gandhiji.

While translating from Gujarati and Hindi, efforts have been made to achieve fidelity and also readability in English. Where English translations of these are available, they have been used with such changes as were necessary to bring them into conformity with the original.

The date of an item where it was available or could be inferred has been indicated at the top right-hand corner; if the original is undated, the inferred date is supplied within square brackets, with reasons where necessary. The date given at the end of an item alongside the source is that of publication. The writings are placed under the date of publication except where the articles carry a date line or where the date of writing has special significance and is ascertainable.

References to *An Autobiography* cite only the part and chapter, in view of the varying pagination in different editions.

In the source-line, the symbol S.N. stands for documents available in Sabarmati Sangrahalaya, Ahmedabad; G.N. refers to those available in the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi and Sangrahalaya, New Delhi; C.W. denotes documents secured by the Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi.

The Appendices provide background material relevant to the text. A list of sources and a chronology for the period covered by the volume are also provided at the end.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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1. LETTER TO "THE BOMBAY CHRONICLE"[1]

BOMBAY,
November 19, 1920

SIR,

I have just read the *Express* extract reproduced by you, attributing to me the opinion that Urdu should be the national script. Somebody has evidently perpetrated a joke at my expense, for I have never entertained any such opinion. What I have said to my friend and fellow-worker Hasrat Mohani[2] is that in any scheme of national education Devnagri and Urdu scripts should be compulsory. My opinion is that Devnagri is the most scientific and perfect script in the world and is therefore from that standpoint the most suitable national script. But I see no way out of the difficulty of Mussulmans in accepting it at the present moment. I therefore feel that the educated classes should know either script equally well. That which has greater vitality and is easier will then become the national script, especially when Hindus and Mussulmans as well as the [other] classes have ceased altogether to distrust one another and have learnt to decide non-religious questions on purely national lines.

Yours,

From a photostat : S.N. 7344

2. LETTER TO RANGASWAMI IYENGAR

BOMBAY,
November 19, 1920

DEAR MR. RANGASWAMI IYENGAR[3],

I have your letter with enclosures. I regret that you have raised technical objections though as I had thought you had agreed to the procedure adopted. When you were in Bombay, you

[1] The letter, of which this is a handwritten draft, was published in *The Bombay Chronicle*, 22-11-1920.

[2] 1875-1951; nationalist Muslim leader; took active part in the Khilafat movement, and was Gandhiji's chief opponent at the Khilafat Conference of November 1920.

[3] Congress leader of Madras and a loyal follower of Gandhiji

left me under the impression that you entirely accepted the amended creed[1] and you left it open for Mr. Patel[2] and Mr. Kelkar[3] to make such amendments as they chose in the other parts of the rules. However I suppose nothing further now remains to be done unless you have any proposition to make.

From the draft in Mahadev Desai's hand : S.N. 7420

3. LETTER TO PERSUMAL TARACHAND[4]

IN THE TRAIN FOR DELHI,
November 19, 1920

DEAR MR. PERSUMAL,

I read your letter only in the train. It is perhaps impertinent for me to express my sympathy with you when I am the direct or indirect cause of distress to you.

Your brother came to me after he had withdrawn from the examination. He should certainly have conferred with you but, apart from that defect, I am unable to condemn his action. If we have to depend for our maintenance on Government service, we shall never be free. Our helplessness is to me the greatest of tragedies. I am hoping that the boys who leave colleges will not be defiant to or neglectful of their parents.

Yours,

From a photostat : S.N. 7337

[1] Of the Congress in its revised constitution which was to be finally approved in its annual session in December 1920

[2] Vithalbhai J. Patel (1873-1933); elder brother of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and a fearless and astute constitutional fighter; member of the Bombay Legislative Council and then of the Imperial Legislative Council; the first elected president of the Indian Legislative Assembly, Delhi

[3] Narasinh Chintaman Kelkar (1872-1947); journalist, politician and a close associate of Tilak; sometime Secretary of the Indian National Congress; helped Gandhiji in revising the constitution of the Congress in 1920; leader of the Swarajist Party.

[4] This was sent in reply to a letter in which Persumal Tarachand, a Hyderabad pleader, had protested that his brother, acting under Gandhiji's advice, had withdrawn from the final M.B.B.S. examination, as part of the non-co-operation movement, without consulting his parents.

4. LETTER TO DEVDAS GANDHI

JHANSI,
[November 20, 1920][1]

CHI. DEVDAS[2],

We have just arrived in Jhansi. We have some peace here. Gangadharrao[3] is accompanying, and so also is Saraladevi[4]. It seems she will leave tomorrow for Lahore *via* Delhi. It will depend on the news from Panditji[5].

I hope you are keeping all right. See Dhiru from time to time. If he comes over to the Ashram, by all means have him, otherwise he may go to the [National] University hostels. Revashankarbhai[6], too, believes that it is not at all good that he should stay in the city. Shankarlal's nephew is also going there. Keep him company and see that he does not feel ill at ease in the Ashram.

Get to know Velabehn. She has made an excellent impression on me. She seems to be an upright and virtuous woman. Her children, too, seemed to be well-behaved, but you will be able to observe these things more carefully. Though I would not like to put too heavy a burden on them, I might do so without knowing it.

I have made a note of the mistakes in Hindi which you have corrected, but defects disappear only if constantly corrected. When speaking, one doesn't knowingly commit errors; actually, if errors are pointed out from time to time, one learns to avoid them.

I am eager to know your programme of studies.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 2055

[1] Gandhiji left Bombay for Jhansi on November 19, 1920, and reached Delhi on November 21.

[2] Devdas Gandhi (1900-1957); youngest son of Gandhiji; worked in Champaran villages in 1917 and went to jail during the Salt Satyagraha in 1930; managing director of *The Hindustan Times*; twice president of the Indian and Eastern Newspapers' Society

[3] Gangadharrao Deshpande, Congress leader of Karnatak

[4] Saraladevi Chowdharani; wife of Rambhuj Dutt Chowdhari and niece of Rabindranath Tagore. She and her husband became followers of Gandhiji in 1919 and sent their son, Dipak, to be educated at Sabarmati Ashram.

[5] Rambhuj Dutt Chowdhari

[6] Revashankar Jagjivan Zaveri, a business man of Bombay and a friend of Gandhiji; treasurer of the Congress for a number of years

5. TELEGRAM TO SIVAPRASAD GUPTA

[About *November 20, 1920*][1]

HOW IS MALAVIYAJI'S[2] HEALTH. WOULD NOT LIKE VISIT BENARES IF HIS HEALTH LIKELY SUFFER.[3] WIRE DELHI.

GANDHI

From a photostat : S.N. 7310

6. TELEGRAM TO MOTILAL NEHRU

[About *November 20, 1920*]

HAVE HEARD MALAVIYAJI IS ILL AND LIKELY BE WORSE IF I VISIT. PLEASE WIRE HIS HEALTH DELHI.

From a photostat : S.N. 7310

7. TELEGRAM TO MADAN MOHAN MALAVIYA

[About *November 20, 1920*]

PROPOSE VISIT BENARES IF YOU CONSENT ON TWENTY-FOURTH. PLEASE WIRE DELHI.

GANDHI

From a photostat : S.N. 7310

[1] From the entry for November 26, 1920, under the caption "In Kashi", in Mahadev Desai's Diary, it is clear that this telegram and the two that follow were sent in November 1920. Gandhiji left Bombay for Jhansi on November 19 and was in Delhi on November 21. He left Delhi for Banaras on November 24 and stayed with Madan Mohan Malaviya on November 25, 26 and 27. These three telegrams were therefore presumably sent about November 20.

[2] Madan Mohan Malaviya (1861-1946); founder of the Benares Hindu University; member, Imperial Legislative Council; twice President of the Indian National Congress

[3] Gandhiji wanted to visit Banaras to meet Malaviya as the latter's reaction to Gandhiji's non-co-operation movement was unfavourable.

8. SPEECH AT JHANSI

November 20, 1920

Mr. Gandhi . . . began by condemning the illuminations and decorations.[1] So long as the Khilafat question[2] was not settled, the Punjab wrongs[3] were not redressed and swaraj was not obtained, none should partake of enjoyments. Our objects could only be realized by Hindu-Muslim unity and non-co-operation unattended with violence. Swords should not be drawn. He then emphasized the various items of non-co-operation and said that none should join the Army. He then appealed for funds for the Saraswati Pathshala which, he said, was a purely national institution.

The Leader, 24-11-1920

9. TO HINDUS AND MUSLIMS

I learn that my Mehmadabad[4] speech[5] has led to a controversy. I read the relevant portion of that speech only when I started to write this. I notice in it just one important mistake. I am reported to have said that "the sadhu came and saw me". I do not remember to have said this, but I may have made a slip of the tongue while speaking. It is not true at all that the sadhu came and saw me. I apologize for this error. The facts are these : Two of his men came to me and gave me his message that he wanted me to go and see him. By this time I had heard what had happened.[6] I said that I had simply no time to go but that I would see the sadhu if he came. I also conveyed to him

[1] The city, especially Hardygunj where the speech was made, had been most lavishly decorated and illuminated to welcome Gandhiji who was accompanied by Shaukat Ali.

[2] The Khilafat movement aimed at the restoration of the Sultan of Turkey, who as Khalif claimed supreme authority over the Islamic world, to the status enjoyed by him before World War I.

[3] The Jallianwala Bagh massacre and other atrocities perpetrated in the Punjab during 1919; *vide* Vol. XVII, pp. 114-292

[4] Town in Kheda district of Gujarat

[5] *Vide* Vol. XVIII, pp. 405-11.

[6] Some Hindus had objected to the intended sacrifice of a goat by another group of Hindus and, on behalf of the former, the sadhu referred to here had sought the help of Muslims for saving the goat.

that I was afraid that what he had done ill became his sadhu's robes, that it would be better if he came without these. I expected sadhus to be fearless and compassionate. I did not expect them to invite the intervention of Muslims in the internal quarrels of Hindus, as he seemed to have invited that of the maulvi. This message, too, I find, created some excitement. But I stick to what I said in my speech and to my message. I take the affair of the goat seriously. That it did not lead to serious consequences was our good fortune. To be sure, it is the sadhus' duty to prevent the destruction of countless innocent creatures, but they can do so only by being good sadhus, by *tapashcharya*[1]. It is not open to a sadhu to use force or threaten to use it for this purpose. Nor can he utilize the strength of Muslims in a religious quarrel. If some Muslims are fighting among themselves, how can Hindus side with one party and try to put down the other? It would be shameful of the Hindus to do so and for the Muslims the thing would be a mortal humiliation. Just as we lost power because we brought the British into our worldly conflicts, so the Hindus and the Muslims, by seeking each other's intervention in their internal religious quarrels, would endanger their own religion. Suppose some Hindus who wanted to sacrifice a goat carried out their intention with the help of Muslims, in opposition to other Hindus, where would the latter be?

We want a sincere bond of brotherhood to grow between Hindus and Muslims; the Ahmedabad incident, I believe, has put an obstacle in the way. Its effects may not be apparent immediately, but I have cautioned both Hindus and Muslims lest such obstacles multiply in future.

And now about the maulvi. I believe he is most certainly an impostor. He said one thing to me; a leaflet issued in the name of some Muslim friends suggests something altogether different. The things it mentions as having been said to him are all got up. All that I wished to say was that he had made wrong use of my name. What right have I to send him or anyone else out of Ahmedabad? However, the maulvi said that I was for him a respected elder and so I told him that, if he would take my advice, he should leave Ahmedabad. Neither he nor any other Muslim has a right to work in the name of the Khilafat Committee or in my name without our permission. I put no trust in him at all, and he carries no letter of authority from the Khilafat Committee. It is, therefore, my advice to every Muslim

[1] Self-suffering as moral discipline

not to listen to the maulvi or to any other person not authorized by the Khilafat Committee.

The Muslims will not succeed in the great task of [securing justice on] the Khilafat issue, and Hindus and Muslims together in that of winning swaraj till the two communities learn to be fearless, brave, self-sacrificing and truthful. They have need, therefore, of caution in every step they take. Every great struggle is accompanied by attempts by impostors to exploit the events for selfish ends. It is our duty to guard ourselves against all such attempts.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 21-11-1920

10. CONDITIONS FOR SWARAJ AND PRACTICE OF UNTOUCHABILITY

An innocent resolution of the Gujarat Vidyapith has created a commotion in Ahmedabad, Bombay and elsewhere.[1] The resolution is to the effect that no school which excludes *Antyajas*[2] will be recognized. It is but a corollary of a principle adopted by the Vidyapith, but it has hurt many Hindus and some have been telling me that I should not have raised the issue for discussion. There are some who argue that my views on the practice of untouchability are a blot on my Hinduism. Some others question my claim to be a *Sanatani*[3] Hindu on the score of these views. My reasons for believing that I am one, I shall examine some other time.

At the moment I merely wish to show that the Vidyapith has not adopted a new policy by passing the resolution it did. It would have been a new policy had it resolved otherwise. The *Antyajas* attend Government schools at present. There are many such students in Bombay schools. There are some in the high schools in Gujarat, too.

[1] The Gujarat Vidyapith had been established as a national university without a Government charter. At a meeting of its senate on October 31, 1920, under the presidentship of Gandhiji, it was resolved that the so-called untouchables would not be excluded from any schools approved by the Vidyapith.

[2] The lowest caste among Hindus, traditionally regarded as untouchables

[3] One who accepts the essentials of Hinduism as unalterable

If we have been sending *Vaishnava*[1] children to such schools till now, shall we adopt a new policy and exclude *Antyaja* children from national schools? Do we hope to win swaraj while reviving the practice of untouchability at the same time?

We do not mind what happens in trains, hotels, courts and mills; shall we, then, perpetuate the practice in schools alone where, all the time under teachers' eyes, pupils can attend only if they observe the ordinary rules of cleanliness?

We do not treat Muslims, Parsis, Christians and Jews as untouchables; if we do, we cannot hope to make them our brethren; shall we, then, treat the *Antyajas*, who are a limb of Hindu society, as untouchables even in schools which pupils belonging to non-Hindu communities can attend?

It has been charged against me that, by getting the Vidyapith to pass the resolution in question, I too have, by this means, used coercion on Hindu society in the same manner that the Government does. I would humbly remind those who level this charge that I do not prevent them from running schools according to their ideas, and I request them not to prevent me. Where is coercion in this? In fact, it is they who employ coercion on me by standing in my way. Is it right for them to prevent those who believe that the practice of untouchability hampers our efforts to create a national consciousness from working for its removal? No one will hamper them if they try to set up vidyapiths with other ideals, which recognize this practice as part of dharma. That you may be prevented by the impossibility of succeeding in the attempt is a different matter.

I am firm in my view that the practice of untouchability is contrary to dharma. It is an instance of the evil of extremism in Hinduism. To keep alive extremism is *duragraha*[2] and to try to eliminate it through *tapashcharya* is satyagraha. Firmness in seeking and upholding truth—this is dharma. Firmness in holding on to an evil practice sanctioned by custom is *adharma*[3].

Non-co-operation is a science of purification. Unless we have purified ourselves, we cannot employ it. So long as we regard one of our own limbs as untouchable, we ourselves, Hindus, and our neighbours, the Muslims and others, will remain the untouchables that we have become. I am convinced that the Hindu society has fallen because of the evil of untouchability. Thanks

[1] *Vaishnavas* are devotees of Vishnu, one of the Hindu Trinity, and his incarnation, Krishna

[2] Pursuit of a wrong cause, or of the right cause in an unworthy manner

[3] The opposite of dharma

to our sin, we ourselves have become untouchables. We looked upon the *Antyajas* as untouchables in the name of religion; the Government, too, has reduced us to the position of untouchables in the sincere belief that it was doing its duty in this. Like the *Antyajas*, we too have accepted as natural and carry the stigma, branded by foreigners, of being untouchables. Besides, just as we argue that the *Antyajas* themselves do not consider it an insult to be treated as untouchables, the Government too argues that we accept our inferior status as natural and that it is a few revolutionaries like Gandhi who, misleading the people, describe their natural state as degradation.

I entreat the Hindus of Gujarat not to stop, because of the present commotion, the great effort they are making in the non-co-operation movement. If they look upon the practice of untouchability as a part of dharma, they may be sure they will never get swaraj. Perhaps they will argue that, in that case, they will prefer the present Government, Satanic as it is. The reply to this is that, even under its rule, they will not be able to go on treating as untouchables those whom they look upon as such; not only this, but our present pitiable condition in which we find that all of us have become *Antyajas* will become ever more so. Let us not forget this self-evident truth.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 21-11-1920

11. TRIUMPH OF NON-VIOLENCE

Whether you speak of renunciation of the sword, or compassion or peace or non-violence, the meaning is the same. The Government's latest resolution[1] is a triumph of this principle. The Government has given up, for the present, its intention of arresting the Ali Brothers[2] and me and has decided to try, instead, to

[1] This resolution, released early in November 1920, stated, among other things, " . . . the Government have hitherto refrained from instituting criminal proceedings, or taking any other action against those . . . who have advocated simultaneously with non-co-operation abstention from violence, and they have instructed local Governments to take action against those persons only who . . . have by speech or writing openly incited the public to violence . . . [The Government] have been reluctant to interfere with the liberty of speech and the freedom of the Press . . . " *India in 1920.*

[2] Mahomed Ali (1871-1931) and Shaukat Ali (1873-1938). Both the brothers were nationalist Muslim politicians and took a leading part in the

defeat non-co-operation with the force of reason, that is, with the help of the Moderates. For this decision, the Government and the people may compliment each other. I look upon it as a triumph of peaceful war, that is, of non-violence. Had we decided to carry on the struggle through secret or open assassinations or by burning down buildings or removing railway tracks, we would not have succeeded in educating public opinion and would not have acquired the strength to speak out the truth courageously; that is, we would not have been ready or fit for swaraj. Even as late as a year ago, we could not express our ideas as freely as we do today. By taking care that the Government should have nothing to fear from us, we ourselves have acquired courage. We have come to have the confidence that, since we ourselves have no guilty thought in us, others can do us no harm. We have an instinctive feeling that, as we do not intend violence to anyone, no one will use violence against us either.

In this way the atmosphere has become clean. We want to win swaraj by changing people's ideas through the force of love and reason, and this has obliged the Government also to rely on reason. It is only when, afraid of our opponent, we employ unclean strength like his that we learn unclean ways and so become weak. In the result, both sides become weak. If we meet uncleanliness with cleanliness, the total result would be less of uncleanliness and the people, the world, would be the happier for this. Thus, peace—non-violence—is ever victorious. The Government's resolution is a notable instance of such victory.

We still do not have the spirit of perfect peace among us. The tongue has not yet become clean, the heart is not pure. We have anger in us. Because of this, our remaining peaceful does not produce the effect it should. We shall have swaraj the day our struggle is free from all bitterness and the workers are perfectly sincere. The common people will do what we do. The path taken by the eminent is followed by the rest.[1]

The Government resolution has a sting in its tail, since in our attitude, too, there is a similar sting in the tail. How many of us accept non-violence as a matter of principle, as I do? My friend Shaukat Ali does not believe in non-violence as a principle valid for all time; he believes in it only as a temporary expedient.

Khilafat movement. Mahomed Ali, orator and journalist, led the Khilafat delegation to England in 1920 and was president of the Indian National Congress in 1923.

[1] An allusion to the *Bhagavad Gita*, iii, 21

He accepts non-violence as a policy. If all of us accord primacy to non-violence and accept it as our chosen means, we can have swaraj this very day. It is because I believe that we shall do this before long that I say we may get swaraj within a year. Of what value is swaraj without non-violence? The way to destroy *adharma* is to establish dharma. The moment we declare solemnly that this regime is an enemy of dharma, we must learn to abide by dharma. How can a person who has no regard for dharma point an accusing finger at another for being like him? What right has the kettle to call the pot black? *Adharma* can be destroyed only through dharma. If there is none to submit to oppression, there can be no oppression.

Since we have not become wholly truthful, the Government's resolution is full of falsehood and hypocrisy. It says that, because our campaign is non-violent, the curbs on newspapers have been removed. This is not quite true. Some newspapers are still harassed. As for people who have been imprisoned, the reason given is that they had incited people to violence. This also is not correct. These persons may not have been quite innocent in their language, but they certainly did not incite the people to violence; even if it is a fact that they did so, the Government has not succeeded in establishing their guilt. The law is that even if a man is, in fact, guilty, he cannot be punished unless his guilt is proved. In trying to discredit non-co-operation, the Government has had recourse to much hypocrisy. It says that non-co-operation will spread anarchy. It knows, however, that simultaneously with non-co-operation, a new order is taking shape. Keeping away from the education provided by the Government does not mean anarchy in education but means receiving education for freedom in place of the present education for slavery; keeping away from the Government's courts does not mean increase in crime but settlement of disputes through *panchas*[1]; boycott of councils does not mean rejection of laws—of restraint—but voluntary obedience to laws in the nature of self-imposed restraints instead of to arbitrary laws; refraining from the use of foreign cloth does not mean going naked, but means the hallowed use, for protection of the body, of sacred cloth produced by the people with what art they possess; refusing to join as policemen in the Government's service means enabling the people to protect themselves; thus, non-co-

[1] Literally, *panch* means "the five", a board of arbitrators; an arbitrator or board of arbitrators in general

operation with the Government means perfect co-operation by the people among themselves.

If there is no limit to the Government's hypocrisy, there is no limit to its arrogance either. To hold out false threats is to be arrogant. To make impossible claims is to be arrogant. The Government claims that it protects the country against external aggression and says that, were non-co-operation to succeed, that is, were the Government to withdraw, the country would be wholly defenceless, like a child, and an easy prey to invasion by any nation. The truth of the matter is that, if co-operation prevails among us, if we Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Christians and Parsis believe ourselves to be one nation and be ever fearless and self-reliant, if the people produce their requirements of food, clothing, etc.—in the country itself, no one will dare cast covetous eyes on India.

Non-violence—peacefulness—does not mean cowardice. It means the spirit of manliness in its perfection. Should India be ever invaded in this manner, it should defeat the enemy by its perfect non-violence or, if it cannot thus endure the enemy's pride, the Kshatriya communities in the country—Sikhs, Muslims and others—should give the aggressor his due. Non-violence—peace—does not mean submission to others, does not mean weakness. He alone can forgive who is brave. When the hour comes for bidding good-bye to the Government, India will not be lustreless as she is today but will be radiating light in all directions. If anyone asks whether it is possible that we should see this day within a year, the only reply to such a sceptic can be that, unless such a day comes, India will not be fit for swaraj at all. If, moreover, such a happy day is to come, it will come only through non-violent non-co-operation. I for one see the day approaching nearer.

In all humility I entreat our elders among the Moderates to see the Government's insincerity and not to walk into the snare laid by it.

I do not go into the Government's charges relating to education. If there had been no co-operation from parents, the movement would not have progressed so far as it has done. I have advised sons to disobey parents, respectfully, only when the latter are without faith and the sons themselves possess soul-force. This advice is not immoral, or thoughtless or unmannerly. All Shastras give the young the right to think for themselves.

The lesson to be drawn from the Government's resolution is that, just as we have almost succeeded in overcoming its armed might by our renunciation of arms, so also we should slash its

snare of hypocrisy and duplicity with the golden knife of fearless truthfulness and not ignorantly walk into it.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 21-11-1920

12. INTERVIEW TO ASSOCIATED PRESS OF INDIA

DELHI,
November 21, 1920

Asked whether he thought he would be able to run all the educational institutions in this country without taking any financial aid from the Government, Mr. Gandhi replied:

Yes, if I can carry the country with me, I think it is quite possible to run all the present institutions without any Government aid.

In reply to the enquiry whether the success hitherto achieved by non-co-operation made him confident of its ultimate triumph, Mr. Gandhi said :

Yes, certainly.

To the question, "Are the non-co-operation and the Khilafat agitation really two separate movements or have they been merged into one another for the realization of any particular object", Mr. Gandhi said :

Non-co-operation has been adopted by the country as a means to an end. It has been adopted for the rectification of the Khilafat wrongs, the Punjab wrongs and the attainment of swaraj.

When Mr. Gandhi was asked if, in spite of all that was happening, he was still as sanguine as ever in the belief that India would attain self-government within a year or so, he said:

I still consider it possible to attain swaraj in India within one year if India responds sufficiently, but whilst I think that the response is not quite as adequate as it might have been, it is adequate enough to make me not to despair of more in the near future.

The Hindu, 23-11-1920

13. LETTER TO C. F. ANDREWS

ALIGARH,
November 23 [1920][1]

MY DEAREST CHARLIE[2],

I have your letters and your wire. Have I done you an injustice? I simply wired saying I was trying to send you I did not say you had accepted the post. And I said what I did on the strength of our conversation.[3] In any case there will be no pressure whatsoever brought to bear on you. You will simply do what you can for the Muslim University.

Yes I realize the necessity of putting the English connection on a pure basis. In its present condition it is hateful. But I am not as yet sure that it must be ended at any cost. It may be that the English temperament is not responsive to a status of perfect equality with the black and the brown races. Then the English must be made to retire from India. But I am not prepared to reject the possibility of an honourble equality. The connection must end on the clearest possible proof that the English have hopelessly failed to realize the first principle of religion, namely, brotherhood of man.

Baro Dada's[4] letter has not been received by me. It may be in the Ashram or it may be received by me tomorrow on reaching Delhi. I have duly telegraphed to you.

I cannot wire any message to Dr. Dutta but if there is yet time I shall endeavour to write out something for him.

I do hope you are keeping well.

I do not wonder at the Gujarati children having been withdrawn.[5] I do not think you have lost anything. You cannot whittle down principles to keep a single boy. I have not told you

[1] It was in the year 1920 that on November 23 Gandhiji was in Aligarh where he had gone to attend a meeting of the Khilafat Committee.

[2] Charles Freer Andrews (1871-1940); English missionary, author, educationist, and a close associate of Gandhiji

[3] During Andrews's visit to Gujarat in October 1920, when he was with Gandhiji for a few days

[4] Dwijendranath Tagore; philosopher brother of Rabindranath Tagore; was an admirer of Gandhiji's non-co-operation programme in principle

[5] Presumably because Brahmin and non-Brahmin children were asked to dine together at Santiniketan Ashram

what I am suffering for having got the senate [pass the] resolution[1] [as suggested] in your letter. They have threatened to boycott me completely. But my position is absolutely clear. I do not want swaraj at the cost of the depressed classes or any classes for that matter. It will not be swaraj at all in my sense of the term. My belief is that the instant India is purified India becomes free and not a moment earlier. Only I must fight the greatest devil of all—this Government—with all my might and in doing so I shall be automatically fighting the lesser ones. This threat of boycott is giving me the keenest pleasure for I feel that there I am on still purer ground. In fighting the Government, the motives of co-workers can be mixed. In fighting the devil of untouchability I have absolutely select company.

With love,

Yours,
MOHAN

From a photostat: G.N. 956

14. SPEECH ON NON-CO-OPERATION, AGRA[2]

November 23, 1920

Mr. Gandhi began by referring to the recent Hindu-Muslim disturbances at Agra and congratulated the people for settling the dispute without the intervention of the authorities. He said it grieved him to see a disorderly meeting as that would not enable them to attain swaraj. He said the procession[3] wasted time and huge meetings did not serve the purposes for which they were held. They both wasted time and he would perhaps have to take a vow that he would not go out in a procession and would not address huge meetings. India was in mourning for the 1,500 killed at the Jallianwala Bagh and he could not tolerate the idea of music and procession while in mourning. He regretted that foreign articles were used in the decorations and buntings and foreign candles and lamps were used for the illumination. These methods would not help them to get the Khilafat wrongs righted and to attain swaraj.

He said he had come to address the students only and would soon leave the meeting to address them at his residence, where only students could attend.

[1] *Vide* footnote 1, p. 7.

[2] Delivered at a large public meeting presided over by Abul Kalam Azad

[3] Gandhiji and others had been taken to the meeting-place in a procession which lasted two hours and was accompanied by a band; the route had been lavishly decorated.

He said he regarded the Government as Satanic and was confident that swaraj could be attained in one year if the people became truthful and behaved better. The Government called him insane,[1] but he knew he was not insane. He would meet the deceitful Government with truth. He urged the lawyers to give up practice, the candidates to boycott the councils and the voters not to vote. He said the setting up of a *chamar*[2] as a candidate was ridiculous. The bureaucracy would laugh at him and at the people for such actions and as swaraj would not be attained in this manner, they would ridicule both.[3]

The Leader, 26-11-1920

15. SPEECH AT STUDENTS' MEETING, AGRA[4]

November 23, 1920

At no other place have I been as unhappy as I felt after coming here. With all this confusion, you will not help me in my mission here. When there is so much disorder, how can I advise students to leave college?

* * *

We are dazzled by the shining lustre of our chains and look upon them as the symbols of our freedom. This state [of mind] bespeaks slavery of the worst kind.

* * *

Speaking about the timidity induced by their education, Gandhiji said:

We may feel in our heart any measure of devotion for Tilak Maharaj, but where is the student who will express it freely?

* * *

For us, fear has become synonymous with life. What is the use of that education which does not help us to overcome fear, but which, on the contrary, strengthens it? What kind of an education is it which does not teach us to follow truth and to cultivate devotion for the country?

[1] Lord Chelmsford, the Viceroy, had described Gandhiji's non-co-operation programme as "the most foolish of all foolish schemes".

[2] A low-caste person considered untouchable by orthodox Hindus

[3] After this speech Gandhiji and the students left the meeting as Gandhiji wished to address them separately. For a report of this speech, *vide* the following item.

[4] This and similar items which follow are extracted from Mahadev Desai's account of the tour published in *Navajivan*.

But my argument is not merely that we should give up this education because it is bad. My argument is that we ought not to receive it because it is provided by those who hold us in slavery. From his owner a slave will not learn the lesson of freedom. This Empire has become defiled; even if this Satanic Empire should propose to give me training for freedom, I may not receive it.

No matter what the quality of this education, what is its source? Why are you taken in because they teach you big books? They do not give you real education in freedom, only deceive you into believing that they do. In point of fact, it is with money stolen from the country that they give you this education by which you are taken in, and that is like using money stolen from a man to teach him to drink.

* * *

As a boy, I loved my parents as Shravana[1] loved his. I believe in God, too. Would I, then, ask anyone to do something in disregard of his parents' wishes? However, one's parents, too, were created by God and I have been arguing that, when parents' wishes conflict with God's command, one should obey the latter.

Those of you who feel in the depth of their heart that they will not learn lessons of freedom in schools run by an Empire such as I have described, who hear a command from God that, in order to secure freedom, they need to shake off this slavery, should reason with their parents respectfully. If you feel that this is a house on fire, that you have no choice but to run out of it, only then should you abandon it. I feel all the twenty-four hours that I cannot live a moment longer under this Empire and, if you feel the same way, you would not want to ask if alternative schools had been provided for you. Leaving your school or college without making conditions is the first lesson in freedom. If, however, you do not have patience enough to occupy yourselves after leaving your school with collecting funds for a free school till one is set up, if you do not have patience to live by begging meanwhile, most certainly do not leave your school.

You should get training for bodily labour. When an English boy comes out of school or college, he certainly has the strength for such labour. If, however, your only ambition, after completing your education, is to be lawyers or the Government's hacks, the present schools and colleges are the only ones for you. If

[1] A youth, in the *Ramayana*, who was devoted to his aged parents and carried them on his shoulders to various places of pilgrimage

you understand the dignity of the ancient practice of *madhukari*[1] which is followed in Maharashtra even today, you should even live by begging and study. If you have not acquired the strength for this, I do not want to win the country's freedom through you.

This education is an education in atheism. One who, in spite of it, has faith in God, who has mastered the senses, has observed the vow of non-stealing and practised non-violence—such a one may claim to hear the voice of conscience. I, therefore, address myself only to those students who have been trained in self-control and I tell them that they may unhesitatingly leave college if they hear the command of God.

I want only such students as have the strength, when the time comes, to sacrifice themselves, to mount the gallows, to beg. You may leave college only if the cruel injustice done to the country and to the Muslims has kindled a fire in your hearts.[2]

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 8-12-1920

[1] Collecting alms from door to door; literally, the collection of honey by the bee moving from flower to flower. Here the reference is to the practice of students without means of support having their meals with different families by turns.

[2] The report of the speech in *The Leader*, 26-11-1920, ends thus: "His address was for students of over 16 years of age. Violence ought in no case to be used. Some of his Mohammedan friends told him that they tried non-co-operation but if this would fail they would use the sword. He was against the use of the sword. The students who left the institutions must, in case their guardians refused them pecuniary help, break stones or beg and continue their studies, thus supporting themselves and their guru. Only those who were prepared to suffer must leave schools and colleges unconditionally, but they should not go out simply on account of excitement.

When the lecture was over he invited the students to ask any questions they liked. One student asked whether any student could go to England or any other European country for technical or any education. Mr. Gandhi said he would not like it, but if the student wanted to go he could, as he regarded all European countries alike. The student again asked if he could go to Japan or the United States as they were independent countries. Mr. Gandhi said he regarded all of them alike. They were not India."

16. TELEGRAM TO JAIRAMDAS DAULATRAM[1]

[On or after *November 23, 1920*]

WILL CERTAINLY DISSUADE PEOPLE AGAINST SOCIAL AS DISTINGUISHED FROM POLITICAL BOYCOTT. HOLD LATTER ABSOLUTELY NECESSARY.

From a photostat: S.N. 7353

17. MORE DIFFICULTIES

The resolution[2] of the senate of the Gujarat National University in regard to Mr. Andrews' question about the admission of children of the 'depressed' classes to the schools affiliated to that University is reported to have raised a flutter in Ahmedabad. Not only has the flutter given satisfaction to a *Times of India* correspondent, but the occasion has led to the discovery by him of another defect in the constitution of the senate in that it does not contain a single Muslim member. The discovery, however, I may inform the reader, is no proof of the want of national character of the University. The Hindu-Muslim unity is no mere lip expression. It requires no artificial proofs. The simple reason why there is no Mussulman representative on the senate is that no higher educated Mussulman, able to give his time, has been found to take sufficient interest in the national education movement. I merely refer to this matter to show that we must reckon with attempts to discredit the movement even by misinterpretation of motives. That is a difficulty from without and easier to deal with.

The 'depressed' classes difficulty is internal and therefore far more serious, because it may give rise to a split and weaken the

[1] Jairamdas Daulatram; a Congress leader of Sind. This telegram was sent in reply to Jairamdas's telegram of November 23, 1920, from Nowbad in Hyderabad, Sind, which read: "Several Hindu non-co-operators including Durgadas Govindnand Choitharam Ghanshyam Jairamdas and Editor *Hindu* and others met today. Discussed suggestions of social boycott opinion unanimous against social boycott being advised because inexpedient hindrance to our movement and giving innumerable opportunities for tyranny urge you kindly use your influence in this matter."

[2] *Vide* footnote 1, p. 7.

cause—no cause can survive internal difficulties if they are indefinitely multiplied. Yet there can be no surrender in the matter of principles for the avoidance of splits. You cannot promote a cause when you are undermining it by surrendering its vital parts. The 'depressed' classes problem is a vital part of the cause. Swaraj is as inconceivable without full reparation to the 'depressed' classes as it is impossible without real Hindu-Muslim unity. In my opinion we have become 'pariahs of the Empire' because we have created 'pariahs' in our midst. The slave-owner is always more hurt than the slaves. We shall be unfit to gain swaraj so long as we would keep in bondage a fifth of the population of Hindustan. Have we not made the 'pariah' crawl on his belly? Have we not segregated him? And if it is religion so to treat the 'pariah', it is the religion of the white race to segregate us. And if it is no argument for the white races to say that we are satisfied with the badge of our inferiority, it is less for us to say that the 'pariah' is satisfied with his. Our slavery is complete when we begin to hug it.

The Gujarat senate therefore counted the cost when it refused to bend before the storm. This non-co-operation is a process of self-purification. We may not cling to putrid customs and claim the pure boon of swaraj. Untouchability, I hold, is a custom, not an integral part of Hinduism. The world has advanced in thought, though it is still barbarous in action. And no religion can stand that which is not based on fundamental truths. Any glorification of error will destroy a religion as surely as disregard of a disease is bound to destroy a body.

This Government of ours is an unscrupulous corporation. It has ruled by dividing Mussulmans from Hindus. It is quite capable of taking advantage of the internal weaknesses of Hindusim. It will set the 'depressed' classes against the rest of the Hindus, non-Brahmins against Brahmins. The Gujarat senate resolution does not end the trouble. It merely points out the difficulty. The trouble will end only when the masses and classes of Hindus have rid themselves of the sin of untouchability. A Hindu lover of swaraj will as assiduously work for the amelioration of the lot of the 'depressed' classes as he works for Hindu-Muslim unity. We must treat them as our brothers and give them the same rights that we claim for ourselves.

Young India, 24-11-1920

18. COUNCIL ELECTIONS[1]

The elections in the Bombay Presidency and elsewhere have demonstrated the success of non-co-operation about Councils, in so far as the voters are concerned. In some cases not a single voter seems to have registered his vote. What will the so-called representatives do? They know that the voters have refrained from going to the polls not out of laziness but out of deliberation. They know, too, that thousands of voters have declared in writing their intention not to be represented. The members had ample opportunity of acting on the electors and convincing them of the desirability of voting. They cannot complain [of] intimidation or even picketing. For the instructions were not to picket, and, as far as I am aware, the instructions were implicitly followed. In the face of these facts, is it not the clear duty of the members declared to have been elected not to have anything to do with the Council? The electors have shown in no uncertain terms that they do not want to have anything to do with the reformed Councils. The members will reduce representative institutions to an absurdity if they persist in going to the Council when they have the clearest possible mandate to the contrary.

If the so-called representatives do not obey the mandate of their electors, the course of the latter is quite clear. They must form voters' associations, and through these bodies pass votes of no-confidence; they must address their respective members notifying their disapproval of their conduct in allowing themselves to be declared elected. It follows, too, that the electors must not on any account whatsoever take any work from these members. For them the Council does not exist. They must not seek any relief through it. The next trial of the voters will commence when the Council is opened, if at all, in the face of this verdict. The temptation to air grievances by having questions put in the Council will be very great. The electors will have to resist the temptation.

But let us hope for the good name of our country that the members themselves will bow to the verdict so emphatically declared by the electors.

Young India, 24-11-1920

[1] Elections for the various Legislatures took place in November 1920; those for the Bombay Legislative Council were held on November 16.

19. STATE OF PRIMARY EDUCATION

Pandit Gangaram Sharma's[1] letter[2] reproduced elsewhere is a seasonable contribution to the question of national education. He has even been making a useful experiment in primary education in the Punjab, and is able to throw a flood of light on this very important problem. His refusal to take Government grant and affiliate his school makes his scheme specially attractive. It has received the blessings of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviyaji and Mr. Shastriar. The programme is ambitious and well thought out. The scheme is inexpensive. My fear is that it is overweighted with too many items. But one has hardly the right to criticize an experiment without careful study on the spot. I question the advisability of introducing a knowledge of English in any scheme of primary education. In my opinion millions of boys and girls of this country do not need to know English at all. They need ideas rather than languages. And I would give even little children ideas about swaraj and other essential matters without their having to wait for higher literary knowledge. The present system and method of education fill a boy with many useless facts and leave him without proper mental development till he begins to receive a high-school training. Thus we have come to think quite unwarrantably that we cannot imbibe true ideas of liberty, religion, etc., without a knowledge of English, and have therefore made of it a fetish.

The more interesting part of Pandit Gangaram Sharma's letter lies in the information he imparts about the difficulties placed in his way by the local officials and the startling figures he produces regarding the 'progress' of primary education in the Punjab. It would appear that in 1844, in a population of 127 lakhs, there were 30,000 indigenous schools, catering for 4 lakhs of children. In 1918-19, with a population of 190 lakhs, there were only 933 indigenous schools and 4,171 Government schools, catering in all for 239,332 children. If the figures are correct, the state of primary education in the Punjab is worse now than it was in 1849, i.e., before British occupation. Yet we are told that if we nationalize education, we cannot finance it!

[1] A Congress worker in the Punjab
[2] Not reproduced here

There are other equally damaging figures and facts Pandit Gangaram Sharma has shown me. I must deal with them later.

Young India, 24-11-1920

20. *TELEGRAM TO NARANDAS GANDHI*[1]

[On or after *November 24, 1920*][2]

BOYS SHOULD REMAIN FIRM AVOID ROWDYISM SHOULD UNDERGO DAILY DRILL STUDY AT HOME TILL NEW HIGH SCHOOL OPENED OR TILL PRESENT HIGH SCHOOL[3] NATIONALIZED. THEY MUST CONFER WITH PARENTS AND GENTLY BEAR DOWN OPPOSITION IF ANY. CONSULT BANKER[4] THREE SCHOOLMASTERS HAVE OFFERED SERVICES.

From a photostat : S.N. 7354

21. *TELEGRAM TO C. Y. CHINTAMANI*[5]

[On or after *November 25, 1920*][6]

AM CERTAINLY OPPOSED ANY CANVASSING[7] BY NON-CO-OPERATORS FOR ANYBODY. IT WAS BECAUSE I FOUND INCLINATION TAKE SIDES THAT I BEGAN WARNING NON-CO-OPERATORS AGAINST

[1] This was sent in reply to Narandas Gandhi's telegram of November 23, 1920, from Bombay, which read: "Three hundred students Gokuldas School left today addressed by Narandas and Vithaldas meeting again Thursday please advise."

[2] Narandas's telegram was received by Gandhiji on November 24.

[3] Gokuldas Tejpal High School, Bombay, which was abandoned by 300 students because it received a Government grant

[4] Shankarlal Banker; a social worker and labour leader of Ahmedabad. He was also associated with *The Bombay Chronicle* and Satyagraha Sabha, Bombay.

[5] Sir C. Y. Chintamani (1880-1941); prominent journalist, author and politician; Law Member in Viceroy's Council, 1920-22; president of the Liberal Federation in 1923 and 1927

[6] This telegram was sent in reply to Chintamani's telegram of November 25, 1920, from Jhansi, which read: "Mr. Shaukatali refers at your meeting here followed by alleged private instruction interpreted as your desire that non-co-operators must oppose my candidature especially. Some of your followers since acting against me in your name inducing electors vote for one of my opponents. I feel sure this could never be your intention and request you wire friends accordingly. Kindly wire reply."

[7] In regard to Legislature elections under the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, held in November and December, 1920

THAT TEMPTATION. FURTHER THAN THIS I MAY NOT GO. NO ONE HAS AUTHORITY IN MY NAME PREFER ANY CANDIDATE JHANSI ELSEWHERE HOPE IF YOU FIND MAJORITY VOTERS JHANSI AGAINST ANY ELECTION YOU WILL RESPECT CONSTITUENCY'S WISH.

From a photostat : S.N. 7355

22. *SPEECH AT STUDENTS' MEETING, BANARAS*[1]

November 26, 1920

I spoke to you a few months ago about self-control.[2] Today also, the purpose of my visit here is to speak, as I understand the matter, on the same subject. It is being said these days that I am putting wild ideas into students' heads. With a full sense of responsibility, I declare that I am doing nothing of the kind. I can never think of putting such ideas into their heads. I was also a student once and I did everything in my student days with full respect for elders. I am, moreover, the father of four sons and I have had hundreds of boys who came to me and to whom I still claim to be a father. That being so it is impossible that I should utter any words intended to put wild ideas into people's heads.

But these are days when the elders feel that through my present activities I am doing them injustice, that I have also departed a little from truth, which I say I scrupulously follow, and that my language today lacks the moderation to which I lay claim. I have given thought to all this but my soul tells me that I am not immoderate in my language. All that I say I say with a calm mind and with the utmost deliberation. The fact is that the delusion under which I laboured in December last has vanished and so the language I speak today is different from what I spoke then.[3] However, I have only been describing things as they are. If I saw that a thing was unclean and I did not say that it was so, I would violate truth and be guilty of lack of consideration for others. In describing a thing as it is, there is no lack of consideration for others but only respect for truth. To be sure, perfect truth

[1] Extracted from Mahadev Desai's account of Gandhiji's tour

[2] *Vide* Vol. XVII, p. 42.

[3] Gandhiji had faith in the *bona fides* of the British Government and had advocated the acceptance of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms at the Congress Session held at Amritsar in December 1919.

is in silence alone but, so long as it is necessary to employ language, it can reflect the perfect truth only when I describe a situation to you exactly as I see it.

A report of a speech by Panditji[1] has appeared in *The Leader*. I observe that it was published with his consent. I wish to draw your attention to one sentence in it: "Give thought to everything and do as your conscience bids you." I want to tell you the same thing. And if you have any doubt about what your conscience tells you, if you are not able to come to a decision in your mind, do not accept what I or anyone else may say but accept only what Panditji, whom you all revere, says. I have come across no holier man than he; I see no living Indian who has served India more than he has done. What is our relation, Panditji's and mine? I have revered him ever since I returned from South Africa. I have poured forth my troubles to him on innumerable occasions and received consolation from him every time. He is certainly as an elder brother to me.

This being our relation, I can tell you nothing else than that you should act as I ask you to do only if you feel in your heart of hearts that what I tell you is the only truth. If, on the other hand, you argue that we are both your leaders and that you have to choose the advice of the one or the other, do only what Panditji asks you. If you have the slightest misgiving, do not follow me; in fact, it would be to your harm to do so. Panditji is the patriarch of this University; he is its founder, its soul, and it is our duty to respect him. If you have the slightest doubt about my being right in seeing the error which I do on Panditji's part in this matter, do not accept my advice. A gentleman came and told me that, if I came to Banaras, in the present state of Panditji's health, my visit would give him a painful shock and that we might even lose him. He hoped my visit would not kill Panditji. Who am I that I could kill Panditji? If by killing him we mean killing his soul, that is impossible. But this gentleman saw in my visit Panditji's death. He told me that the students would accept my advice and leave the University, that in this Panditji would see his life's work destroyed and it would kill him. I was a little amused by this. I felt that the gentleman did not know Panditji. Panditji is no coward to throw away his life over a matter like this.

No doubt the University is Panditji's very life, but it seems to me truer to say that India is his life. He is an optimist. Rightly does he believe that no one can harm India, that no one has the

[1] Madan Mohan Malaviya

reins of the country in his hand, that they are in the hands of God and He will look after its welfare. Even so, I sent him a telegram[1] and Panditji sent me a courteous reply welcoming me to Banaras.

Panditji feels that some of you have been acting without taking due thought and that, if you act without thinking, you will have nowhere to stand on. If, however, you think that it is a sin to continue studies in this University, you should leave it immediately and you will have Panditji's blessings in that. If your soul, however, is not on fire, listen to Panditji rather than to me.

It is only when your action is pure, when your motive is pure and the result is pure, that the action can have been inspired by your conscience. There is, however, another restriction which the shastras lay down in this matter. He alone who practises non-violence, is truthful and keeps the vow of non-hoarding, can claim that he has had a command from the conscience within. If you are not a *brahmachari*[2], if you have no compassion in your heart, no regard for modesty and truth, you cannot claim any action of yours to have been inspired by your conscience. If, on the other hand, you have a heart such as I have described, if you have given up Western ways, if you have God in the pure temple of your heart, you may respectfully disobey even your parents. If you are in such a state, you are free and can act on your own. I know that in the West there is a powerful trend towards licence. But I have no desire to see students in India take to such licence. If, in this hallowed Banaras, in this sacred place, I wished to turn you to ways of licence, I would be unworthy of my task.

Why do I tell students that it is their duty to leave schools and colleges? Do I want to ruin your studies? No. I am given to a life of study, even today I am a student, but I want to tell you that the man who has not received education for freedom -and you may be sure this is not to be had by reading Mill on "Liberty" —cannot be taken to be a free man. The education you receive is base compared to even what an Arab boy gets. A friend from that side was here and he tells me that the education our boys get does not amount even to one-fourth of what the boys in his country get. You will not find a single student there who will acquiesce in the rule of this Empire. They were offered facilities of the post, the telegraph and trams, were tempted with the bait of aeroplanes, were promised that their sandy soil, which is generally so hot that

[1] *Vide* "Telegram to Madan Mohan Malaviya", about November 20, 1920.

[2] One who observes celibacy

one can cook *khichdi*[1] on it in a few minutes, would be made cooler; promises were held out that big institutions would be opened for their education; but the boys there refused to have them. They receive very good education in their religion. That is what you need. In the circumstances in which you pursue your studies, you can only learn to fear man. I would say, on the other hand, that he alone is a real M.A. who has given up the fear of man and has learnt to fear God. Any education you receive will have justified itself only when you have become so strong that you will not beg of anyone for your living. It will have justified itself when the feeling has grown in you that, so long as you are strong of limb, you need not humble yourselves before anyone for a livelihood.

British historians say that three crores in India do not get two square meals daily. In Bihar the majority of people subsist on a stuff called *sattu* which is useless as nourishment. When I saw people swallowing this *sattu*—maize flour—with water and chillies, my eyes used to blaze with fire. If you were to have such food to eat, how long would you survive? In that land of Ramachandra, in that holy land of King Janaka[2], people today get no ghee, not even milk. In such conditions, how can you rest in peace? If we do not get an education which makes a Mazzini out of every one of us, our education is of no value. If you cannot eat your food in freedom, you should have the strength to starve to death and remain free.

I am told that in Arabia and Mesopotamia boys have education of this kind. They are ready to fight the British. They have arms with them. We lack them, but in her love of truth India has a great store of soul-force and this is why we are able to fight oppression. Tulsidas[3] counsels us to keep away from the wicked. This Empire, I say, is Satanic and it is our duty, therefore, to keep away from it. Keeping away from it can mean nothing less than *hijrat*[4], but I do not counsel that. Where should we go, keeping away in that manner? I see no place of shelter unless it be the Indian Ocean or the Bay of Bengal. But Tulsidas has said that, should it be impossible to keep away from the wicked altogether, we may remain at some distance. If you fail to acquire the strength for non-violent non-co-operation like Sita's, who refused to look at Ravana's delicacies and to accept the services of his maid-ser-

[1] A preparation of rice and pulses cooked together
[2] A philosopher-king of ancient India; father of Sita in the *Ramayana*
[3] A sixteenth-century Hindi poet; author of *Ramacharitamanasa*
[4] Emigration enjoined on Muslims when faced with religious persecution

vants, living wholly on fruits growing in Ashokavatika[1], I have not the least doubt that India would be ruined, would for ever rot in slavery.

I do not wish to go into why this Empire is Satanic. But an Empire which has been guilty of the atrocities in the Punjab,[2] which killed children six or seven years old by making them walk in the heat, which dishonoured women, which has said that the officials who did all this had committed no crimes but had saved its rule—to study in the schools of such an Empire is, to my mind, the greatest *adharma* of all. To Panditji, an elder brother to me, this seems to be dharma. My shastras do not teach me so. I cannot learn from Ravana the *Gita*, the Koran or the Bible. I would learn the *Gita* from one who had studied it with reverence. How can I learn it from one who takes liquor? I can give you no idea of how much my soul is on fire. I served this Empire for 30 years. I do not mean, of course, that I did anything wrong in that. Only, I can serve it no longer, for I have been a witness to the Punjab atrocities. Not only this; I also see that for many years now this Empire has been bringing such ruination to the country that the Punjab atrocities are nothing in comparison. When I was your age, I read Dadabhai Naoroji's[3] *Poverty and Un-British Rule in India*. Has the "progressive drain"[4] of India's wealth, which it described convincingly, diminished today? Is it not a fact that the expenditure on the army has been rising? Has not the expenditure on pensions increased? If the answers to these questions are in the affirmative, I would say: 'Let Lord Sinha[5] or any other person like him be appointed Governor—let even a person like Panditji be appointed Viceroy—I would not go and salute such a person.' The real position is that, under this rule, our slavery has been steadily increasing. When, moreover, the slave is dazzled by the lustre of his chain that binds him, his enslavement is complete. I assert that we are more

[1] In the *Ramayana*, a garden in Lanka where Sita was kept after she was carried off by Ravana

[2] During the disorders in 1919; *vide* Vol. XVII, pp. 114-292.

[3] 1825-1917; pioneer Indian statesman, affectionately called "the Grand Old Man of India"; president, Indian National Congress, 1886, 1893 and 1906; first enunciated swaraj as objective of the Congress; elected member of the British Parliament, 1893

[4] Gandhiji uses the English expression

[5] Satyendra Prasanna Sinha (1864-1928); first Baron of Raipur; lawyer and statesman; Under-Secretary of State for India, 1919-20; Governor of Bihar and Orissa, 1920-21; first Indian member of Viceroy's Executive Council

enslaved today than we were 35 years ago. We are becoming ever more defeatist. We are growing more cowardly. Basically, therefore I would certainly say that our slavery has been increasing.

I always remember one part of the learned speech of Babu Bhagwandas[1]. He said that when our rulers rule as traders, nay, when they go further and trade in intoxicants like bhang and *ganja*[2], they become rulers of the lowest order. We should keep away from them. This Empire has turned India into an unholy land. The Excise Department is continually expanding. Men like Gokhale had raised their voice for increasing the number of schools, but the position is that, whereas in 1857 there were 30,000 schools in the Punjab, there are 5,000 today. The Government did away with the rest. It has the power of organization. Do we have it? The Government, however, has kept us deluded. What lesson in swaraj can it teach us? What lesson in swaraj can we learn in the Councils? If you want to get the strength for swaraj, go to the Arabs, go to the Boers. I assert that we have such strength even today but, though lions, we imagine we are lambs. Can anyone intimidate a man who has a soul in him? When you have acquired this spirit, your education will have been to some purpose. Only after you have had such education can you get education for other, general purposes. At present you have been receiving education which will tighten the chains on you. Being enamoured of degrees, we have been demanding "charters" all the time. Why do we refuse to learn under these trees? Why should we want such palatial buildings? When large numbers in the country do not get enough to eat and women are unable to take a bath for days together for want of a garment to change into, do you demand big palaces in which you may study? If you do, better stop thinking about non-co-operation. If you feel for the country, if the fire which has been raging in me also rages in you, forget everything about buildings and take to non-co-operation as I have been advising. If you do so, I repeat here in this sacred place the pledge I gave elsewhere[3] that we shall have swaraj within a year.

But I tell you again and again that you will get it only if you know your dharma. You will not get it by shouting applause. Why

[1] An eminent scholar and public worker of Uttar Pradesh who delivered the speech referred to as president of the U.P. Political Conference held at Moradabad on October 9, 10 and 11

[2] Dried hemp flowers

[3] At the special session of the Congress held at Calcutta in September, 1920

do I say these things? I don't want any wealth or honours, nor India's crown; I want India's freedom. Everyone advises me to fall in with the others. But I cannot do so; I cannot give up my heart's conviction, cannot be deaf to the voice of conscience and fall in with the others. I do not want to do so by compromising on a principle. This is that, if we want swaraj, every individual must learn to be free. If you feel in your mind, as clearly as you see the trees in front of you, that this Empire is Satanic, that it is a sin to study in this institution, that, though the Lieutenant-Governor may assert as much as he likes that the Government exercises no control [over the University], it can make its influence felt indirectly, if you feel strongly that it is disloyalty [to the country] to receive education from this Empire, do not remain in this University for a moment longer, do not even breathe its air.

I tell you, save yourselves from this raging fire, take every risk. Ask me no questions about other things. Do not ask me what students should do. Do not tell me that there are no other professors and no buildings, asking me where else you can carry on your studies. Your home is your university. If you become respectful and truthful, your home is your university. If, however, you compare the home with these temples[1], you will fail. If you have fallen in love with the latter, you are lost. Can our homes be compared with these temples? There is some little similarity [between homes and university buildings] in England, but in our country we do not have even that much. Here, the buildings have been set up wholly with plundered money. He who is not free cannot even pray to God in peace. You can regain your physical, mental and spiritual freedom this very day. Anyone who acquires the confidence that, after leaving the University if he merely takes to repeating the magic name of Narayana[2], or Rama's name, even that would be valuable education; anyone who acquires this confidence, will have secured all the three kinds of freedom. If I can breathe such a spirit into the students in the country, I can raise from among them an army for winning swaraj. I tell you, so long as the influence of this Empire reaches the University directly or indirectly, you have no choice but to leave it. If, however, you have no confidence in yourselves, remain where you are.

I feel uneasy because 200 students here have taken a pledge to leave the University. I am not uneasy over the pledge; I am

[1] Gandhiji here pointed to the University buildings.
[2] One of the names of Vishnu

uneasy lest they lack confidence in themselves. If you believe that Gandhi is a magician, that when he is here, he will set up a college, you are mistaken. If this is how you feel, I would tell you that not to embark on a thing in the first instance is a sign of wisdom. If you leave the University without giving thought to this, I would be a sinner. What I am asking you to do is to leave the University and go to your homes. Save yourselves from this fire. If you have confidence in yourselves, you will be able to raise a university this very day. But, as Pandit Jawaharlal has advised, and as Mahomed Ali advised in Aligarh, leave without making conditions. Leave it, by all means, if you really wish to; otherwise, return to it. If, however, you are likely to think of returning after leaving it, you had better not leave. If we do not do our duty, our country will not remain our country. Remember what I have been telling you—what I have been saying to appeal to the ancient culture and holiness in you. I tell you once more that if you have the slightest hesitation, listen to Malaviyaji. He has worn out his life in setting up this University. Leave, however, if your conscience tells you, as clearly as you see the object before you, that it is a sin to remain here. "When the son has arrived at the age of 16, he should be treated as a friend"—that is what our shastras say and, since you are above 16, I have a right to tell you what I have told you. I have given this very counsel to my sons and I have done them no harm. I pray, in conclusion, may Kashivishvanath[1] make you pure, may He give you fortitude, give you strength for *tapashcharya* and whatever else you may need.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 5-12-1920

23. SPEECH AT PUBLIC MEETING, BANARAS[2]

November 26, 1920

You will please forgive me that I am not able to stand while speaking. A few days ago Maulana Azad[3], along with some of us, came here and we spoke to you. We are here again on the same

[1] The deity in the famous Hindu temple at Banaras

[2] The meeting was held on the Town Hall grounds under the presidentship of Bhagwandas. Among those present were Motilal Nehru, Jawaharlal Nehru, Abul Kalam Azad and C. R. Das.

[3] Abul Kalam Azad (1889-1958); Congress leader and scholar of Koranic theology; twice president of the Congress; Education Minister, Government of India

mission. Our intention was specially to address the students, but the love you show us has been such that we could not but come here. What we have to tell you is that our government is a *rakshasi*[1] government. Our duty is either to mend it or to end it. Our condition is extremely bad. So far we have only talked. Now it is the duty of all of us, men and women, to act. What is it that we can do? If you do not consider this Government a *rakshasi* government we can give you no proof of it. We on our part consider it so evil that we must either destroy it or purify it. If it does not repent, if it does not do justice to the Punjab, if it does not act justly over the Khilafat, we cannot stand by it. How can we mend it? Our Congress, our Muslim League, our Sikh League have all suggested the way in which we can mend it. This is the way of non-co-operation, or peaceful severing of relations. That is, that we should neither seek help from the Government nor offer it any help. How can we part company with it? First we should renounce titles. For us now to hold titles is a sin. Next we should give up the courts. The dispensing of justice should lie in our own hands. The courts strengthen the roots of the Government. Lawyers should give up their practice. If it is possible for them they should, after giving up legal practice, serve the country. Even if they cannot serve the country the giving up of legal practice would be by itself sufficient service. They should take up other trades. Parents should withdraw their children from schools and universities. Boys who have reached the age of 16 should be treated as friends and advised to withdraw. They should be told not to continue their studies in these institutions. They should be told to go to school at institutions where they can remain free. We should not go for education to a place where the Government's flag flies.

The Congress has also said that we should not go into the Councils. The election to the Councils will take place on the 30th. It is the day when we shall be tested. First we should persuade the candidates to withdraw. If they do not give in, it will be the duty of voters to remain at home and not to cast their votes. We should go on pleading with the candidates till the night of the 29th. We should fall at their feet and beseech them not to stand for the Councils. If they do not come round but persist in going into the Councils it will be your duty to refuse all help and do no work for them. Again, soldiering is a sin. You should not get recruited as soldiers, but it is your duty to become soldiers of freedom.

[1] Satanic

The next question is that of swadeshi. We should use only such cloth as is produced here. Our mothers should take the spinning-wheel into their homes. We should get cloth woven by our weavers and wear only that. I tell all my brothers and sisters of India: Swadeshi is your duty. Wear khaddar. Non-co-operation consists in doing all this. Do not draw the sword. Sheathe it. The sword will only cut our own throats. The unity between Hindus and Muslims should not be the unity of lips; it should be the unity of hearts. If such were the case we should be able to establish swaraj in a year. It lies in your hands to solve the Punjab and the Khilafat problems. So many of you are gathered here. With great humility I ask you: What have you done? Have you withdrawn your boys from schools and colleges? If your boy is grown up have you made him aware of his duty? Have you given him your blessing in this matter? If you have not done this, why are you gathered here? It is the duty of boys to leave schools and to convince their elders. Have you decided not to vote? Have you taken the swadeshi vow? These questions concern everyone. Government recruitment should stop. We should take our litigation to our elders and seek justice. This will put an end to the "prestige" of the Government. The Government will at the same time realize that its hundred thousand whites can no longer rule over three hundred million people. So long the Government has carried on its rule over us by making us quarrel among ourselves, by offering us enticements and by giving and taking help. "As the ruler so the ruled" is an old saying. A truer saying would be : "As the ruled so the ruler." If we set to work with a clear heart, if we surrender ourselves to God with a pure feeling, if we make genuine sacrifices, such as have been mentioned, we shall gain swaraj at once. This swaraj is *Ramarajya*[1].

[From Hindi]

Aaj, 27-11-1920

[1] Rama's rule, traditionally regarded as the ideal political order

24. LETTER TO DR. MUHAMMAD IQBAL

[*Before November 27, 1920*][1]

DEAR DR. IQBAL[2],

The Muslim National University[3] calls you. If you could but take charge of it, I am sure that it will prosper under your cultured leadership. Hakimji Ajmal Khan[4] and Dr. Ansari[5] and of course the Ali Bro[ther]s desire it. I wish you could see your way to respond. Your expenses on a scale suited to the new awakening can be easily guaranteed. Please reply Allahabad[6], care Pundit Nehru.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat : S.N. 7361a

25. LETTER TO HAKIM AJMAL KHAN

[*Before November 27, 1920*][7]

DEAR HAKIMJI,

What is this quarrel about a *masjid* near Peepul Mahadev[8]. Is it not capable of being settled? I have written Dr. Iqbal about Aligadh. I suggest your writing also.

From a photostat : S.N. 7361a

[1] The addressee's reply (S.N. 7330) dated November 29, 1920, says that Gandhiji's letter was received two days earlier.

[2] 1873-1938; renowned Muslim poet; took his Ph.D. from Cambridge and Munich Universities; nationalist leader during the twenties; one of the representatives at the Second and Third Round Table Conferences, 1931-32

[3] At Aligarh

[4] 1865-1927; eminent Muslim physician and politician who took a leading part in the Khilafat movement; president, Indian National Congress, 1921-2

[5] Dr. Mukhtar Ahmed Ansari (1880-1936); a nationalist Muslim leader; president, Indian Muslim League, 1920; president, Indian National Congress, 1927-8

[6] Gandhiji reached Allahabad on November 28, 1920, and stayed there for four days.

[7] The reference to the letter written to Dr. Iqbal suggests that this letter was written presumably on the same day as the preceding letter.

[8] Hindu temple of Siva

26. *SPEECH AT STUDENTS' MEETING, BANARAS*[1]

November 27, 1920

What I see here today reminds me of what I saw at Aligarh.[2] All that I had to say to students I said at Aligarh. I was conscious of my responsibility. I was aware that the University at Aligarh is older than this University. I was also aware of the great love Muslim students have for that University. I was further aware of the greatness of the Muslim founder[3] of that University. Nevertheless I said without fear what I had to say. My heart wept at what I was doing. My heart weeps also when I see you and behold these huge buildings. Today, in fact, it weeps the more because the life and soul of this University is my revered brother, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. I do nothing with which he is not associated. Ever since I returned to India I have been wishing that I may spend all my life with him. I have no such association with the Aligarh University. Who the life and soul of that University may be I have no idea. It is not a small thing for me to stand here and say something of which my revered brother may be proud. My religion—which is also his religion—teaches me to sacrifice the most cherished of my possessions for what I consider my dharma. That is what I am doing today. I want to tell you that there is a sharp difference of opinion between me and my revered brother, and yet this has not diminished even in the least the reverence I have for him. I earnestly entreat you that even if you accept my views you should not let it affect the respect you have for Malaviyaji.

If you do not consider it a sin or irreligion to accept the gift of education you should never leave. I cannot take even the gift of gold from the hands of one who is wicked. I consider it sinful to take education where his flag flies. I consider it sinful to study even the *Gita* and the crafts there. To tell you the truth I do not wish even to live under such a regime. If it were possible to renounce it altogether I would have done so. But that would render my stay here impossible and if I were to go away I would

[1] On the previous day, Gandhiji had addressed the students outside the University Campus, but Malaviya insisted on his addressing them in the University Hall and he himself presided over this meeting.

[2] *Vide* Vol. XVIII, p. 345.

[3] Sir Sayad Ahmed Khan

not be able to give you my message. I therefore stay on. I consider this the regime of Ravana. Tulsidas has called it a sin to live under such a regime. I can positively say that all the twenty-four hours I am taken up with the idea of destroying it or mending it. That is why I am here. I say to the students that their duty consists in not co-operating with this regime. You must do what it is possible for you to do. The main thing for you is to refuse the education that is offered to you. I do not speak of co-operation in general. I ask you to give up the specific co-operation with which you as students are concerned. If you feel the same way about this Government as I do, then you should consider it your dharma to leave. This dharma involves no conditions as to the kind of education you may then get. I merely tell you your dharma. To everyone I say: whether or no education is available elsewhere, you should leave. You can try for a similar sort of education elsewhere if you are so inclined but it should not be under the aegis of the Government. I want to say that it is not a question of livelihood; it is a question of humanity. The question of livelihood may come next. Freedom is dharma. The body comes after dharma. Dharma cannot be sacrificed for the body, while the body may be sacrificed for dharma. We have no freedom of any kind—whether economic or intellectual or spiritual. We have no spiritual freedom because Muslims are being pushed away from the dictates of their religion. They are being enticed away with the argument that there is nothing wrong in doing so. Religious sentiment is being stifled; so there is no spiritual freedom. Tens of millions here have neither food nor clothing; so economic freedom is impossible. Under the circumstances we should give up the little gains we enjoy. We are offered many temptations. Advantages are dangled before us. There are a number of facilities in this University. There is instruction in engineering and various other facilities. For the good of India these things must be sacrificed. If we fall for every little benefit that comes our way this Government will go on for ever.

Hinduism teaches non-co-operation. Some people think that we should take up the sword. But everyone is now convinced that we do not have the power of the sword. Non-co-operation is the only method which will either bring freedom or purge the regime of its evils. I am convinced that Malaviyaji is doing what he is doing because he considers it dharma. A difference of opinion cannot take away from the affection we have for each other. Our friendship cannot weaken and I am sure that your respect for him will not diminish either. Please do not be carried away into be-

lieving that you have more intelligence than he has or that you enjoy a greater degree of patriotism. It is impossible for everyone to think alike. If all men and women of India thought alike freedom could be secured in a day. History shows that freedom can only be had after much suffering. It would be false to think that we can achieve freedom without having to put up with suffering. I entreat you not to give up humility and civilized ways. If you like my views, do not show hatred or malice towards those students who are not with you in this or persecute them in any way. If you are particularly careful of dharma, seek and obtain Malaviyaji's blessings before you leave the University. Those who do not serve the country after they leave here, those who become selfish and develop addictions will cause me much grief. Sin will attach to me as well as to them. It is my prayer to you that whatever you wish to do you should do after full reflection. If you must take counsel from someone, if your heart cannot decide for you, you should accept Malaviyaji's advice. You should give precedence to his views. But if your heart is clear on the point, you can take to non-co-operation considering it your dharma. Do not rely wholly either on my advice or his. My revered brother will surely give you his blessings and will not detain you even for a moment.

Now I want to tell you why in the scheme of non-co-operation I have included sacrifice from students. It is my firm conviction that the main reason why the present regime goes on and continues to perpetrate the atrocities that it does, is that we have come under the spell of its education. Before its intrusion we were self-reliant and not dependent as we are today. The present system of education has rendered us more dependent. But I am not concerned at the moment with the system of education. My argument is not that it has faults. My revered brother also agrees that there are faults which should be removed. I do not ask anyone to leave on account of these faults. I do not also say in what way the present system should be changed. For I consider it a sin to take education under the aegis of a regime which I consider *rakshasi* and which has committed such outrages in the Punjab. If you agree with me you should renounce it. But if you do not consider this rule *rakshasi*, this rule which perpetrated the Punjab outrages and which has committed such treachery against Muslims and against India . . .[1] Students should also make sacrifices. The rest of what I had to say I have said yesterday. At this sacred

[1] Here some words are missing in the source.

spot and in the presence of my revered brother, I will say this: whoever leaves will be doing a great thing. It is here that freedom lies. Do not leave civilized ways, do not hate anyone. Be prepared to put up with suffering when you go out. I wish also to tell you that I can make no alternative arrangements for you. If it were possible for me to remain here with you it would not be difficult to make some arrangement. But I do not wish to offer you any temptations. I only wish to say: on going out do not become aggressive, do not become wilful. Self-control is your dharma. Do not give up tolerance. Do everything with a calm mind. Consult your parents' wishes. If you are determined and they do not agree, argue with them. If you think their stand right, accept it. If you do not consider it right and feel that your heart tells you the truth, accept its prompting. You can disobey them with humility. This is what Hindu dharma says. This is a testing time for you. Adorn your non-co-operation with humility; do not be wilful. Do not violate your pledge. Remember two things: first, that non-co-operation teaches humility; and secondly, that it calls for great self-sacrifice. In our degraded state we have become impotent, dependent. We think of our bread. It is difficult to arrange for everything. If you are prepared to make sacrifices, then leave; otherwise don't. I pray to God to grant you purity of thought and strength. Listen only to the voice of your heart. I shall be going away tomorrow. Those who wish to participate in non-co-operation and have been thinking of doing so for many days should have a talk with their teachers. They should also have a talk with my brother, Malaviyaji. Those who have given their names in writing should remain firm in their resolve; others that may wish to join should give their names.

[From Hindi]

Aaj, 30-11-1920

27. SPEECH AT PUBLIC MEETING, BANARAS[1]

November 27, 1920

Mr. Gandhi . . . explained how mandatory the protection of cows was from the point of view of Hinduism and said non-co-operation alone could help them to attain swaraj by which they could protect cows. He then said that the use of swadeshi-made articles and the boycott of foreign-made goods was essential to their national and material progress and enjoined the trading classes not to trade in them. He appealed to them to consider the country's grave situation carefully and decide what best means should be used to take our administration in our own hands. Dealing with Hindu-Muslim unity, he said that love between these two important communities was the only way to improve the nation.

The Leader, 29-11-1920

28. TO WOMEN

I started begging for money at Dakor and, fortunately, I made a beginning with women.[2] Among them, the sister who first gave me a piece of jewellery made a living by grinding flour for others. When she took off her ear-ring and handed it over to me, that same moment I was convinced that India's women had understood the holy nature of peaceful non-co-operation. The experiences which followed were marvellous indeed. Girls in Ahmedabad parted with their bangles, rings and chains. In Poona, they literally showered jewellery on me. There were similar scenes in Belgaum, Dharwar and Hubli. Muslim women in Delhi, from behind their purdah, gave jewellery, currency notes and cash.

When the women in the country have woken up, who can hinder swaraj? Dharma has always been preserved through women. Nations have won their independence because women had brave men for sons. By preserving purity of character, they have kept dharma alive. There have been women who sacrificed their all and saved the people. When women, who have done all this,

[1] The meeting was held near Ramghat under the presidentship of Anandshankar B. Dhruva, Vice-chancellor of Banaras Hindu University.

[2] A centre of pilgrimage in Gujarat. The reference is to Gandhiji's visit to it; *vide* Vol. XVIII, pp. 390-1 & 394-5.

have become alive to the suffering of the country, how long can that suffering last?

The women among whom I see this awakening cannot be described as educated, but they have understanding. They fully understand the obligations of dharma. What the educated classes take a long time to see, the women, with their gift of intuition, have understood at a mere hint. They have not taken long to realize that swaraj means *Ramarajya*.

Everything has been put clearly before them. The nature of the [country's] suffering has been explained. They have also been told that the remedy for this suffering is non-co-operation, and also what non-co-operation means. They have realized their duty in helping to preserve Hindu-Muslim unity, while everyone understands and remains faithful to her own religion.

If women keep up what they have so wisely begun, I am sure we can provide education for the whole country with the help of the jewellery which they can spare. The women who have offered their ornaments have done so on the understanding that they will not ask them to be replaced before we have got swaraj, but will do without them. Thus, with a little sacrifice of jewellery on women's part, we can arrange for the country's education and promote swadeshi. I hope, therefore, that they will continue the great *yajna*[1] which commenced at Dakor and that the husbands or other relatives will not restrain any of them in this sacred effort.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 28-11-1920

29. LETTER TO SARALADEVI CHOWDHARANI

November 28, 1920

Dipak[2] asks for being relieved from English studies for the time being. I honour the boy for it. If you do not even mentally resist I would like to let Dipak have his way. I will see to it that some day he learns English. But I assure you he will lose nothing by omitting English for the time being. Do you know that when a boy has acquired linguistic talent and has mastered the science of language it is an easy thing for him to learn a new language. Thus did Max Muller learn sixteen languages. When

[1] Sacrifice

[2] Saraladevi's son. He was studying in the Ashram School, Sabarmati.

you have mastered the science, you have only to memorize a few hundred root words and you know your language. Do therefore please give me your willing consent. Dipak is a great and noble boy. I would not force him in the matter of learning or anything else so long as he remains busy and trains himself to think. Please tax yourself and give me your true decision. Remember it is ever safe to trust one's children's teachers. Take all the precautions you like about your choice; but having made it leave the training to the teacher.

I had a nice time in Benares.[1] What the outcome will be I do not know. The atmosphere is certainly clear and Malaviyaji is calmer if not entirely calm.

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary. Courtesy: Narayan Desai

30. FRAGMENT OF LETTER TO DEVDAS GANDHI

November 28, 1920

. . . I spent two full days[2] in Kashi[3]. It was a good experience. I had no apprehension of there being any bitterness with Panditji[4]. Others may have had some, but that too must have vanished. There were long discussions with students. As for the result, let us wait and see. There is no limit to the weakness in the country. It is this non-co-operation which will make it strong. . . .

[From Gujarati]

Mahadevbhaini Diary, Vol. V

31. LETTER TO DIPAK CHOWDHARI

November 28, 1920

Henceforth, I shall write to you in Gujarati. I got your letter. I have written to Mother for her opinion on whether or not you should now give up English. If you become studious, no harm will follow your giving up English. Think of all the three—your body, your mind and your soul. For the body—exercise, recreation, good

[1] Gandhiji was in Banaras on November 25, 26 and 27.
[2] November 26 and 27
[3] Another name of Banaras
[4] Madan Mohan Malaviya

food and cheerfulness. For the mind reading and thinking. For the soul—inward purity and, for cultivating this, early rising, absorption in prayers with one-pointed attention and reading of the *Gita*. Repeat this to yourself every day: 'I will always speak truth, will think and act truth, will love everyone, learn to control all my senses and never look with greedy eyes on anything belonging to someone else. I will look upon nothing as mine but offer up everything to God.' Such meditation will purify the heart.

[From Gujarati]

Mahadevbhaini Diary, Vol. V

32. *LETTER TO HARKISHEN LAL*

November 28, 1920

MY DEAR HARKISHEN LAL[1],

Your letter has followed me in my travels. If you prove a true prophet the blame will be partly yours also.[2] You may not sit still and let the roots of violence sprout and say: 'Behold what I said has proved true.' But whether you prove a true prophet or false, non-co-operation has to go on, till it stops by the weight of its own violence. Therefore you are expected to strain every nerve to falsify your prophecy.

The demand regarding Khilafat is: Restore to Turkey what was hers at the time of the War with completest safeguards for the self-determination of Arabs and the Armenians. Regarding the Punjab, full reparation in accordance with the demands of the Punjab. This should be followed by complete swaraj in accordance with the wishes of only chosen leaders of the people. You will see this suggestion in my letter[3] to every Englishman.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. G.

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary. Courtesy: Narayan Desai

[1] Business magnate and nationalist leader of the Punjab who opposed Gandhiji's non-co-operation programme and later became a Minister in the Punjab Government under the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms

[2] Harkishen Lal had prophesied that Gandhiji's non-co-operation programme would fail.

[3] *Vide* Vol. XVIII, pp. 373-5.

33. SPEECH ON NON-CO-OPERATION, ALLAHABAD[1]

November 28, 1920

Mahatma Gandhi, who was given a great ovation, in the course of his speech in Hindustani, emphasized at the outset that it was a time for action and not for speeches and meetings. He characterized the Government as Satanic and said that it was like the Government of Ravana's[2]. It had wronged the Mohammedans and was responsible for the atrocities of the Punjab. It had been deceiving the Indians so long and it was not yet penitent and rather asked them to forget the wrongs it had done them. If they did not realize all that he had nothing to say to them, but as soon as they realized the real situation, non-co-operation was the only alternative.

Mahatmaji then emphasized the great necessity for unity. If they all united they could make it impossible for the Government to flout their opinion in the manner it had so far done. Once united they could right the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs and obtain swaraj. It was only by their help that the Government was ruling India. It was, however, painful to see that the Hindus and the Mohammedans did not yet repose full faith in each other, but the speaker asked them if they had any faith in the Government. No Hindu, however dark-hearted, could place Islam in danger. They had to destroy or to correct the present Government and to attain that they must unite. In order to non-co-operate with the Government, they must co-operate among themselves. The Government was also trying to divide them. It was their old game and it was only by that means that they were ruling India. If the Hindus and Mohammedans were united today no power in the world could put them down. They had realized that they could not gain swaraj by the sword, for in the emasculated position in which the Indians were today, the idea of an open battle was out of question, as it would prove fatal to the interests of the country. The Government was trying to put down their national aspirations by using all the means at its power by playing one party against the other, and by open threats. In dealing with such a Government it was impossible for them to hope to defeat it by worldly force; neither should they meet violence by violence. To punish the Satan they should not employ Satanic means. After an experience of 30 years he was able to say that cruelty and deceit could not be destroyed only by becoming cruel and deceitful. Just as light disperses darkness they could disperse falsehood by truth and evil forces

[1] Delivered at a public meeting held under the presidentship of Motilal Nehru. Among those present were Colonel Wedgwood, Abul Kalam Azad and Shaukat Ali.

[2] In the *Ramayana*, the demon-king of Lanka

a sign of their weakness if in performing an obligation of this nature they looked forward to others to lead.

Addressing the Hindus, the Mahatmaji said there was no cause for them to suspect that the Ali Brothers would deceive them, having expressly said that they were Mohammedans first and everything else afterwards. They had pledged themselves to fight against the whole world for the freedom of India. Suspicion of that sort showed a lack of self-reliance. It was said that the Ali Brothers were pan-Islamists. If to sympathize with Mohammedans in other parts of the world was pan-Islamism for a Mohammedan, then the Hindus were also pan-Hinduists, as the feeling of sympathy for co-religionists was a natural feeling and common to all nations. He appealed to them therefore to be manly and give up these suspicions which were fit only for cowards. It was time that they should all unite and take up the country's cause in right earnest but even if there was no response from the people in general he with 4 or 5 others that had taken up the cause would continue the struggle to the end. (Loud cheers.)

The Bombay Chronicle, 1-12-1920

36. *SPEECH AT STUDENTS' MEETING, ALLAHABAD*[1]

November 30, 1920

I was extremely pained to hear this.[2] Here in Allahabad, too, a number of students had gone and seen my friend Jawaharlal, who told them plainly that they should leave their schools and colleges only if they thought that it was their dharma to do so and not in the hope that we might be able to make some other arrangements for them. These students had agreed to accept any arrangement. Shri Jawaharlal also secured a building for them, but it has been lying vacant for the past one week. I cannot describe to you how much I have been pained to hear all this. These incidents, I feel, are plainly a sign of our slavery. Anyone who violates a pledge once taken becomes a beast, a coward. Lord Willingdon[3], telling me of his experience in Bombay, where he had spent only a few days after his arrival from England,

[1] The meeting was held at Anand Bhavan and addressed also by Abul Kalam Azad and Shaukat Ali. This speech is taken from Mahadev Desai's account of Gandhiji's tour.

[2] Many students in Jhansi who, after Gandhiji's visit there, had taken oaths on the *Gita* or the Koran to leave schools and colleges had returned to their institutions two or three days later.

[3] Freeman Freeman-Thomas, First Marquis of Willingdon (1866-1941); Governor of Bombay, 1913-19, of Madras, 1919-24; Governor-General of Canada, 1926-31; Viceroy and Governor-General of India, 1931-36

said that, since his coming here, he had not come across a single Hindu or Muslim who had had the courage to say "No". The charge is true even today. We have "No" in the heart but we cannot say so. We look at the other man's face to know whether he wants "Yes" or "No" and say what we think he would like us to say. Here, in this building, I could not make a little girl of three or four do my bidding. I asked her to sit on my lap, but she said "No". I asked her if she would wear khadi. She said "No". We do not have the strength which even this little girl has. A great saint has said that, if we would go to heaven, we should be like little children. To be like little children is to have their innocence and their courage. Edwin Arnold has described a child's innocence very well. A child catches hold of a scorpion, even a snake, puts its hand in the fire; it does not know what it is to feel fear. Cultivate such fearlessness. You give way to fear because you have lost faith in God.

I often feel impatient and tell myself that I should either make the country free or run away from it. Freedom merely means that, unafraid of anyone, we should be able to speak and act as we feel. He is a boy with true courage who can stand up against millions and say what he thinks. The first lesson, therefore, which you should learn is to be able to say "No". I would much rather that you did not take a pledge; to violate one after taking it is, I should say, a great crime. You may have received the best education and obtained the highest degree, but I would certainly ask you, if you are men who would not mind violating a pledge, why you should not drown yourselves in the Yamuna. Perhaps you will say in self-defence that, following the dictates of your heart, you may have acted in one way but that you are free later, for the same reason, to act in a different way. My reply to this is that you should not, in that case, have taken a pledge. The shastras enjoin you to give up your life for the sake of a pledge once taken. We had among us men who honoured this injunction, Harishchandra[1] and Rohidas[2], who served with a *Bhangi*[3]. Will you forget that we are the descendants of these great heroes of dharma? To be sure, if you have taken a pledge to commit adultery or to tell lies, you should certainly violate it, for by doing so a man raises himself.

[1] Legendary king of Ayodhya who left his wife, son, kingdom and wealth for the sake of truth. Finally, after undergoing countless sufferings, he, his family and his subjects were raised to heavenly bliss.

[2] Harishchandra's son

[3] A low-caste Hindu doing sanitary duties

though recognizing the crimes of an official like Michael O'Dwyer[1] defends him, though realizing the wickedness of Dyer[2] treats it merely as a grave error of judgment—how can we accept any service from such a Government and have any relation with it? To have any relation with it is to become more of beasts, more of slaves.

Please don't ask me what I would do for you. I am not asking you to shake off Government's slavery to be slaves to me afterwards. If what you want is to be my slaves, I have nothing to do with you. If you do not have the strength to feel that you will manage to make a living anyhow, that you will do some work, no matter what, and maintain your parents, most certainly do not leave your school or college. It is our duty to make some arrangements for you and we will certainly do the best we can. The atmosphere in the country is so vicious that perhaps teachers and professors even think me mad and we shall not get their help. I do not want any help from such persons. If, however, you do not get the services of any teachers or professors, become your own professors and stand on your own feet. If you are thinking of coming out in the hope of being able to stand with Motilal's strength or Shaukat Ali's or mine, remain standing where you are.

* * *

From where are we to get Prahlads[3] in this age, [you will ask]. There have been Prahlads even in this age.[4]

* * *

I have nothing to give you in the way of excitement. The excitement of the education you will get should suffice you.[5] I want to give you quiet courage. I want you to have hearts pure enough for self-sacrifice, for *tapashcharya*.

* * *

The truth is that parents do not prevent their children from leaving schools; the latter themselves are not ready to leave

[1] Sir Michael O'Dwyer; Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, 1913-19

[2] General Dyer, who ordered the massacre at Jallianwala Bagh in Amritsar in April 1919

[3] Prahlad was a devotee of God persecuted by his unbelieving father.

[4] Gandhiji then mentioned the instance of Dayanand Saraswati, the founder of the Arya Samaj.

[5] These remarks were in reply to a suggestion from someone in the audience that, since Gandhiji had argued that their struggle was a war, he should give them something in the way of "excitement" to enable them to fight.

schools even if the parents ask them to do so. I questioned a hundred or a hundred and fifty boys in the Hindu University. They told me that they had the permission of their parents, nay, their parents were even ready to bear their expenses. Be that as it may. Let others say what they like; leave Government schools and colleges only if your conscience tells you that it is a sin to study in them any longer. If you have the slightest doubt, follow Malaviyaji's advice. I returned to India only five years ago; Malaviyaji has dedicated his entire life to the service of the country. I tell you, therefore, if my voice is not the same as the voice of your conscience, listen to Malaviyaji. If it is the same, do not listen even to him.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 19-12-1920

37. LETTER TO DEVDAS GANDHI

Wednesday [November, 1920][1]

CHI. DEVDAS,

I did not feel that your letter was too long. I understand what you say about Ba[2]. I am sure my impression was not altogether wrong. Being carried away by emotion, even for a moment, is not right. But where is the time to go into this matter?

You will have to take more milk. You may have rice but very little of it. It contains no nourishment at all. As for fruits, if grape is dear, you can have raisins instead. These and oranges will be all right. If you don't have appendicitis, there must be some other trouble. You must be careful and get over it.

It seems certain now that we shall not be arrested for the present. A national school is being organized here too.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 7178

[1] The Government's intention not to arrest Gandhiji first became known in early November, 1920; Gandhiji may have had more definite information about this during the last week of November when he was in North India. On November 24, he inaugurated the New Prajakiya Islamic Madrassa in Delhi and, on December 1, the Tilak Vidyalaya at Allahabad. The last sentence in the text probably refers to one of these two institutions. This letter, therefore, was presumably written in the last week of November.

[2] Kasturba, Gandhiji's wife

38. LETTER TO DEVDAS GANDHI

[*November, 1920*][1]

CHI. DEVDAS,

You will find two letters here. I wrote one of them while in the car. I tore open the envelope and now send it along with this. See that you make your body quite strong. Let your life be studious. Be perfectly regular in meals. Take more milk. Pick up Urdu without delay. Do not miss the morning prayers any day.

With blessings,
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : S.N. 7177

39. LETTER TO DEVDAS GANDHI

Monday [*November, 1920*][2]

CHI. DEVDAS,

I have just read your letter. I certainly like your staying there. Anything done after careful thought always yields fruit. Undoubtedly *The French Revolution* is worth reading. Read it by all means. If Behn Vasumati goes over there, you will be a support to her. That is why she wanted you to be there. I certainly wish that you should pick up Urdu and learn spinning and carding, and do this very well. As days pass all these things become more difficult. You may take this to be true [about] your handwriting too. Your . . . .[3] Hope to arrive.

My discontent will remain.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : S.N. 7664

[1] From the contents it appears that the letter was written shortly after the preceding item which is evidently the letter referred to as having been written in the car.

[2] This letter seems to have been written at about the same time as the preceding item, in which also Gandhiji advises Devdas to pick up Urdu.

[3] Some words are missing here.

40. *NOTES*

Zafar Ali Khan's Treatment

I promised to inquire of Maulana Zafar Ali Khan's son about the accuracy of the statement he made to me regarding the treatment of his father in the Lahore jail pending trial. I have now heard from him and he has no hesitation in calling the local Government *communique* 'a lie'. He says that the information he gave me was absolutely correct, that Maulana Zafar Ali Khan was kept in a dark room, and that he was not permitted to receive food from outside. The son however adds that, after the public declaration made at the Lahore meeting, his father was removed to better quarters and permitted to receive food from outside. This does not improve Government's case but rather makes it worse. Their having corrected the illegality after it was made public betrays a guilty conscience. They knew that they were in the wrong, but had expected that this gross ill-treatment of an under-trial prisoner would pass unnoticed. There is another possible and charitable explanation. It may be that the higher authorities knew nothing of the illegality, that it was the act of an under-official without the knowledge of the higher authorities, and that they have themselves been duped by the guilty official. But if that is so, it is a further proof of the state of corruption that is rampant in the present administration. I hope that Government will cause further inquiries to be made. I have no desire to heap discredit upon it where none is deserved. But till the matter is cleared up, the public will be entitled to believe the statement reaffirmed by the son of Maulana Zafar Ali Khan.

The Duke's Visit

His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught[1] will be soon in our midst. It is a matter of great sorrow to me that I should have to advise a complete boycott of all public functions held in his honour. He is personally an amiable English gentleman. But in my humble opinion, public interest demands that this official visit should be strictly ignored. His Royal Highness comes to sustain a corrupt system of government, he comes to whitewash an irresponsible bureaucracy, he comes to make us forget the un-

[1] Uncle of King George V. He arrived in India on January 10, 1921

forgettable, he comes not to heal the wounds inflicted upon us but to mock us by flinging deceptive reforms[1] at us. To welcome His Royal Highness is to associate with him in promoting our own dishonour. No Government official, whether he be European or Indian, has a right to claim any welcome or honour from us so long as the Government, whose power he represents, remains unrepentant and unresponsive to the one thing needful.

Storm in a Tea Cup

Apropos of this I am tempted to notice *The Leader*'s fling at Mr. Mahomed Ali inasmuch as he accepted the invitation to tea of a District Magistrate. It is not often that I am able to read newspaper paragraphs. But I happened to read *The Leader* of the 25th November. It certainly grieved me. *The Leader* has a reputation for being bright, pungent, and sarcastic, but never for hitting below the belt. The paragraph about Maulana Mahomed Ali appears to me to be below par. The Non-co-operation Resolution boycotts official functions. It does not boycott private interviews at a tea-table between an official and a public man. Where *The Leader* sees an inconsistency, I see a gentlemanly act on the part of Maulana Mahomed Ali. It is a demonstration of the fact that this movement is neither based on hatred nor is it aimed at Englishmen personally. It seeks merely to destroy a system which even the best of Englishmen cannot make tolerable. It aims at purification, not at vindictive or punitive destruction. In my opinion, Mr. Mahomed Ali would have failed in his duty as a public worker, if he had rejected the District Magistrate's invitation to have tea with him and have a chat. It would have been a different thing if a public function was held by the District Magistrate in order to sustain or enhance his prestige.

Bad Taste

In similar bad taste is, in my humble opinion, the attack delivered by *The Leader* on Pandit Motilal Nehru regarding his telegram about the action of the Punjab Government in having prohibited a contemplated Home Rule League gathering. Pandit Motilal Nehru is reported to have said that the prohibition should be respected because civil disobedience was "undesirable". Instead of noticing the admirable self-restraint underlying the tele-

[1] The Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms as embodied in the Government of India Act, 1919; the Duke came to India to inaugurate the Reformed Constitution.

gram, *The Leader* has chosen to laugh at Pandit Motilalji for having resorted to expedience. If the Pandit had advised civil disobedience, if the Government had been violent and the people had retorted, *The Leader* would have been rightly wrathful. I do expect *The Leader* to be just even to opponents. The goal of non-co-operation is the attainment of swaraj by purification of public life, and generating public opinion by non-violent, i.e., courteous or civil means. I admit that non-co-operationists have not as a body yet enforced civility in their own practice. But the tendency is undoubtedly in that direction. Now for the merits of the advice of the Pandit. Old words are receiving new values. Expedience has a bad odour. But it is not a bad word in itself. *Civil* disobedience is lawful but it is not desirable or expedient so long as the nation has not acquired full self-control and so long as it has not learnt the necessity of obeying just laws of its own free will and apart from the fear of punishment prescribed by them. Suspension of payment of taxes is lawful, but it is inexpedient so long as the nation as a whole has not imbibed the lesson of non-violence in its fullness. In other words non-violence is not a mere adjunct of non-co-operation. It is its integral and principal part. Its fiercer and more potent forms may not be adopted till it can be said, with a fair measure of certainty, that the nation has realized the situation and can stand restraint, imprisonment and worse with an unperturbed mind.

Young India, 1-12-1920

41. ADVICE

The following anonymous advice has been received by me:

Mahatma,

Listen to a woman's advice. Reject it, but ponder over it well before you reject, and pray to the All-wise fervently for wisdom and inspiration. Concentration is strength, diversion is weakness. Limit your scope of non-co-operation to only three things : foreign goods, the police service and the army. Thereby you will remove all internal differences and strengthen our cause and speed swaraj. Confine your efforts chiefly, not wholly, to the border tribes, the Sikhs, the Punjabis, the Dogras, and especially the Gurkhas. Work through secret societies as history teaches, and not by flourish of trumpets. Do not threaten but strike, and strike at the root and not at the branches. May God speed you and our cause to success.

Mrs. F.

The letter is undated. It is evidently not a woman's letter. It is too unwomanly to be a woman's letter. The women of India are infinitely braver than the letter would make them out to be. The writer writes about God but is possessed with the fear of the British bayonet, and would therefore gladly make use of the Sikh and the Gurkha steel. He has ill-digested the gospel of non-co-operation. In his fearsomeness, he does not see that to exchange British brute force for any other brute force is no real remedy for the ills of India. And if it is the steel that is to decide the issue, it must be not Sikh or Gurkha steel, it must be all-India steel. That is the one supreme lesson that Europe teaches. If it is brute force that is to rule, then the millions of India must learn the art of war, or must for ever remain prostrate at the feet of him who wields the sword, whether he is *pardesi*[1] or *swadeshi*[2]. The millions must remain 'dumb, driven cattle'. Non-co-operation is an attempt to awaken the masses to a sense of their dignity and power. This can only be by enabling them to realize that they need not fear brute force if they would but know the soul within.

The Dogras, the Sikhs, the Gurkhas, and the other martial races of India, we do want, not for the purpose of giving battle to the British soldier, but for the purpose of refraining from helping the British soldier to subjugate us. We want our military classes to realize that they only perpetuate their own and our slavery by wielding the sword at the dictation of a British officer. And that time will come when the school the writer represents has become defunct, and when the military classes have also understood the necessity of non-violence.

The writer makes me suspicious about himself when he asks us to concentrate our attention on foreign goods, the police, and the army. He would thus secure internal unity by waiving all sacrifice, i.e., purification by the very classes who have hitherto led public opinion—whereas the whole battle of non-co-operation rages round these very classes. It may, for the time being, appear to have struck a discordant note, but, in fact, it will achieve real unity after the process of purification is over.

The writer has moreover missed the grand result already achieved by the absolute openness of our battle. In my opinion, the public has never expressed itself so fearlessly and openly as at present. It has almost lost the fear of the highly artificial law of sedition. When the writer talks of secret societies, he seems

[1] A foreigner

[2] A compatriot

to talk of a bygone age. You cannot raise this great nation to its full height by the unclean methods of secrecy. We must, by boldly carrying on our campaign in the light of the blazing sun of openness, disarm the secret and demoralizing police department. Non-co-operation is nothing if it does not strike at the root. And you strike at the root when you cease to water this deadly tree of the British Government by means of open and honourable non-co-operation. The writer takes the name of God in vain, when he advocates in the same breath the secret ways of Satan.

Young India, 1-12-1920

42. *HOOLIGANISM*

The columns of *Young India* are open to all who have any grievance against non-co-operators. 'One who knows' has sent to the Editor a letter which I gladly publish.[1] He has in a covering letter giving his name pleaded for the publication of his letter. Such pleading was unnecessary in connection with a matter of public importance. If the facts related by the correspondent are true, they reflect no credit on the young men of Dharwad. The correspondent has connected the incident with non-co-operation. It is the fashion nowadays to connect every incident of indecent behaviour with non-co-operation. I wish that the incident had been brought to my notice when I was at Dharwad. I would then have been able to investigate the matter and deal with it then. I may state that stones were thrown at a meeting of Dharwad students that was held by me in the open. One boy narrowly escaped being seriously hurt. And it was a pleasure to watch the audience remaining unmoved in spite of the stone-throwing. I was told too that stone-throwing at meetings was not an unusual occurrence at Dharwad in connection with the non-Brahmin movement. I state this fact only to show that Dharwad enjoys the unenviable reputation for stone-throwing in a special manner. I must therefore decline to connect the incident either with non-co-operation or with any anti-European movement. Though the

[1] In this letter, not reproduced here, the correspondent had referred to a charity show for Indians organized in Dharwad by a sympathetic European lady. The original idea of a play by Indian schoolgirls had been changed at the guardians' instance into a programme of singing and recitations. During and after the entertainment a mob of young men, instigated, the correspondent alleged, by non-co-operationists, had stoned the organizers and guests.

correspondent's letter is obscure on the point, it is evident from what he says that resentment was felt at the idea of girls taking part in a drama. The correspondent says that the drama was dropped "in the nick of time at the desire of the guardians". There must have been persistence to provoke resentment.

But my position is clear. No amount of provocation could possibly justify the hooliganism of the "mob of young men". They had no right to prevent the performance that was at last determined upon, if the guardians of the girls did not mind it. The truest test of democracy is in the ability of anyone to act as he likes, so long as he does not injure the life or property of anyone else. It is impossible to control public morals by hooliganism. Public opinion alone can keep a society pure and healthy. If the young men of Dharwad did not like a public exhibition of Dharwad girls on the stage, they should have held public meetings and otherwise enlisted public opinion in their favour. The movement of non-co-operation is intended to check all such abuses. Non-co-operationists are undoubtedly expected, not only to refrain from taking part in such violent scenes as are represented to have taken place at Dharwad, but they are expected also to prevent them on the part of others. The success of non-co-operation depends upon the ability of non-co-operationists to control all forces of violence. All may not take part in the programme of self-sacrifice but all must recognize the necessity of non-violence in word and deed.

I am surprised that the correspondent in his covering letter speaks of the hooliganism at Dharwad in the same breath as the massacre of Jallianwala Bagh. He loses all sense of proportion when he compares the cold-blooded and calculated butchery of innocent men, who had given no provocation, with the undisciplined and thoughtless demonstration of a "mob of young men", who were labouring under a fancied or real wrong. Both acts are worthy of condemnation. But there is as much difference between the programme of the Dharwad boys and the Dyerism at Amritsar as there is between an attempt at simple hurt and a completed murder.

Young India, 1-12-1920

43. *SPEECH AT OPENING OF TILAK VIDYALAYA, ALLAHABAD*[1]

December 1, 1920

Mr. Gandhi, in declaring the school open, said he was very glad to perform the ceremony. He heard from Mr. Shyam Lal Nehru that the school would be called Tilak Vidyalaya instead of National High School. No man made so much self-sacrifice for swaraj as Mr. Tilak[2] and it was in the fitness of things that it should be named after the great patriot. If college students came they would open a college also. The school would take up the teaching of subjects which were taught in other schools. He then announced the names of the members of the executive committee of the school, which consisted of Pandit Motilal Nehru, president, and Messrs Jawahar Lal Nehru, Mohan Lal Nehru, Shyam Lal Nehru and Gauri Shankar Misra, members. Continuing, he said there were 15 teachers, some possessing degrees, and he thought that they were all men of good character. If the teachers were good, the school would prosper. Those who promised to serve in the school must forget other things. In some schools teachers used to do outside work besides their school work. That should not be the case there. The teachers in the National School must concentrate their attention on school work. The students would not get any furniture in the school. The Government had taught them the bad habit of using furniture, but they must be prepared to use *asanas*[3] only. They must show that they were superior to the boys of the other schools by their learning and character. They would not get any comforts in that institution. If necessity arose, the students must study under the trees in the open air, and, in his opinion the old tradition of India insisted upon that point. In ancient times, when the rainy season arrived the students used to work on farms. He was glad to find that typewriting, shorthand and spinning and weaving also found a place in the school course. Boys would have to learn both the scripts, Urdu and Devanagari. It was good from the point of view of swaraj and Hindu-Muslim unity that they should do so. Both Hindus and Mohammedans would learn much from a study of both the scripts. His friend Mr. Shaukat Ali told

[1] This national high school was housed in the office of the Swaraj Sabha. The executive committee of the school had decided to conduct it on the lines laid down by Gandhiji.

[2] Bal Gangadhar Tilak (1856-1920); great Indian political leader, scholar and writer, popularly known as 'Lokamanya'; one of the founders of the Deccan Education Society, Poona, and the newspapers the *Kesari* and *The Mahratta*; suffered six years' deportation for his criticism of the Government; took active part in the Home Rule campaign

[3] Seats used when squatting on the floor

him that Urdu possessed the most virile literature among the vernaculars of India and he agreed with him on that point; Urdu possessed more strength than either Bengali or Gujarati, because the maulvis who wrote in Urdu drew inspiration from Arabic and not from a foreign language. They never translated any books from the English language. He thought that by studying the Urdu script boys would be able to read the works of Saadi and other Persian poets.

Addressing the students particularly, he said that they took one step towards swaraj that day. He exhorted them to make non-violent non-co-operation successful by their conduct.

The Leader, 3-12-1920

44. SPEECH AT PHULWARI SHARIFF[1]

December 2, 1920

Mahatma Gandhi . . . addressing the meeting in Hindi, first begged the audience to allow him to speak in a sitting posture as he was too weak to stand. He was glad that he had the occasion to pay his respects to the Pir Sahib and notice the vast gathering of Hindus and Mussulmans. He expected that the Hindus and Mussulmans of the place would do their duty to their God and country. He was going to save Islam from the proposed destruction. It was the duty of everyone—be he a Hindu or Mussulman—to help him. It was better to die while helping him. He wanted first reparation for the atrocities committed in the Punjab and then swaraj so that such things might not be repeated. Hindus and Mohammedans were two sons of the same mother and they should feel as one. They must be peaceful, they could not succeed by violence. Our swords must not be drawn out of their scabbards. Everything must be strictly non-violent. We could reform the Government only by severing all our connection from it. The respected bodies, like the Congress and Muslim League had been giving out their verdict. Here the speaker enumerated the various parts of the programme. They wanted to give up the use of foreign goods. They should use swadeshi articles. Our mothers and sisters should be provided with charkha. They should not care if they were coarse or dear. It was very fortunate that Pir Sahib was helping them and showing people that that was the way open to them. A national Madrassa was being started there and he had been asked to open it. It was said that there were only a handful of boys but it did not matter. The speaker said that he did not propose to place any other scheme, similar to or better than the present

[1] A village in Bihar. This speech was made at a public meeting attended among others by Abul Kalam Azad, Shaukat Ali and Rajendra Prasad.

system of education, for the boys, but he wanted to teach them manliness and to rely on God and themselves. The national schools would teach them that it was not the Government that provided them with the necessities of life but it was God. Then and then alone could people demand swaraj.[1]

The Searchlight, 5-12-1920

45. SPEECH AT PATNA

December 2, 1920

Mahatma Gandhi addressed the audience sitting on a chair. He said that he wanted to save Islam, to secure justice for the Punjab, and a guarantee against the repetition of future wrongs in the shape of slavery. They could achieve it only by means of non-co-operation. But this made it necessary that they should co-operate among themselves. He regretted that they did not do so, and, whenever they were engaged in any work of organization, he found that they showed temper and could not brook differences. But he wanted them to remember that if they were to save Islam and win swaraj they must co-operate among themselves. From Bettiah he had heard the sad story that their own brethren (though they were in the police) had applied a kind of martial law.[2] When martial law was applied in the Punjab the Viceroy had framed some rules for its regulation but no such thing was done in Bettiah. He would admit that the application was not so severe in Bettiah as in the Punjab but martial law was introduced in miniature in the villages affected. The police had done, without the orders of the Government, severe injustice and were reported to have committed outrages on their mothers and sisters. He did not know whether what was published in the papers was true but, assuming that to be correct and the witnesses who had given the information as reliable, he found that properties had been looted and women insulted and maltreated and all this against the orders of the Government.

So long as they acted in that manner, they would be slaves and could neither win swaraj nor save Khilafat. Of course they would not go to the courts for that was a profanation, and even if they did so that would not get them a bit of freedom except sending the policemen to jails. Their aim was to end the present system of administration, but so long as that was not done

[1] After the meeting, the party motored to the Qaumi Madrassa(national school) which Gandhiji declared open. The source adds : "There Mr. Gandhi addressed a number of *purdahnashin* ladies, assembled on the adjoining balcony. He requested them to take to spinning and weaving cloth and to use that for themselves and their husbands and children. They should give up the fine made foreign goods. He requested them to teach men simplicity and make them firm."

[2] *Vide* "Speech at Bettiah", December 8, 1920.

what was he to say to those who had learnt tyranny from a tyrannous Government. Their principal duty was achievement of complete unity. If they could do that today they should get swaraj in a day. Proceeding, Mahatma Gandhi said Bihar was to be congratulated on the fact that few people had voted in the elections.[1] People who cared even slightly for liberty had given up the idea of going to the Councils. Some went to the Councils but without the authority of the bulk of the voters and yet persisted in calling themselves representatives. The speaker referred to a letter that had been handed over to him by the Hindus at Phulwari Sharif where he had gone to meet the revered Maulana Badaruddin Saheb. The letter said that their relations with their Mussulman brethren of the place were not quite cordial and that their Durga Puja[2] had been interfered with. Though Bihar was noted for Hindu-Muslim unity he could not help feeling, when such complaints reached his notice, that trouble was lurking. He had not forgotten the Shahabad riots nor the fact that the aggressors on that occasion were Hindus. He would tell them that they should settle such differences among themselves and that, if they aimed at reforming and purifying the administration, they must in first place purify themselves.

The second thing that he wanted to emphasize before them was the essentially non-violent character of non-co-operation. They would have to keep their swords in their sheaths and learn the completest self-control. They did not want to hurt the policemen who had committed outrages even on women in Champaran. In fact, if he met them he would intercede with them and tell them that it was not their work to do as they had done. He wanted to conquer by means of truth. It was always wrong to abuse or hurt an Indian; and it was impudent as well. He did not want to give anyone an occasion to raise his hand against him, for he hated violence.

He then appealed for funds. For a month he had been begging for money. He wanted them to pay what they could. He did not want millions from the millionaires but a rupee or pice each from the 30 crores of our people. On Mussulmans the obligation was double, for they had to pay to that fund and also for the sufferings of the sufferers in Smyrna and for the Aligarh National Muslim University. He assured them that the money would be spent neither on Congress work nor on anything else but purely in connection with non-co-operation, for opening of schools, and, in short, for the attainment of swaraj. He would form a committee to administer the funds and accounts would be published regularly in the papers. Also, the money raised in Bihar would be spent wholly in Bihar. He was sorry that he had to beg for money for he realized that many of them who had done that before were not true and had at times cheated them of their money in the name of the Congress. He appealed to them to realize the conditions precedent to their success. Unless the Hindus

[1] For the Legislative Council

[2] Religious ceremony in connection with the worship of the goddess Durga

and the Mussulmans lived like brothers, unless they acted in co-operation, unless they controlled their temper and were prepared to make sacrifices and unless they acted up to the direction of the Congress and the League[1], which was merely a preparation for freedom, they could not free themselves from the domination of the Satanic Government. Boycott of Councils did not involve sacrifice but was a means of purification and he prayed that their souls be purified.

The Searchlight, 5-12-1920

46. SPEECH AT STUDENTS' MEETING, PATNA[2]

December 3, 1920

Mahatma Gandhi addressing the boys said that he was told by Maulana Shaukat Ali that the Hindi language was so very poor that he could not impress the audience to the extent he wanted. He enquired whether the students wanted him to address them in English. But they were all for hearing him in Hindustani. He began his speech in Hindi. He explained what he meant by Hindustani. He said that the dialect spoken by the Biharis was the language which could become the national language of India. Much as he would prefer Devanagari to become the national script, he would request every Indian to learn both Persian and Devanagari scripts, so long as their Muslim brethren did not accept the latter. Referring to the duties of the students, he said that every student should empty the Government schools and colleges or those which had any concern with the Government. Proceeding, he explained how the British Government cheated both the Hindus and Mussulmans and had forfeited the right of co-operation. He compared the present system of administration with *Ravanarajya* and remarked that the latter also had some good points in the sense that there existed *sanyam*[3], *yajna*, etc. But all this was done with a bad motive; so no good could be expected out of that. While Lok[amanya] Tilak was alive the speaker thought that in his condemnations of the British Government there was some amount of exaggeration, but after his death, Jallianwala Bagh[4], the Turkish Peace Treaty and such other incidents had compelled him to agree with the Lokamanya. But all the same he could not see his way to accept Mr. Tilak's axiom, "Tit for tat". . . . He did not like to deal with Satan in a Satanic way. To him it seemed necessary that Satan should be conquered with the help of God, i.e., by purity of heart and purpose. God

[1] All-India Muslim League

[2] The meeting was held in Mazharul Haq's compound, under the presidentship of Rajendra Prasad.

[3] Self-restraint

[4] The reference is to the massacre at this spot ordered by General Dyer on April 13, 1919; *vide* Vol. XVII, pp. 170-5.

defeated Satan by his godly means alone. The present Government could not be of any help to India since it was Satanic. The speaker said without any fear that this Government should be either removed or reformed. And that could not be done either by giving or receiving any help from the Government. Continuing, he said that he would not study the *Gita* from Ravana, even if he sent a *rishi*[1] for it, as there was some poison lying hidden in it.

To him it seemed that there was something even in the education provided by Pandit Malaviya in his Benares University. The Government of India was trying to cajole him. But the organizer of the Hindu University did not realize that the motive of the Government was not honest. The master of the slaves could never teach liberty. Even in prescribing works of Mill, Macaulay and others who breathe the air of freedom and liberty, there existed some ill motive. It was not their—the Government's—duty. If the speaker pretended to teach the holy Koran to the Mohammedan boys or Maulana Kalam[2] to teach the *Gita* to the Hindu boys, there was treachery in that. He could read the *Gita* from Babu Rajendra Prasad[3]. Mohammedan boys could learn the Koran from the maulanas. For him salvation did not lie in the Koran but in the *Gita*. The *Gita* was the best book for him. He could not leave that. His parents attained heaven by that and they taught him to read and revere the *Gita*. He admitted no religion higher than his and the day he would think so he would change his religion. Continuing, Mahatmaji said that he would not go to the slaves to learn lessons on liberty. The Arabs, Pathans and Egyptians could teach liberty. The Arab boys refused the temptation put before them in the shape of civilization, education or government appointments. He could not ask his lessons from Lord Sinha but from Shaukat Ali who had declared himself free. Sir Edward Gait[4] was a good man. The speaker knew him well. He admitted that Sir Edward was the best of all the governors. But if he met him, he would tell him that the Government whose servant he was was bad. Liberty could not be received from him. Mr. Andrews was an Englishman; he advised them to attain swaraj without the British Government. To the speaker it seemed that Mr. Andrews was going too far; he was ready to have the Britishers as their servants or countrymen. He had no objection to co-operate with any man of any religion, caste or creed, if he was true to the Indians. His was a movement of non-co-operation. He wanted to see the Union Jack removed from whole of India. As long as that was not possible he would remove it from individual buildings and boycott those houses where

[1] Sage

[2] Abul Kalam Azad

[3] 1884-1963; statesman and scholar; Chairman, Constituent Assembly of India, 1946-9; first President of India

[4] Lieutenant-Governor of Bihar and Orissa during the period of satyagraha in Champaran in 1917

the Union Jack was flying. He advised people to boycott Government functions. The Government institutions were like a house on fire to him. The students should keep away from them. Indians could not boycott everything all of a sudden, as for a very long time they had been in the bondage of slavery. Even the food that they took had some connection with the Government, as that was produced in Government-owned lands. But people should nowhere intentionally co-operate with the Government. Gradually they could free themselves from everything. There was a rush of more people who were standing outside and the speaker at once began to speak on the value of time. He said that he could not understand how the young men who were so earnest and just beginning their lives could be so unpunctual. He told the audience how the late Mr. Gokhale[1] valued time. When Mr. Gokhale started the Servants of India Society he used to have the doors closed before he would speak. Just after two minutes of the announced time when the gate was closed he did not even allow Sir Tata[2], who was his chief support, to enter the hall. Reverting to his subject he said that somebody had told him that Mr. Hassan Imam[3] was ready to wreck his movement in a week. But when he met him the latter said that it was not so; rather, Mr. Imam was with him as far as non-co-operation was concerned and was ready to render every help required. But Mr. Hassan Imam could not understand what was meant by non-violence. If that word be removed, he would gladly join the movement. He exhorted the audience to sever their connection only if they realized that the Government was Satanic. He would gladly attend on the sick-bed of Lord Chelmsford[4] if the latter accepted that. He would try his best for his recovery rather than to poison him. But if Lord Chelmsford offered crores even for his Ashram he would refuse that. He was informed that the college students had been allowed to volunteer their services to the Nagpur Congress but it was only a concession to pacify them, which might be withdrawn at a most crucial hour. When the time would come many Col. Johnsons[5] might arise and make young boys of 6 or 7 years

[1] Gopal Krishna Gokhale (1866-1915); educationist and politician; president of the Congress, 1905; founder of Servants of India Society

[2] Sir Ratanji Jamshedji Tata (1871-1918); Parsi industrialist and philanthropist

[3] 1871-1933; judge of Calcutta High Court; in 1916, resigned to resume legal practice in Patna High Court; presided over the special session of the Congress held at Bombay in September 1918; led the Muslim deputation to England for revision of the Treaty of Sevres with Turkey

[4] Frederic John Napier Thesiger, 1st Viscount Chelmsford (1868-1933); Viceroy of India, 1916-21

[5] Col. Johnson was in command of the Lahore Area during the Martial Law in April and May, 1919.

to walk 16 miles or more in the hot sun of June in order only to salute the Union Jack.

Addressing the guardians he requested them to make the boys independent. They would have to pay the fees even in the National Colleges but would be saved the insult of saluting the Union Jack. The authorities of the Hindu University and the Aligarh College thought that they were giving true education but it was not so. There the professors could not teach that the Government of India was Satanic and the boys should try to do away with it. Could they prevent Sir H. Butler[1] from inspecting their colleges? Could the students dare not to salute him? If they did so that would be counted as insolence and not as liberty. If the Duke of Connaught wanted to visit his Ashram as a member of the Government he would not allow him to set foot in the Ashram. Of course he would have no objection in his visiting it as a private Englishman.

If they wanted to be free they should remove the flag of dependence. Whilst asking them to withdraw from the schools and colleges, the speaker said that although he would not give them any promise, yet he would try to provide them with national institutions. But it was sufficient for them to run away from fire. They could shun the present education.

The real education consisted in doing one's duty. Students could become engineers, doctors, agriculturists, if they had a free country. What would they do with the degree of slavery? They should take their lessons from Maulvi Haq[2] and Rajendra Babu and become free, standing on their own legs. It was slavery to think that the degrees afforded food and drink. It was not a degree but God who gave them food. They should not think what would become of their mothers and wives; they should support them by working like a coolie, rather than by serving under the Government. If they had the courage to do that they should non-co-operate, otherwise not. If everyone non-co-operated the speaker was sure that swaraj would be obtained within one year. They should not wait for the others to do it. When one suffered from cholera one would never think of taking medicine after others had taken it. There was no reason why they should wait to become free till others had obtained liberty. First they should become free themselves and then they should go to villages and teach liberty in small schools started by them. The speaker did not mean that they should disrespect their parents. They could even do that if that was the dictate of their inner soul, but not because he had said so. He himself had much reverence for his parents and he would teach obedience and not insolence. Students should most respectfully convince their guar-

[1] Governor of United Provinces

[2] Mazharul Haq (1866-1930); prominent lawyer, author and public worker of Bihar; opposed separate electorates for Muslims under Morley-Minto Reforms; helped Gandhiji in Champaran satyagraha; staunchly followed Gandhiji's non-co-operation programme of 1920-21

dians after deciding in a cooler moment. He had appealed to the guardians also so many times to withdraw their boys from schools and none objected to that. They might ask how they were to recognize the voice of their soul. He said that if they were true to God and practised *yama*[1] and *niyama*[2], they would recognize the voice of God within them.

They should patiently hear even those who did not think with them. Proceeding, he explained what the students were to do and how. The students must rely on themselves and not on him. The students of today were the leaders of tomorrow. They should not decide anything in haste. It was better for them not to withdraw if they had to go again to the schools. It was better to be drowned in the Ganges than withdraw when once they had joined it.

The Searchlight, 8-12-1920

47. SPEECH AT WOMEN'S MEETING, PATNA[3]

December 3, 1920

Mahatmaji then began addressing them in Hindi, seated on a chair, on account of his ill health, for which he begged their pardon. He begged four things of them. He and Maulana Shaukat Ali, whom he considered as his own brother, had appeared before them to beg of them some service in the cause of the Motherland. He knew that they were more humble and kind-hearted than men and so he hoped not to be disappointed at the hands of their mothers and sisters.

First of all he begged of the Hindu and Mussulman ladies not to consider each other as enemies and also to teach the same to their children from boyhood so that they might not even ever think the two to be each other's enemy. By this he did not mean that the two should be one, that Hindus should take to reading and believing in the Koran, giving up the study of and belief in the Vedas and Shastras; nor that the Mussulmans should discard the Koran and begin studying and believing in the Hindu Shastras and Vedas. Every one of them should remain firm to their religion. As there could be no marriage between a brother and a sister but all the same they could love each other, so Hindus and Mussulmans also should have love and respect for each other.

His second *bhiksha*[4] was that every woman should take to spinning yarn on the charkha. Those who wanted to sell that yarn might do so, but those who did not want to sell that should give it away as charity to others because

[1] Self-discipline

[2] Rules to regulate life

[3] This meeting was attended also by Abul Kalam Azad and Shaukat Ali

[4] The thing begged

of all the charities the charity of cloth was the best. India became poorer all the more from the time this charkha was given up. Women, who formerly used to live upon the charkha, were now leading a very miserable life in the bondage of slavery, breaking bricks and stones and being abused by overseers. He had come across many women in Champaran who had got only one sari to cover their body with and hence they could not go for a bath in the Ganges when they wanted to do so. Their life of freedom, when they used to have clothes made of the yarn spun by their own hands, was no more.

The third *bhiksha* which he begged of them was that they should not allow their sons and brothers to remain in a school owned and aided by the Government as that only meant fettering oneself with the chain of dependence and slavery. They did not receive any social or religious instruction in such institutions. They learnt only to drink wine, to visit theatres and to lead the life of a vagabond. Proceeding, he said that co-operation with a government, so unjust, so treacherous to our Mussulman brethren, so cruel to our mothers and sisters in the Punjab, was absolutely impossible. How could they ever like to remain under such an administration? There could be no co-operation between Satan and God. Likewise they also could not help the Government, nor take any kind of help from it. That raj was no better than the *Ravanarajya*. He wanted to establish *Ramarajya*. In other words he wanted to have full, complete swaraj and that could not be achieved without non-co-operation.

His fourth *bhiksha* was for money. India, he said, was very badly in need of money. There were three crores of people here who barely got one meal a day. They had not got sufficient money to buy a charkha or cotton. They should be supplied with both so that they might spin yarn and thus once again spread swadeshi cloth in the country. Then again, for boys national universities must be started. And for those money was very badly needed. Proceeding, he remarked that it pained him much to see that many had gone to the meeting with plenty of valuable ornaments on their bodies. In that very country there were so many who actually starved while there were others who had got plenty to spare for their ornaments, etc. He begged of them to give as much money as they could and also those ornaments which they desired.[1] But they must remember that in place of the ornaments which they would give away, they should not get others made until India had won full swaraj.

The Searchlight, 8-12-1920

[1] In response to this appeal, many of the women present there gave away articles of personal jewellery.

48. *LETTER TO SARALADEVI CHOWDHARANI*

December 4, 1920

. . . I shall not deliberately omit to write to you. But you must cultivate patience and trust. You may not accuse me of sainthood and dignify yourself by adopting the role of a sinner. Each one of us must recognize [his/her] own limitations. Among lovers and friends there is neither sinner nor saint. We are all equal, but there are wise and unwise men and women among equals. And who knows who is wiser? You must let me delude myself into the belief that I am wiser than you and therefore fit to teach you and train you. But it has not unoften happened that the learner becomes the teacher. Gorakh became the teacher of Machhander. And in trying to teach you, may God give me the wisdom to learn from you. Believe me, I will not grudge you the post. Indeed I shall count my teaching the most perfect if I can make you superior to me. Anyway that is the belief that keeps me attached to you. And therefore it is that I ever pray for a humble and contrite heart for you.

With love,

Yours,

L[AW] G[IVER]

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary. Courtesy: Narayan Desai

49. *LETTER TO GOODFELLOW*

December 4, 1920

MY DEAR MR. GOODFELLOW,

I was thankful for your letter. Has it struck you that this Government of ours is deliberately increasing the drink evil and that all effort at amelioration must be fruitless until this Government is either destroyed or radically mended? I should be glad to meet you when I am in Calcutta for any length of time.[1]

Yours sincerely,

M. K. G.

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary. Courtesy: Narayan Desai

[1] Gandhiji was in Calcutta on December 13 and 14.

50. LETTER TO HYDERI

ON WAY TO ARRAH[1],
December 4, 1920

MY DEAR FRIEND,

We have just left Bankipore. Mazharul Haq is with us. I write this to say that Mrs. Haq gave me last night at a ladies' meeting[2] to my call for donations her choicest four bangles made of pearls and rubies. Will you please tender my congratulations to Mrs. Hyderi on possessing a sister who gives away her choicest things for the country and her faith? I was simply overwhelmed with joy when she produced the bangles and thanked God that He had brought me in touch with the Tyabji family[3].

Yours sincerely,
M. K. G.

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary. Courtesy: Narayan Desai

51. SPEECH AT ARRAH

December 4, 1920

Mahatma Gandhi addressed the audience seated on a chair. He said that he rejoiced extremely to see such a huge gathering of the Arrah people before him but at the same time it pained him to find that they were unable to hold the meeting in an orderly fashion.[4] He added that the noise was so great that he had to lose half an hour of his time in asking the people to keep quiet, and asked if they could not discipline and control themselves, how could they hope to obtain swaraj in a year? That was, he said, the first essential for obtaining swaraj. Proceeding, Mahatmaji said that he had not forgotten the Shahabad riots that took place a few years ago, nor the fact that both the Hindus and Mussulmans were more or less to blame for it. The Hindus wanted to protect cows but the method they adopted was ill suited to the purpose so that while it brought no benefit to either party, it enabled the Government to take advantage of this situation and throw the Hindus in jails. He would like to tell

[1] Town in Bihar

[2] Held at Patna

[3] Mrs. Mazharul Haq and Mrs. Hyderi came from the Tayabji family.

[4] It was the largest meeting ever held at Arrah, and the volunteers on duty failed to control the gathering.

them that they should settle their differences among themselves. What was wanted was Hindu-Muslim unity—not a sham unity, but a unity of heart and soul. If they wanted to protect Islam from danger, to secure justice for the Punjab wrongs and to obtain swaraj, it could be only by means of co-operation among themselves. He was asked, he said, by a sannyasi whether he believed that the Mohammedans would join with him after the Khilafat wrongs had been righted, and the Mohammedans had complained to him that he had destroyed the Aligarh College but saved the [Benares] Hindu University. He disposed of the first with saying that if the Hindus helped the Mohammedans honestly, God, who sees a man's heart, would banish ill feelings from the hearts of the latter. He repudiated the second allegation that he had saved the [Benares] Hindu University. If the Hindus were impotent, would the Mohammedans, he asked, like to be so? He entertained a very high regard for Malaviyaji but all the same he wanted to see all the students out of his University so long as it had any connection with Government. He would like all the existing institutions in the country to be converted into national ones. He referred to a private talk[1] with Mr. Hassan Imam in which the latter asked him whether the non-violent form of non-co-operation would remain non-violent, and he had been holding out for a long time. Further, Mr. Hassan Imam had complained to him that the students cried "Shame!" to him and behaved in a rude manner with him. Mahatmaji exhorted the audience to have tolerance for the views of those who happened to differ from them and not to behave with them in that way as that would not advance their cause. Mahatmaji then enumerated the various parts of the programme of non-co-operation and wanted them to give up the use of foreign goods which, he said, would alone bring swaraj. He laid great emphasis on the introduction and use of charkhas and said they should have nothing to do with a Satanic Government which was bent upon trampling their rights and liberties. He then appealed for funds and said that the obligation of the Mohammedans was double for they had to pay to the Swaraj Sabha (recently established at Bankipur) and for the relief of the sufferers in Smyrna.

The Searchlight, 8-12-1920

[1] At Patna

52. TO "VAISHNAVAS"

A true *Vaishnava* is he
Who is moved by others' sufferings;
Who helps people in distress,
And feels no pride for having done so.
Respectful to everyone in the world,
He speaks ill of none;
Is self-controlled in action, speech and thought—
Twice-blessed the mother who bore such a one.
He has an equal-seeing eye, and is free from all craving,
Another's wife is to him a mother;
His tongue utters no untruth,
And never his hand touches another's wealth.
Moha[1] and *maya*[2] have no power over him,
In his mind reigns abiding detachment;
He dances with rapture to Rama's name—
No centre of pilgrimage but is present in his person.
A man he is without greed and cunning,
And purged of anger and desire;
Offering reverence to such a one, says Narasainyo[3],
Will bring release to seventy-one generations of one's forbears.[4]

From the marks of a *Vaishnava* described by Narasinh Mehta we see that he is a man who

1. is ever active in bringing relief to the distressed,
2. takes no pride in doing so,
3. is respectful to all,
4. speaks ill of none,
5. is self-controlled in speech,
6. in action and
7. in thought,
8. holds all in equal regard,
9. has renounced desires,

[1] Primal ignorance and the attachment resulting from it
[2] Cosmic illusion
[3] Narasinh Mehta (1414-1479); saint-poet of Gujarat, admired by Gandhiji for disregarding the common prejudice against the so-called untouchables
[4] This poem, which formed part of the daily prayers at the Ashram, appealed to Gandhiji as a perfect expression of his own ideal of life and seems to have had a powerful impact on him.

10. is loyal to one woman, his wife,
11. is ever truthful,
12. keeps the rule of non-stealing,
13. is beyond the reach of *maya*,
14. is, in consequence, free from all desire,
15. is ever absorbed in repeating Rama's name,
16. and, as a result, has been sanctified,
17. covets nothing,
18. is free from guile,
19. from the urge of desire and
20. from anger.

Here Narasinh, the best among the *Vaishnavas*, has given pride of place to non-violence. This means that a man who has no love in him is no *Vaishnava*. One who does not follow truth and has not acquired control over all his senses is not a *Vaishnava*. He teaches us in his *prabhatiyan*[1] that one does not become a *Vaishnava* simply by studying the Vedas, by following the rules of *varnashram*[2], by wearing a string of basil seeds or the *tilak*[3] mark. All these things can be the origin of sin. Even a hypocrite may wear a string of beads or put the *tilak* mark or study the Vedas or keep repeating Rama's name with his lips. But such a one cannot follow truth in his life, cannot, without giving up his hypocrisy, help people in distress or be self-controlled in speech, action and thought.

I invite everyone's attention to these principles, since I still continue to receive letters regarding *Antyajas*. The advice I receive from one and all is that, if I do not exclude *Antyajas* from the national schools, the movement for swaraj will end in smoke. If I have even a little of the true *Vaishnava* in me, God will also vouchsafe me the strength to reject the swaraj which may be won by abandoning the *Antyajas*.

The resolution, to the effect that the *Antyajas* cannot be excluded from any place which is open to members of other classes or communities, is not mine but that of the senate[4] as a whole. I welcome the resolution. Had the senate not passed it, it would have been guilty of *adharma*.

[1] Devotional songs with which the devout, getting up before dawn, commence the day

[2] The organization of society into four castes, each with a distinctive function, and the division of life into four stages

[3] Auspicious mark on the forehead, usually made with vermilion or sandal paste or saffron

[4] Of the Gujarat Vidyapith; *vide* footnote 1, p. 7.

The resolution lays down nothing new. One to the same effect is actually in operation in the existing schools. The Congress, a body which the *Vaishnavas* respect, has also passed such a resolution. They have not opposed it. I realize, however, that they honour me by criticizing me for having a hand in a resolution of this kind. The point of their argument is that others may violate dharma but that I, especially, should not do so. This is very gratifying to me.

I have been endeavouring to show that dharma requires that we do not look upon *Antyajas* as untouchables. Old veils prevent us from seeing that we are guilty of *adharma* in acting to the contrary. Just as, through such veils, British rule cannot see its own Satanism, so also, thanks to them, some of us are unable to see the chains of slavery which bind us. I think it my duty to reason with such people patiently.

But I cannot stand hypocrisy and sophistry. I saw in *Gujarati* an account of a talk I had with Maharajshri, as also the comments on it.[1] I have been very much pained by both. I seldom comment on views expressed in newspapers. In fact I scarcely read papers. But the *Gujarati* is a widely read paper and it claims to present the *sanatan* dharma[2] in its true nature. Hence I am pained whenever I find in it even the least element of unfairness. A friend has sent me a cutting giving the report of my talk with Maharajshri and the criticism on it. I see in both an attempt, deliberate or otherwise, to prove *adharma* to be dharma. I shall explain next time what this is.[3]

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 5-12-1920

[1] On November 17, Gandhiji had a talk with Goswami Shri Gokulnathji Maharaj, religious head of the *Vaishnavas* in Bombay. An account of this talk and the comments on it had appeared in *Gujarati*, 21-11-1920.

[2] The essentials of Hinduism regarded as unalterable, *varnashram* being one of them

[3] *Vide* "*Vaishnavas* and *Antyajas*", 12-12-1920.

53. *SPEECH AT GAYA*

December 5, 1920

The Mahatma said that he expected their hearts to be as pure as the town of Gaya[1] was famous for purity. This being the case, they should be ready to make sacrifices. What that sacrifice would be had been said by assemblies like the Muslim League, Sikh League and others. For instance, he said that the pleaders would have to give up their practice; one of his brethren giving up practice would not do. He would earnestly request other vakil brethren to give up their practice. The Congress had resolved to boycott the law courts. He hoped that there would be some such institution where the people would go for decision of their cases. They should give up all Government titles. Boys should be withdrawn from the schools. Boys of 16 and above should, with their folded hands, request their parents and guardians not to send them to schools managed, aided or controlled by the Government. He had learnt just now that a small percentage had exercised their votes[2] at Gaya. But now the time of their trial had come. They should not get any help from or through their councillors; otherwise exercise or non-exercise of franchise would be one and the same thing. They should work for swadeshi. They should ask their mothers and wives to spin on the charkha. People knew how to hold very big meetings; but they did not know their duty. If they did their duty and followed the above methods they would get swaraj. They should also make gifts of money. One who was not making any other sacrifice should give money. That money would be devoted to the work of swaraj, swadeshi and national schools. They had established a Swaraj Sabha at Patna of which Mr. Mazharul Haq was the president and Babu Rajendra Prasad was the secretary. The money would be spent there and they would get quarterly accounts. He knew of some men of Nagpur whom he did not know but who had collected money in his name. He requested even the leaders that they should give an account of the public money collected. He knew that in many places no such accounts had been given. (At this stage there was noise at the northern end of the platform.) Mr. Gandhi said that there was a noise there; that should not be. They should have control over their voice. They should not make noise. The volunteers should know their duty and be true to themselves. They had got to bear the opposition of a great kingdom. Even when aeroplanes were hovering over their heads, bombs were being thrown and bullets incessantly discharged on them they should remain quiet. He had also marked that the Hindus and Mohammedans had no power of forbearance among

[1] In Bihar; a holy city and a centre of pilgrimage for Hindus

[2] In the elections for Legislative Councils

themselves. The management of this meeting could not be called satisfactory. If the volunteers could not make themselves effective swaraj could not be attained. They should learn how to do things well even if they were minors. There could be no service to the Motherland except by honesty and labour. Purity was necessary. A true heart was necessary. To sacrifice was the work of the true-hearted. They wished to save Islam from danger and get justice for the Punjab atrocities. They could not obtain them without being true to themselves.

The Searchlight, 10-12-1920

54. SPEECH AT CHAPRA[1]

December 6, 1920

Mahatma Gandhi then addressed the meeting sitting on a chair. He said that India today was faced with such a situation that he must speak to them and ask their help. He was pleased that Mr. Zakariah Hashmi and Babu Bindeshwari Prasad had given up their practice at the bar and he congratulated them on the step they had taken. He felt that it was the English-educated gentlemen that were the cause of their present sufferings. He admitted that they had done some service but the wrongs done through their instrumentality so greatly outweighed the good done that he could not take into account the latter. For 35 years the Congress had been passing resolutions and their leaders making speeches on the Congress platform but they had achieved little thereby. On the other hand they were worse off than they were 50 years back. What was the reason for this state of affairs? Indians today filled a larger proportion of the civil service than in the past and Lord Sinha was now the Governor of a Province[2] and yet why was it that he said that they were worse off than before? If they had not been today greater slaves than before, could it have been possible for the authorities to betray Islam as it had been betrayed and yet be possible for the Government to allure them with little things dangled before their eyes? Despite this betrayal, the Government said that they were not at fault. He wanted them to mark the significance of the Government attempting to delude by little doles and fine words. The Government was full of poison and that kind of self-delusion in which they allowed themselves to be indulged was possible only with slaves. It was the Punjab that had given her Pathans and Sikhs to shed their blood for the Government and it was in this province that people had been made to crawl on their bellies, whipped in streets, made to salute the Union Jack, and that women's veils had been

[1] Town in Bihar

[2] He became Governor of Bihar and Orissa towards the end of 1920.

drawn away by officials! Could all this have been possible if their bondage had not been tightened? When slaves began to like their fetters he knew that their slave nature had got confirmed. When they tried to break through their fetters they could do so, but when on the other hand they liked their bondage and felt that freedom would come by means of their slavery, he thought that the grip had been tightened on them. It was because of their slave mentality and instinct that the principle and practice of non-co-operation had to be explained to them over and over again. In the past people were not as they were now. There were few barristers and his reading of history did not show that their condition and position was worse one hundred years back. The people were more happy and prosperous and the oppression on the *kisans*[1] hardly partook of the character they witnessed today. In Champaran, a hundred years ago, while he would acknowledge the existence of *zullums*[2] on the part of the zemindars, he would not admit that the type of *zullum* practised today was ever possible during those days. The Congress and the League had therefore told them that the only way to save Islam and to secure justice for the Punjab was by means of non-violent non-co-operation. He would emphasize the non-violent character of the movement. If they drew their sword they were as likely to kill themselves with it. He desired no emancipation, no swaraj through the sword. But there were some among the Mussulmans and also among the Hindus who did not agree with him and to them he would say that they had neither the capacity nor the strength to draw the sword. They had with them the storehouse of all power and that was soul-force. The capacity to die for others, for a cause, for honour, liberty and country—the possession of it showed soul-force. Even a child could say to his parent that he would not act against his conscience, crushed and killed though he be. They could all have this strength and there could be oppression, neither by the zemindars nor the planters. The moment they resorted to violence they would fail but if they eschewed it altogether and depended absolutely on soul-force nothing could possibly crush them. The only weapon, therefore, was non-co-operation and he would ask them to withhold all co-operation with, and support to, the Government. They should neither offer nor receive any kind of help or co-operation. The present system of administration could be mended or ended. If it refused to mend itself it had to be ended. All the sacred books, the *Gita*, *Ramayana*, Koran and the Bible, taught that there could be no co-operation between devils and God, no friendliness between saints and Satans, no mutual help and co-operation. If they felt their Government was Satanic it was their duty to cease co-operation with it and refuse all support. The Congress and the League had urged the lawyers among them to suspend their practice, such of them as had titles to surrender them and all of them to

[1] Farmers

[2] Oppression

boycott courts of law, schools and colleges. He could ask them to settle their quarrels before panchayats. [Gandhiji continued:]

So far as the boycott of schools and colleges is concerned, the older students should withdraw themselves from schools and colleges and their guardians should withdraw small children even from primary schools. A student will be better off if he only breaks stones. I am not of opinion that the present system of education is altogether harmful but I am of opinion that we should not receive education at the unclean hands of the Government. We cannot have even the *Gita* from Satan. It is sin to read under their management. Students should withdraw and be taken out even from the Hindu University established by the Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. It is better to retreat from a burning house. I am glad to convey to you the happy news that a national school will be opened in this very compound. It is hoped that every parent will send his children there. We ought not to learn through the medium of another language even under self-government. I would urge upon the teachers and the president to appoint pious and able pundits and maulvis for imparting religious education to the Hindus and Mohammedans. In that school the students should be trained in manual labour as well and should be trained to spin and to prepare cloth. English ought to be a compulsory second language. I am confident that the parents would withdraw children from schools, primary or secondary.

We ought to boycott the Council. We should neither vote nor stand as candidates. If anybody happens to go there with your help he will begin to think himself your representative. The voters ought not to approach a member for the redress of a wrong done.

Nobody ought to volunteer himself for the army.

It is very essential to use swadeshi goods. In my opinion even the cloths of Bombay and Ahmedabad are not purely swadeshi; for the people of Bihar we should produce all our necessaries ourselves in our own locality. In days gone by we used to do like this and were not helpless. It is sin to wear cloth coming from a foreign country like England and Japan. It would be very beneficial to produce necessary cloth. This will save lakhs of people from this grip of starvation. Cotton is very cheap. We shall be able to prepare cloth cheaply. Coarse cloth is pure and sacred.

I have said that I shall take swaraj in a year. That will be possible only when Hindus and Mussulmans have no mutual suspicions. To allow suspicion to remain lurking is a vice to which slaves are akin [sic]. Evil can never come out of good. God has

directed that the life of truth is the path of heaven. Why should the Mohammedans suspect their brethren and co-operate with the Government which is the author of the Mesopotamian trouble and which even imprisoned the Khalifa[1] at Constantinople? Be united and become brothers and there is no power on earth which can keep 30 crores of people as slaves. Can one lakh Englishmen frighten us? They do so by inducing sister communities and people of different status such as zemindars and ryots to fight among themselves. It is not proper for a peasant to fight with zemindars. It is a great mistake to quarrel with the zemindar and swaraj cannot be attained thereby. I want *Ramarajya*. But side by side I do not like that zemindars should tyrannize over the peasants. If the zemindars tyrannize over them they would be right in adopting non-co-operation with them. At present we have to non-co-operate with the Government and hence we should not think of mutual non-co-operation.

There is a dire necessity of funds. A Swaraj Sabha has been established in this province with Mr. Haq[2] as president and Babu Rajendra Prasad as secretary and treasurer. He will give an account of income and expenditure every three months. We have to open national schools. Volunteers will approach you for funds. You should help the Swaraj Sabha. In the end I pray to God that He may give sufficient strength in you to steer the country safe out of the impending danger.

The Searchlight, 10-12-1920

55. NOTES

On the Wrong Track

Lord Ronaldshay[3] has been doing me the favour of reading my booklet on Indian Home Rule which is a translation of *Hind Swaraj*[4]. His Lordship told his audience that if swaraj meant what I had described it to be in the booklet, the Bengalis would have none of it. I am sorry that the swaraj of the Congress resolution does not mean the swaraj depicted in the booklet; swaraj according to the Congress means the swaraj that the people

[1] The Sultan of Turkey who was also the spiritual head of Islam
[2] Mazharul Haq
[3] 1844-1929; diplomat and author; Governor of Bengal, 1917-22
[4] Written by Gandhiji originally in Gujarati in 1909; *vide* Vol. X, pp. 6-68.

of India want, not what the British Government may condescend to give. In so far as I can see, swaraj will be a parliament chosen by the people with the fullest power over the finance, the police, the military, the navy, the courts and the educational institutions.

I am free to confess that the swaraj I expect to gain within one year, if India responds, will be such swaraj as will make practically impossible the repetition of the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs, and will enable the nation to do good or evil as it chooses, and not be 'good' at the dictation of an irresponsible, insolent, and godless bureaucracy. Under that swaraj, the nation will have the power to impose a heavy protective tariff on such foreign goods as are capable of being manufactured in India, as also the power to refuse to send a single soldier outside India for the purpose of enslaving the surrounding or remote nationalities. The swaraj that I dream of will be a possibility only when the nation is free to make its choice both of good and evil.

I adhere to all I have said in that booklet and I would certainly recommend it to the reader. Government over self is the truest swaraj. It is synonymous with *moksha* or salvation, and I have seen nothing to alter the view that doctors, lawyers and railways are no help, and are often a hindrance to the one thing worth striving after. But I know that association with a Satanic activity, such as the Government is engaged in, makes even an effort for such freedom a practical impossibility. I cannot tender allegiance to God and Satan at the same time.

The surest sign of the Satanic nature of the present system is that even a nobleman of the type of Lord Ronaldshay is obliged to put us on a wrong track. He will not deal with the one thing needed. Why is he silent about the Punjab? Why does he evade the Khilafat? Can ointments soothe a patient who is suffering from corroding consumption? Does his Lordship not see that it is not the inadequacy of the reforms that has set India aflame but that it is the infliction of the two wrongs and the wicked attempt to make us forget them? Does he not see that a complete change of heart is required before reconciliation?

But it has become the fashion nowadays to ascribe hatred to non-co-operationism. And I regret to find that even Colonel Wedgwood[1] has fallen into the trap. I make bold to say that the only way to remove hatred is to give it disciplined vent. No man can —I cannot—perform the impossible task of removing hatred so

[1] British Labour leader and member of Parliament who visited India in December 1920 and attended the Nagpur session of the Congress

long as contempt and despise for the feelings of India are sedulously nursed. It is a mockery to ask India not to hate when in the same breath India's most sacred feelings are contemptuously brushed aside. India feels weak and helpless and so expresses her helplessness by hating the tyrant who despises her and makes her crawl on the belly, lifts the veils of her innocent women and compels her tender children to acknowledge his power by saluting his flag four times a day. The gospel of non-co-operation addresses itself to the task of making the people strong and self-reliant. It is an attempt to transform hatred into pity.

A strong and self-reliant India will cease to hate Bosworth Smiths and Frank Johnsons, for she will have the power to punish them and therefore the power also to pity and forgive them.[1] Today she can neither punish nor forgive, and therefore helplessly nurses hatred. If the Mussulmans were strong, they would not hate the English but would fight and wrest from them the dearest possessions of Islam. I know that the Ali Brothers who live only for the honour and prestige of Islam and are prepared any moment to die for it, will today make friends with the hated[2] Englishmen, if they were to do justice to the Khilafat, which it is in their power to do.

I am positively certain that there is no personal element in this fight. Both the Hindus and the Mohammedans would today invoke blessings on the English if they would but give proof positive of their goodness, faithfulness, and loyalty to India. Non-co-operation then is a godsend; it will purify and strengthen India; and a strong India will be a strength to the world, as an India, weak and helpless, is a curse to mankind. Indian soldiers have involuntarily helped to destroy Turkey[3] and are now destroying the flower of the great Arabian nation. I cannot recall a single campaign in which the Indian soldier has been employed by the British Government for the good of mankind. And yet (Oh! the shame of it!) Indian Maharajas are never tired of priding themselves on the loyal help they have rendered the English! Could degradation sink any lower?

Young India, 8-12-1920

[1] During the martial law in the Punjab in April and May, 1919, Bosworth Smith, the Joint Deputy Commissioner at Gujranwala, and Colonel Johnson, the commander of the Lahore area, inflicted barbarities on the public; *vide* Vol. XVII, pp. 202 & 251.

[2] "latter" in the original

[3] In World War I

56. SOCIAL BOYCOTT

A correspondent writes from Hyderabad, Sind, a letter[1] regarding boycott which I gladly publish. He refers to what is alleged to have happened to Mr. Khaparde[2]. Hyderabad, Sind, is a far cry from Amraoti. I do not know that Mr. Khaparde has been put to all the inconveniences that the correspondent relates. Mr. Khaparde is well able to take care of himself. I hope, however, that there is much exaggeration in the information supplied to the correspondent about the treatment.

Nevertheless, the issue raised by the correspondent is important and serious. It would be a dangerous thing if, for differences of opinion, we were to proclaim social boycotts.

It would be totally opposed to the doctrine of non-violence to stop the supply of water and food. This battle of non-co-operation is a programme of propaganda by reducing profession to practice, not one of compelling others to yield obedience by violence, direct or indirect. We must try patiently to convert our opponents. If we wish to evolve the spirit of democracy out of slavery, we must be scrupulously exact in our dealings with opponents. We may not replace the slavery of the Government by that of the non-co-operationists. We must concede to our opponents the freedom we claim for ourselves and for which we are fighting. The stoutest co-operationist will bend to the stern realities of practice if there is real response from the people.

But there is a non-violent boycott which we shall be bound to practise if we are to make any impression. We must not compromise with what we believe to be an untruth, whether it resides in a white skin or a brown. Such boycott is political boycott. We may not receive favours from the new Councillors[3]. The voters, if they are true to their pledge, will be bound to refrain from making use of the services of those whom they have declined to regard as

[1] Not reproduced here. The correspondent had complained that Khaparde had been boycotted by his panchayat and his servant denied the use of the panchayat well, as he differed on some points from the Congress non-co-operation programme, and that this boycott had been justified by some non-co-operationists.

[2] Ganesh Krishna Khaparde (1854-1938); lawyer, orator and public worker of Amraoti; member of the Council of State under the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms. He did not favour Gandhiji's non-co-operation programme.

[3] Members of the new Legislative Councils

their representatives. They must ratify their verdict by complete abstention from any encouragement of the so-called representatives.

The public will be bound, if they are non-co-operationists, to refrain from giving these representatives any prestige by attending their political functions or parties.

I can conceive the possibility of non-violent social ostracism under certain extreme conditions, when a defiant minority refuses to bend to the majority, not out of any regard for principle but from sheer defiance or worse. But that time has certainly not arrived. Ostracism of a violent character, such as the denial of the use of public wells is a species of barbarism, which I hope will never be practised by any body of men having any desire for national self-respect and national uplift. We will free neither Islam nor India by processes of coercion, whether among ourselves or against Englishmen.

Young India, 8-12-1920

57. *THE CASTE SYSTEM*

I have received several angry letters about my remarks during my Deccan tour[1] on the caste system. I am not publishing these letters because there is nothing but vituperation in them, and when there is no vituperation, there is little argument about them. I am anxious to open the columns of *Young India* to opinion expressing dissent from its views, but the writers must be brief and interesting. Acrimony is no argument. I am obliged to make these remarks because two writers at least would have gained publicity for their letters if they had not been prolix and unintelligible in their expression. The question, however, that my correspondents have raised commands attention and deserves an answer. They argue that the retention of the caste system spells ruin for India and that it is caste which has reduced India to slavery. In my opinion it is not caste that has made us what we are. It was our greed and disregard of essential virtues which enslaved us. I believe that caste has saved Hinduism from disintegration.

But like every other institution it has suffered from excrescences. I consider the four divisions alone to be fundamental, natural, and essential. The innumerable sub-castes are sometimes a con-

[1] In the first fortnight of November 1920; for Gandhiji's speeches during this tour, *vide* Vol. XVIII.

venience, often a hindrance. The sooner there is fusion the better. The silent destruction and reconstruction of sub-castes have ever gone on and are bound to continue. Social pressure and public opinion can be trusted to deal with the problem. But I am certainly against any attempt at destroying the fundamental divisions. The caste system is not based on inequality, there is no question of inferiority, and so far as there is any such question arising,[1] as in Madras, Maharashtra or elsewhere, the tendency should undoubtedly be checked. But there appears to be no valid reason for ending the system because of its abuse. It lends itself easily to reformation. The spirit of democracy, which is fast spreading throughout India and the rest of the world, will, without a shadow of doubt, purge the institution of the idea of predominance and subordination. The spirit of democracy is not a mechanical thing to be adjusted by abolition of forms. It requires change of the heart. If caste is a bar to the spread of that spirit, the existence of five religions in India—Hinduism, Islam, Christianity, Zoroastrianism, and Judaism—is equally a bar. The spirit of democracy requires the inculcation of the spirit of brotherhood, and I can find no difficulty in considering a Christian or a Mohammedan to be my brother in absolutely the same sense as a blood brother, and Hinduism that is responsible for the doctrine of the caste is also responsible for the inculcation of the essential brotherhood, not merely of man but even of all that lives.

One of my correspondents suggests that we should abolish the caste [system] but adopt the class system of Europe—meaning thereby I suppose that the idea of heredity in caste should be rejected. I am inclined to think that the law of heredity is an eternal law and any attempt to alter that law must lead us, as it has before led, to utter confusion. I can see very great use in considering a Brahmin to be always a Brahmin throughout his life. If he does not behave himself like a Brahmin, he will naturally cease to command the respect that is due to the real Brahmin. It is easy to imagine the innumerable difficulties if one were to set up a court of punishments and rewards, degradation and promotion. If Hindus believe, as they must believe, in reincarnation, transmigration, they must know that nature will, without any possibility of mistake, adjust the balance by degrading a Brahmin, if he misbehaves himself, by reincarnating him in a lower division, and translating one who lives the life of a Brahmin in his present incarnation to Brahminhood in his next.

[1] As between Brahmins and non-Brahmins

Interdrinking, interdining, intermarrying, I hold, are not essential for the promotion of the spirit of democracy. I do not contemplate under a most democratic constitution a universality of manners and customs about eating, drinking and marrying. We shall ever have to seek unity in diversity, and I decline to consider it a sin for a man not to drink or eat with anybody and everybody. In Hinduism, children of brothers may not intermarry. The prohibition does not interfere with cordiality of relations; probably it promotes healthiness of relationships. In *Vaishnava* households I have known mothers not dining in the common kitchen, nor drinking from the same pot, without their becoming exclusive, arrogant or less loving. These are disciplinary restraints which are not in themselves bad. Carried to ridiculous extremes they may become harmful, and if the motive is one of arrogation, of superiority, the restraint becomes an indulgence, therefore hurtful. But as time goes forward and new necessities and occasions arise, the custom regarding interdrinking, interdining and intermarrying will require cautious modifications or rearrangement.

Thus whilst I am prepared to defend, as I have always done, the division of Hindus into four castes as I have so often said in these columns, I consider untouchability to be a heinous crime against humanity. It is not a sign of self-restraint but an arrogant assumption of superiority. It has served no useful purpose and it has suppressed, as nothing else in Hinduism has, vast numbers of the human race who are not only every bit as good as ourselves, but are rendering in many walks of life an essential service to the country. It is a sin of which the sooner Hinduism purges itself the better it is for itself, if it is to be recognized as an honourable and elevating religion. I know no argument in favour of its retention and I have no hesitation in rejecting scriptural authority of a doubtful character in order to support a sinful institution. Indeed I would reject all authority if it is in conflict with sober reason or the dictates of the heart. Authority sustains and ennobles the weak when it is the handiwork of reason but it degrades them when it supplants reason sanctified by the still small voice within.

Young India, 8-12-1920

58. *SPEECH AT MUZAFFARPUR*[1]

December 8, 1920

MR. PRESIDENT AND BROTHERS,

You will kindly excuse me as I am unable to deliver my lecture standing. Most of you must have known me and seen me at Muzaffarpur a few years back. Muzaffarpur, Tirhut, or Champaran is not a new place for me. I have become known through my activities in Champaran[2] but the task I have undertaken now is much more important and difficult than the Champaran affair. You all know how very unrighteous and oppressive is our Government. Our Congress, our Muslim League and our Sikh League have already shown us the way by which we can set the Government right. If we are really desirous of getting rid of the *rakshasi* Government then non-co-operation is the only weapon left to us. It is neither our dharma to draw the sword, nor are the times and circumstances favourable for it. It is admitted on all hands that we can neither win swaraj nor save Islam nor force justice for the Punjab nor get rid of the tyrannous Government by sword. Both Hindus and Mohammedans are unanimous on the point that non-co-operation is their last resource. The Government has robbed us of our wealth through trade, of our respect through Punjab and of our religion through endangering Khilafat. If we admit all this then there is no other alternative open to us than to refuse to offer to, and receive help from, the Government. We have already decided in our Congress that we should not seek justice in Government law courts.

We cannot make our children righteous in schools controlled by unrighteous men. We cannot free our children from slavery by sending them to slave schools. If my Hindu brethren think that the present oppressive Government is like *Ravanarajya* then they must withdraw their children from schools controlled by the Government today. We don't want to send our men to the Council[3] because we know we cannot get justice for the Punjab or Islam through them. The Government may fill the Councils with Englishmen but we ourselves cannot tighten the chains of our slavery

[1] Town in Bihar

[2] Gandhiji led a satyagraha campaign in favour of the indigo labourers in Champaran in 1917; *vide* Vol. XIII.

[3] Legislative Council

by going to the Councils. It is immaterial if we can get some small favourable Acts passed or even if we secure the release of the imprisoned men, until and unless we get swaraj, secure justice for the Punjab and have a settlement of the Khilafat question. Our object is not gained even if all the prisoners in the Andaman Islands[1] are let off. We should not enlist ourselves in recruitments. We must use swadeshi articles. Every house must be supplied with the charkha. In it lies our swaraj, in it lies our duty and through it we can save Islam from danger. If we 30 crores of Indians say with one voice that we cannot use even a single foreign article then there will be no reason why the English people should stay here in India any longer. Swadeshi is a dharma wherein lies simplicity which can keep off our hunger and want, which can bring down the price of cloth. If the prices of cloth should go down you must take a vow of swadeshism. Hindus and Mussulmans should live in mutual friendship and amity. The Hindus cannot protect cows by killing Mohammedans. If the Hindus are really serious about the protection of cows they must sacrifice themselves for Islam. You must keep your conscience clear. You had never got such opportunities in the past hundred years. Today Hindus and Mussulmans have united together. I don't wish to say that the Mogul emperors were not tyrants but the oppression practised by the present Government beats all past records. If Islam is in danger today where is the guarantee that Kashi[2] and Prayag[3] will not be in jeopardy tomorrow. Hypocrites are never trustworthy. We can't say when our Government will deceive us. We can never depend on the Government but we must have confidence in ourselves. So long as there is discord amongst ourselves, so long as we are slaves to anger, so long as we thirst for the blood of the English, so long we cannot free India. I want three things: unity among Hindus and Mussulmans; restraint of anger; non-violent non-co-operation.

The Searchlight, 17-12-1920

[1] A penal settlement for convicts sentenced to life imprisonment

[2] & [3] Banaras and Allahabad respectively, holy centres of pilgrimage for the Hindus

59. SPEECH AT BETTIAH[1]

December 8, 1920

I am not a stranger to Champaran. Whenever I come here, I feel that, of all places in the country, this is my birth-place and suffer at the thought of people's suffering here. Though I am here after two years, I assure you that I have not forgotten your sufferings during this period. Champaran's suffering, which is my suffering, is always in my mind and I have also, from time to time, done something for its relief. But what I can do is bound to be less than what you yourselves can do. Today, therefore, I want to tell you how you can help yourselves.

I toured some villages today. What I had heard had already made me unhappy but, seeing for myself what had happened, I felt grieved beyond measure. In this case, I cannot blame the Government for the cruel things which were done, nor the planters. I blame our police officers, their subordinates and the village people themselves. However, we have no desire to take them to courts and see them punished. We want them to be their own judges. The police are our own brethren and it is their duty to protect the people, not to oppress them. When I heard that the sub-inspectors of this place and other policemen had gone to the villages and done cruel things to the people, I was extremely pained. Perhaps they will not admit having done such things but all that the village people narrated could not be false. It is the duty of the well-placed among us to reason with members of the police force. I want to tell the policemen who are present here: 'You are my brethren and of the villagers as well and, therefore, if the Government asks you to do wicked things, you ought not to obey. If you, too, regard us as your brethren, you would work to serve us and not harass us. If you are servants of the Government, the latter is our servant and, therefore, it is none of your duty to obey it if it asks you to do wicked things.' In the present case, however, the Government had not ordered the police to plunder the people's dwellings or get any men from the village to do so, nor to molest women. It is, therefore, not to blame for what the police did; the latter misbehaved on their own. The remedy for this is for respectable men to go to the police and plead with

[1] Extracted from Mahadev Desai's account of Gandhiji's tour

them that their red turban is for the protection of the people, not for their oppression; to request them to return the plundered goods and tell them that they should look upon the village people, too, as their own kith and kin and win their confidence.

While I am suggesting a remedy for preventing such atrocities, let me also say that, besides reasoning with the police, there is another way, too. I have been telling people that satyagraha is a sovereign remedy for all ills. I have been showing a way of ending this rule, one which is peaceful, however. Though employing a peaceful remedy, I do not wish, at the same time, that people in the country should become cowards, should be wholly dependent on others and lose the strength even to protect women. Do you know what the village people showed me and what things they narrated to me? . . .[1] What did they show to the robbers? Their heels. I asked myself whether the people of India had become so cowardly that they could not even protect their property and their womenfolk. Do we lack even the strength to defend ourselves against robbers? Is it satyagraha to run away and leave the thief to do his work? If, voluntarily, you let the robber take away your possessions, that would be another matter. If you will not have this, you may reason with him; you may even fight him if he refuses to see reason. If the police turn to terrorism and you come forward to lay down your lives before them, I would say that you are satyagrahis, that you are brave. If, instead, you merely look on while you are being dishonoured—rather than this it would be far better that you should fight and drive them back. Satyagraha does not mean running away, leaving women helpless, or looking on while they are being stripped naked. I ask those among you in this meeting, with these long sticks in your hands, do you think this is satyagraha? Our dharma does not teach us to be cowards, to submit to tyranny. What it teaches is that, instead of taking the life of the tyrant, it is much better to lay down one's own. If we could do this, we would be as gods; should we, however, run away from the scene of oppression, we would have behaved worse than beasts. From the animal state, we have risen to the human state. Animal functions are with man from the moment of birth; he grows into the distinctively human state as his reason develops. As we do so, we cease relying on mere animal strength and learn to trust more and more to soul-force. When, however, we are threatened by anyone employing brute force, let

[1] Here Mahadev Desai has omitted a part of the speech, referring the reader to his own account of the incidents earlier in the despatch.

alone standing up to him with soul-force, if we actually run away from him, we would be neither beasts nor men. We would be simply cowards. Look at the dog; he does not employ satyagraha, but he does not run away either. He barks at the person threatening him, that is, fights back. If the people of India cannot display their humanity, they can certainly show evidence, at any rate, that they are animals. Henceforth, I don't want to be told that a hundred young and sturdy men ran away from where they were standing the moment they saw some constables approach. I would praise you if I heard that you stood your ground and laid down your lives. I would praise you even if I heard that you fought them hard. Someone will perhaps ask me: 'What can we do if the police seize us and drag us away?' I reply: 'It would be better for you to die than to have your life spared in this way. Even the Government permits you to employ force in defence of your life and property.' The law permits this very clearly. Hereafter, every inhabitant of Champaran will fight back on such occasions and kill or be killed. I cannot bear to hear what I heard today.

But understand me aright. I am not advising you to be ready to kill on every occasion. If you offer to fight policemen who may approach you with a warrant, that would be cowardice on your part. If a solitary policeman, wanting to serve an order, comes up to us where we are standing, fifty of us together, we could certainly kill him; what is there specially to marvel at in this? Our manliness consists, rather, in obeying the order. The policeman's duty is only to effect the arrest. Even if his warrant is bad, it is not right for us to force the constable to free the arrested man. Even if, while effecting the arrest, he should beat or abuse you, that, too, you should bear. If, however, he enters your home, tries to seize your cattle or your money, you should certainly resist and fight back with your stick—that is, if you are not ready to lay down your own life instead. I shall mention one more restriction. If I advise you to fight back on such occasions, I do not mean that you should kill a thief who may enter your home. Even war has its law. Dharma does not permit drawing a sword against a stick; to employ a fist when attacked with a stick is dharma. It is not dharma, but cowardice, to attack one man with an army of fifty. By drawing a sword against a stick, by fifty of us attacking one man, we have shown ourselves to be cowards.

I am afraid you may put my advice to wrong use. I want the sober among you who are present here to repeat to the others time and again what I have said. If I did not tell you what I felt today after I had seen what had happened, I thought I would

be guilty of *adharma* and would be leaving this place without having done my duty. I want that you should not be timid, should never behave as cowards, and yet not take anyone's life.

Certainly, the Government made one mistake. It tried to intimidate the volunteers who went there, and to cajole them. But do not be intimidated. The volunteers, too, have a difficult duty before them. They will have to go on working fearlessly and with patience.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 22-12-1920

60. SPEECH AT BETTIAH GOSHALA[1]

December 8, 1920

Cow-protection is the outward form of Hinduism. I refuse to call anyone a Hindu if he is not willing to lay down his life in this cause. It is dearer to me than my very life. If cow-slaughter were for the Muslims a religious duty, like saying *namaz*[2], I would have had to tell them that I must fight against them. But it is not a religious duty for them. We have made it one by our attitude to them.

What is really needed for protecting the cow is that the Hindus themselves should care for her, since they, too, kill her. The barbaric practice of blowing for extracting milk to the last drop, of tormenting oxen, which are the progeny of the cow, by using the goad, and of making them draw loads beyond their strength —these things amount to killing the cow. If we are serious about cow-protection, we must put our own house in order.

Whereas Muslims slaughter cows only occasionally for beef, the English cannot do without it for a single day. But we submit to them as slaves. We like the schools and courts of a Government which does not honour our religion. It is not as if I noticed this thing today for the first time. But previously I used to tolerate their eating beef, for I cherished the hope that they would do us some good. Now the hope is gone and hence I have declared non-co-operation against them. At such a time if we care for cow-protection, we should unconditionally help the Muslims. I

[1] An institution for the care of infirm and disabled cows. The *goshala* was founded by Gandhiji in 1917 during his stay in Bihar in connection with the Champaran satyagraha.

[2] Prayers

am with Shaukat Ali day and night but I do not say to him a word about cow-protection, for at present our duty is only to help the Muslims. For this, I am ready today to sacrifice my sons, my wife and my friends. We cannot protect the cow while remaining enamoured of the Government. But by non-co-operating with it, you may even succeed in melting the hearts of Muslims.

Goshalas of this kind cannot protect the cow. Real *goshalas* should supply fresh milk to the towns. This will be possible only when they have thousands of milch cows and thousands of *bighas*[1] of land. Only when we look after cows with the utmost care, shall we raise *kamadhenus*[2] from among them. Then alone will the misery, the hunger, the nakedness and the spiritual abjectness of the country disappear. What I have said has come of itself. Never before have I spoken so earnestly about cow-protection. Protect mother cow, and mother cow will protect you.

[From Gujarati]

Mahadevbhaini Diary, Vol. V

61. SPEECH AT MOTIHARI[3]

December 9, 1920

Mahatmaji addressed the meeting sitting on a chair and exhorted the people to join the non-co-operation movement whole-heartedly if they wanted to be freed from the present condition of slavery and inhuman indignities at the hands of the bureaucracy. He explained to the people their clear duty to treat one another as brothers. He also explained to the police their duty and reminded that they were meant to protect the people and not to molest them. If they failed in it he dared say that they should take shelter elsewhere. He referred to the recent looting in the village under the jurisdiction of Lawria *thana*[4] and expressed his regret at the action of the police there. Maulana Shaukat Ali also exhorted the people to adopt non-co-operation with great force and spoke on the desirability of Hindu-Muslim unity. He thanked the Hindus for standing by the side of the Mussulmans in the Khilafat question and said that his first action would be to stop cattle slaughter altogether from this country.

The Searchlight, 22-12-1920

[1] A measure of land

[2] *Kamadhenu* is a mythical cow fabled to yield whatever is asked of her.

[3] Town in Bihar

[4] Police station

62. *LETTER TO SARALADEVI CHOWDHARANI*

ON WAY TO BHAGALPUR,
December 11, 1920

I had two letters from you, one a scrap, the other a longish letter which shows that you do not understand my language or my thoughts. I have certainly not betrayed any annoyance over your complex nature, but I have remarked upon it. If a person is born with a deformation [*sic*] one may not quarrel with nature for it, but one may pardonably take note of it and try to remove it. And that is what I have done. I refuse to call an indefinable complexity a piece of art. All art yields to patient analysis and shows a unity of design behind the diversity on the canvas. You are hugging your defects even when they are pointed out by a friend in a friendly manner. I do not feel vexed but it makes my task of helping difficult. What art can there be in moods, in fits and starts? The simplest natures are certainly complex in a sense. But they are easily analysed. But they are called simple because they are easily understandable and readily yield to treatment. But I do not want to quarrel with you. In you I have an enigma to solve. I shall not be impatient. Only bear with me whenever I try to point [out] what to me appear to be your obvious limitations. We all have them. It is the privilege of friendship to lay the gentle finger on the weak spots. Friendship becomes a divine institution only when it educates friends. Let us try to elevate each other.

I await with interest your letter on *shuddhi*[1].

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary. Courtesy: Narayan Desai

[1] Literally, purification

63. *LETTER TO DWIJENDRANATH TAGORE*

ON WAY TO BHAGALPUR,
December 11, 1920

MY DEAR BARODADA,

Your letter was a consolation to me. Your approval[1] I count as a blessing. I am in Calcutta on the 13th and in Dacca on the 14th. May you live to see swaraj established in India.

Yours,
M. K. G.

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary. Courtesy: Narayan Desai

64. *SPEECH ON NON-CO-OPERATION, MONGHYR*[2]

December 11, 1920

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,

I am too weak to stand and deliver my address. My friend, Mr. Sri Krishna Singh, has told you that last year when the coolies of Jamalpur were on strike he came over to see me at Ahmedabad and requested me to come to Jamalpur. But I was engaged in some other important work and so failed to comply with his request. I say frankly I like the occupation of a *kisan* more than I like the profession of a barrister. To my heart a labourer has a higher place than a pleader. Last year when I heard of the distress of the coolies of Jamalpur, I was sorely aggrieved, but on account of my preoccupation with some other work I pleaded my inability to come. Today I am much pleased to meet you all, especially the coolies of Jamalpur. Your gathering today is very large and I fear my voice will not reach each and every one of you. So I shall be very brief in my say. It is the duty of every Indian, whether he be Hindu or Mohammedan, Arab or Afghan, male or female, to think deeply over the present condition of India—to analyse minutely the situation. It is also the duty of every one of you to devise ways and methods for the weeding out of the present-day evils. The Government has dis-

[1] Of the non-co-operation programme in the field of education

[2] This was delivered at a meeting held under the presidentship of Shah Umar.

appointed seven crores of our Muslim brethren. It has broken its pledge to Turkey and has practically dismembered it.[1] This Government has forced our brothers in the Punjab to crawl on their bellies and has offered sundry other unthinkable humiliations to them. It has caused our students, even infants of six or seven years of age to walk sixteen miles a day in the noon-day scorching sun four times to salute the Union Jack—in consequence of which some of the tender boys gave up their ghosts.[2] This Government has massacred 1,500 innocent men in the Punjab and now tells us to forget it. It says that it has no hand in the destiny of the Khilafat. I ask you never to bow down, never to salute this Government. I ask you not to participate in the actions of the Government. We can remove Satan only by forsaking its company. If we admit that this Government has inculcated Satanic elements in us, then I say it is our duty to forsake it. If this Government does not confess its blunders, if this Government does not give out to the world that the way in which the Punjab and the Khilafat affairs have been disposed of is wrong, if the Government does not repent of its misdeeds and beg pardon for them, we shall know no rest. We can remove the Satanic Government by two means: one, by means of the sword, and the other, by means of non-co-operation. The greybeards of the Hindus and Mussulmans have come to the decision that we cannot succeed if we unsheathe our swords. If we once do so, instead of bringing the Government to its knees we ourselves shall be no more and all wrongs and atrocities that have been perpetrated will go unrevenged. But if we adopt non-violent non-co-operation, we are bound to succeed. If you admit that we should bid adieu to Satan, then we should seek the help and favour of God, as has been enjoined on us by the Koran, the *Gita* and Tulsidas. We should see that we do not grow angry with anyone, see that we do not abuse any Englishmen, nor like to cut their throats. We don't want to show contempt to any Khan Bahadur who does not renounce his title, we don't want to abuse a pleader who does not suspend his practice. We don't want to coerce any student who does not leave his college or school. The only thing that we want is that if they do not accede to our requests we should non-co-operate with them. Neither should we help them in any way nor should we receive help from them. It will not harm anybody. God will come to our help and realize the extent of our misery.

[1] *Vide* Vol. XVII, pp. 409-13, and Appendix I.
[2] *Vide* Vol. XVII, pp. 209, 236, 239 & 252-3.

I have asked you all to non-co-operate, but I ask you all to co-operate with yourselves. Hindus and Mohammedans should live in unity; they are the sons of a common mother. The Hindus should stick to their own religion and so should the Mohammedans. But there seems no reason to me why they should fall out with one another. We should offer our heads for the sacrifice at a time when the religion of our seven crore Muslim brethren is at stake. If you keep away wrath and apply yourself whole-heartedly to non-co-operation, I assure you that you shall have swaraj, undo the Punjab wrongs and wrest away Mesopotamia, Thrace and other places[1] within one year. There are six items in the non-co-operation movement. First, the renunciation of titles, etc.; secondly, withdrawal from schools and colleges—those students who are above sixteen years of age should ask leave of their parents to leave college and school; if they do, well and good; if they do not, they should leave college and school of their own accord; thirdly, suspension of practice by pleaders and decision of cases in arbitration courts; fourthly, boycott of Councils and of persons who have entered Councils; fifthly, use of swadeshi goods and cloth. We should prepare more cloth with the help of the charkha as the cloth turned out by Indian mills is not sufficient to meet Indian demands.

At this stage there was great noise. Proceeding further Mahatmaji said:

If we do all the things enumerated earlier, we shall have swaraj very soon. But so long as this kind of uproar will continue, it will be difficult to transact any business. So long as we are uneducated we cannot manage.

Thereafter he gave some advice to volunteers and asked them to collect money for N.C.O.[2] funds. A decent amount was paid on the spot. Mahatmaji spoke for another 20 minutes.

The Searchlight, 19-12-1920

[1] Which were formerly ruled by the Sultan of Turkey, the Khalifa of Islam

[2] Non-co-operation

65. *TELEGRAM TO M. ASAF ALI*[1]

[On or after *December 11, 1920*][2]

ORDER DISBANDMENT MUST BE OBEYED. NO LAWYERS CAN BE ENGAGED FOR DEFENCE.

From a photostat: S.N. 7376

66. *"VAISHNAVAS" AND "ANTYAJAS"*

I drew attention to the virtues of the true *Vaishnava* which Narasinh Mehta, the great *Vaishnava*, has sung of in his poem, and I expressed my pain at the comments on my talk with Maharajshri.[3]

I saw in them, not an attempt to determine the meaning of dharma, but only *duragraha* and attacks on me. May it not be said that I, too, am guilty of *duragraha* and attack others? Certainly, it may. It will be for the reader to judge whether this is true or not. At the very beginning of our talk, Maharajshri told me that, in the interpretation of shastra, reason had no scope. That itself pained me. In my view, that which reason cannot understand and which the heart does not accept can be no shastra, and I think that anyone who wants to follow dharma in its purity cannot but admit this principle. If we do not do this, we shall run the risk of violating our dharma. I have heard the *Gita* being interpreted to the effect that, if any of our relations are wicked, we may use force to reduce them to submission; indeed, that it is our dharma to do so. Because Rama killed Ravana, is it dharma to kill a person whom we regard as

[1] 1888-1953; barrister and nationalist Muslim politician; took a leading part in the Khilafat movement.

This telegram was sent in reply to Asaf Ali's telegram of December 10, 1920, which read: "Your Khilafat workers falsely charged with offering indignity to human corpse. Supposed complainant notified authorities unwillingness to prosecute but authorities appear obdurate as case cognizable. Since complaint originally filed by individual we are anxious to know whether we should advise accused to defend their honour against unscrupulous false allegations. May we disobey Government's order to disband volunteer corps." *Vide* also "Notes", 22-12-1920.

[2] Asaf Ali's telegram was received by Gandhiji on December 11, 1920.

[3] *Vide* "To *Vaishnavas*", 5-12-1920.

Ravana? The *Manusmriti*[1] permits the eating of meat; is a *Vaishnava* free, therefore, to eat meat? I have had it from the lips of *shastris*[2] and men claiming to be sannyasis that, when ill, one may take even beef. Where would I have been if, accepting all these interpretations of the shastras, I had gone about destroying my relatives, had advised the killing of the British and eaten beef in my illness? On such occasions, I was saved because I accepted only that as dharma which my reason and my heart accepted as such, and I advise everyone to do the same.

For this reason, holy men of *tapashcharya* have told us that those who study the Vedas but do not follow dharma in conduct are mere pedants; that they neither swim across themselves, nor help others to do so. So it is that I am never impressed by those who have the Vedas on their lips or have got the commentaries by heart and, instead of marvelling at their learning, cherish my little knowledge as of greater value.

These being my views, I was pained when Maharajshri enunciated the principle for determining the meaning of shastra, but I was also pleased by his frankness. Though he held, thus, that the shastras were against me, his decision finally was that it would not be justice to exclude *Antyajas* from schools which were open to Muslims, Parsis, Christians, Jews and others. *Vaishnavas*, who give money for innumerable worldly activities and spend it even in gambling and similar things, could not take cover behind objections on religious grounds and refuse donations to national schools which admit *Antyajas* along with others. If they do not wish to send their children to schools attended by *Antyajas*, they should be under no pressure to do so. This was the pragmatic decision which Maharajshri gave.

However, the arguments of the *shastris* who surrounded Maharajshri made my heart sink. I saw no frankness in them, but only an obstinate clinging to their views. Shastri Vasantram has given us a sample of this in *Gujarati*.[3]

I wish respectfully to tell him and the editor of *Gujarati* that a public worker's duty is not to follow the popular current but, should its direction be wrong, to lead it in the right direction.

I do not know the shastras, have no experience, am obstinate —by asserting all this I cannot be disqualified from being a *Vaishnava*. So long as I hold that the test of being a *Vaishnava* lies in

[1] The Laws of Manu, the Hindu law-giver

[2] Men learned in the shastras

[3] In his article "Gujarat Vidyapith and *Antyajas*", published in *Gujarati*, 21-11-1920

moral conduct and not in debating or the gift of clever speech or in determining the meaning of the shastras, I do not wish to give up my claim [of being a *Vaishnava*].

To say that looking upon the practice of untouchability as sin is a Western idea is to make out a sin to be a virtue. Akha Bhagat[1] had had no Western education, but it was he who said in a poem, "Like a superfluous limb is this notion of defilement by touch". It is sheer fanaticism, and will lead to the degradation of dharma, to look upon efforts at eradicating our evils as deriving their inspiration from other religions and to cling on to those evils.

It has been argued that the practice of untouchability implies no contempt; the British put forward a similar argument in regard to their attitude to us. If they keep us away, call us "natives", they mean no contempt [they say]. If they force us to occupy separate compartments in trains, it is entirely for "convenience of hygiene" and there is no ill will in the procedure—such is their claim. I have seen *Vaishnavas* abusing and beating up *Antyajas* who happened to touch them unintentionally. It is sheer hypocrisy, or sin rather, to describe such conduct as dharma. There is arrogance in ordering *Antyajas* to turn their faces to the wall when a Brahmin is out in the street. It is baseness to offer them the remains on our plates or things which have become rotten. Such conduct has its source in the practice of untouchability.

I simply do not understand the contention that bathing and putting on clean clothes will not cleanse an *Antyaja*. Is it that an *Antyaja* carries filth in his heart, or that he was not born a human being? Are *Antyajas* lower even than animals?

I have seen a number of *Antyajas* who were of an open frank heart, were upright, were men of knowledge and lovers of God. I look upon such *Antyajas* as worthy of all reverence.

I can understand refusal to touch an *Antyaja* who is dirty or who has not bathed after carrying night-soil. But it is the very limit of *adharma* to refuse to touch *Antyajas* however clean. I have seen many who were not *Antyajas* but were extremely dirty. There are many Christians among those who carry night-soil. It is part of a physician's duty to help remove stools. We do not consider contact with these as sinful. But we despise our physicians who hold no degrees, committing a sin thereby and bringing a bad name to the *Vaishnava* dharma.

[1] Mystic poet of the seventeenth century, famed for his satire; vedantin and rationalist

It seems, rather, that Shastri Vasantram and the editor of *Gujarati* have identified the practice of untouchability with *varnashram*. In my humble opinion, the latter is dharma, unalterable, universal and in harmony with Nature, as also a social arrangement; it is a pure outward form of Hinduism.

The practice of untouchability is a blot on Hinduism; it was probably introduced as a temporary expedient, during the period of decline. It is based on no principle of universal application and has no support in the shastras. The verses which are cited in justification of it are interpolations; or, at any rate, there are differences of opinion about their meaning. There are no statements by *Vaishnavas* describing the practice of untouchability to be a part of dharma. It is disappearing day by day. It is not observed in trains, Government schools, centres of pilgrimage and courts. In mills and other big factories, people touch *Antyajas* with the utmost freedom. My request to *Vaishnavas* is that this contact with the *Antyajas* which in any case they tolerate, though looking upon it as sinful, they should accept deliberately and as an act of virtue. The *Gita* says the same thing: "To the man who looks on all with an equal eye, a Brahmin, a dog and an *Antyaja*—all are the same."[1] 'Narsainyo' says in his poem that a *Vaishnava* should have the same eye for all. *Vaishnavas* cannot claim that they can maintain this attitude to *Antyajas* though looking upon them as people with whom all contact is forbidden.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 12-12-1920

67. *SPEECH AT BHAGALPUR*

December 12, 1920

Mahatma Gandhi, addressing the audience, said that Satan could not be defeated by Satanic arts. It was God only that could overcome Satan and the Satanic Government must therefore be overcome by truth and right. He then said that the people could not make progress by adopting the English mode of life. The Hindu *rishis* did not have any chairs and taught under the trees. The Mohammedan fakirs too, who were the real cause of Mohammedan progress, did not sit on chairs but lived in the jungles.

The Mahatma then said that it was not he that was the cause of the Indian awakening; it was the realization by the people that they were in bondage. The Government was subduing the people, not by aeroplanes but

[1] *Bhagavad Gita*, V, 18

through titles, the Councils, the courts and the schools. If they wanted to be free they must adopt the methods adopted by the Boers, of which he had personal experience.[1] The Boer women did not allow their boys to attend British schools and showed a courage which was wanting in the Indian people. The people therefore should non-co-operate with the Government.

He said that in ancient India the women spun thread and cloths were woven from them. The people should revive the old system now.

Speaking on Hindu-Muslim unity, the Mahatma said that there should be no bargaining on this account. Instead of being Banias in this respect they should be noble-hearted like the Brahmins and the Kshatriyas. Truth was its own reward. There should not, therefore, be any conditional unity. Nor should there be any distrust or fear in any community that the other might become very powerful in the future.

The Mahatma then spoke on the evils of drinking and said that during British rule the number of madrassas had decreased while that of wine shops had increased. People should abstain from drinking wine as also from indulging in co-operation with the Government, which also was like an intoxicating habit. Drunkards could not attain swaraj, nor could the children of a slave people learn liberty in the school of their masters.

The Searchlight, 17-12-1920

68. *SPEECH AT OPENING OF NATIONAL MADRASSA, CALCUTTA*[2]

December 13, 1920

Mr. Gandhi said that he had much pleasure in opening the National Madrassa. He desired that they should have a common language, preferably Hindustani, through the medium of which instruction should be given. He had, however, no objection to their opening the Arabic, Persian, Sanskrit and English departments for those who were keen in these respective choices. He was glad to hear that as many as 120 students had taken admission and he hoped that by joining institutions like this they would turn out good, honest and truthful students. They [the founders] would not be able to compete with the Government in constructing spacious buildings but surely they could give better instruction in their humble house. Swaraj could not be attained unless they knew how to manage their institutions and turned out good citizens.

Amrita Bazar Patrika, 14-12-1920

[1] In South Africa

[2] The Madrassa was founded by a committee headed by Abul Kalam Azad.

69. SPEECH ON NON-CO-OPERATION, CALCUTTA[1]

December 13, 1920

The very fact that so many of you cannot understand Hindi, which is bound to be the national medium of expression throughout Hindustan in gatherings of Indians belonging to different parts of the land, shows the depth of the degradation to which we have sunk, and points to the supreme necessity of the Non-co-operation Movement which is intended to lift us out of that condition. This Government has been instrumental in degrading this great nation in various ways, and it is impossible to be free from it without co-operation amongst ourselves which is in turn impossible without a national medium of expression.

But I am not here today to plead for that medium. I am to plead for the acceptance by the country of the programme of non-violent, progressive non-co-operation. Now all the words that I have used here are absolutely necessary and the two adjectives 'progressive' and 'non-violent' are integral parts of a whole. With me non-violence is part of my religion, a matter of creed. But with the great number of Mussulmans non-violence is a policy; with thousands, if not millions of Hindus, it is equally a matter of policy. But whether it is a creed or a policy, it is utterly impossible for you to finish the programme for the enfranchisement of the millions of India without recognizing the necessity and the value of non-violence. Violence may for a moment avail to secure a certain measure of success but it cannot in the long run achieve any appreciable result. On the other hand all violence would prove destructive to the honour and self-respect of the nation. The blue-books issued by the Government of India show that inasmuch as we have used violence, military expenditure has gone up, not proportionately but in geometrical progression. The bonds of our slavery have been forged all the stronger for our having offered violence. And the whole history of British rule in India is a demonstration of the fact that we have never been able to offer successful violence. Whilst therefore I say that rather than have the yoke of a Government that has so emasculated us, I would welcome violence, I would urge with all

[1] Delivered at a mass meeting held at Kumartoli Park under the presidentship of Syam Sundar Chakravarty, editor of the *Servant*

the emphasis that I can command that India will never be able to regain her own by methods of violence.

Lord Ronaldshay, who has done me the honour of reading my booklet on Home Rule,[1] has warned my countrymen against engaging themselves in a struggle for a swaraj such as is described in that booklet. Now though I do not want to withdraw a single word of it, I would say to you on this occasion that I do not ask India to follow out today the methods prescribed in my booklet. If they could do that they would have Home Rule not in a year but in a day, and India by realizing that ideal wants to acquire an ascendency over the rest of the world. But it must remain a day-dream more or less for the time being. What I am doing today is that I am giving the country a practicable[2] programme not for the abolition of law-courts, posts, telegraphs and of railways but for the attainment of parliamentary swaraj. I am telling you that so long as we do not isolate ourselves from this Government, we are co-operating with it through schools, law-courts and Councils, through service, civil and military, and payment of taxes and foreign trade.

The moment this fact is realized and non-co-operation is effected, this Government must totter and fall to pieces. If I knew that the masses were prepared for the whole programme at once, I would not delay in putting it at once to work. It is not possible, at the present moment, to prevent the masses from bursting out into wrath against those who come to execute the law; it is not possible that the military would lay down their arms without the slightest violence. If that were possible today, I would propose all the stages of non-co-operation to be worked simultaneously. But we have not secured that control over the masses; we have uselessly frittered away precious years of the nation's life in mastering a language which we need least for winning our liberty; we have frittered away all those years in learning liberty from Milton and Shakespeare, in deriving inspiration from the pages of Mill, whilst liberty could be learnt at our doors. We have thus succeeded in isolating ourselves from the masses; we have been westernized. We have failed these 35 years to utilize our education in order to permeate the masses. We have sat upon the pedestal and from there delivered harangues to them in a language they do not understand and we see today that we are unable to conduct large gatherings in a disciplined manner. And discipline

[1] *Vide* "Notes", 8-12-1920.

[2] The source has "pardonable" here.

is the essence of success. Here is therefore one reason why I have introduced the word 'progressive' in the non-co-operation resolution[1]. Without any impertinence I may say that I understand the mass mind better than anyone amongst the educated Indians. I contend that the masses are not ready for suspension of payment of taxes. They have not yet learnt sufficient self-control. If I was sure of non-violence on their part I would ask them to suspend payment today and not waste a single moment of the nation's time. With me the liberty of India has become a passion. Liberty of Islam is as dear to me. I would not therefore delay a moment if I found that the whole of the programme could be enforced at once.

It grieves me to miss the faces of dear and revered leaders in this assembly. We miss here the trumpet voice of Surendranath Banerji[2], who has rendered inestimable service to the country. And though we stand as poles asunder today, though we may have sharp differences with him,[3] we must express them with becoming restraint. I do not ask you to give up a single iota of principle. I urge non-violence in language and in deed. If non-violence is essential in our dealings with the Government, it is more essential in our dealings with our leaders. And it grieves me deeply to hear of recent instances of violence reported to have been used in East Bengal against our own people. I was pained to hear that the ears of a man who had voted at the recent elections had been cut [off] and night-soil had been thrown into the bed of a man who had stood as a candidate. Non-co-operation is never going to succeed in this way. It will not succeed unless we create an atmosphere of perfect freedom, unless we prize our opponents' liberty as much as our own. The liberty of faith, conscience, thought and action which we claim for ourselves must be conceded equally to others. Non-co-operation is a process of purification and we must continually try to touch the hearts of those who differ from us, touch their minds and their emotions, but never their bodies. Discipline and restraint are the cardinal principles of our conduct and I warn you against any

[1] Passed at the special session of the Congress held at Calcutta in September 1920

[2] Sir Surendranath Banerjea (1848-1925); eminent orator and politician; president of the Congress in 1895 and 1902; later joined the Liberal Party and became a Minister in the Government of Bengal under the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms

[3] Surendranath Banerjea was opposed to Gandhiji's non-co-operation programme.

sort of tyrannical social ostracism. I was deeply grieved therefore to hear of the insult offered to a dead body in Delhi and feel that if it was the action of non-co-operators they have disgraced themselves and their creed.[1] I repeat we cannot deliver our land through violence.

It was not a joke when I said on the Congress platform[2] that swaraj could be established in one year if there was sufficient response from the nation. Three months of this year are gone. If we are true to our salt, true to our nation, true to the songs we sing, if we are true to the *Bhagavad Gita* and the Koran, we would finish the programme in the remaining nine months and deliver Islam, the Punjab and India.

I have proposed a limited programme workable within one year, having especial regard to the educated classes. We seem to be labouring under the illusion that we cannot possibly live without Councils, law-courts and schools provided by the Government. The moment we are disillusioned we have swaraj. It is demoralizing both for the Government and the governed that a hundred thousand pilgrims[3] should dictate terms to a nation composed of three hundred millions. And how is it they can thus dictate terms? It is because we have been divided and they have ruled. I have never forgotten Hume's frank confession that the British Government was sustained by the policy of "Divide and Rule". Therefore it is that I have laid stress upon Hindu-Muslim unity as one of the most important essentials for the success of non-co-operation. But it should be no lip unity, nor bania unity; it should be a unity broad-based on a recognition of the heart. If we want to save Hinduism, I say, for God's sake do not seek to bargain with the Mussulmans. I have been going about with Maulana Shaukat Ali all these months, but I have not so much as whispered anything about the protection of the cow. My alliance with the Ali brothers is one of honour. I feel that I am on my honour, the whole of Hinduism is on its honour, and if it will not be found wanting, it will do its duty towards the Mussulmans of India. Any bargaining would be degrading to us. Light brings light, not darkness, and nobility done with a noble purpose will be twice rewarded. It will be God alone who can protect the cow. Ask me not today, 'What about the cow?' Ask me after Islam is vindicated through India. Ask the Rajas

[1] *Vide* footnote 1, p. 97.
[2] At Calcutta, in September 1920
[3] The British in India

what they do to entertain their English guests. Do they not provide beef and champagne for their guests? Persuade them first to stop cow-killing and then think of bargaining with Mussulmans. And how are we Hindus behaving ourselves towards the cow and her progeny? Do we treat her as our religion requires us? Not till we have set our own house in order and saved the cow from the Englishmen have we the right to plead on her behalf with the Mussulmans. And the best way of saving the cow from them is to give them unconditional help in their hour of trouble.

Similarly what do we owe to the Punjab? The whole of India was made to crawl on her belly inasmuch as a single Punjabi was made to crawl in that dirty lane in Amritsar; the whole womanhood of India was unveiled inasmuch as the innocent women of Manianwalla were unveiled by an insolent officer; and Indian childhood was dishonoured in that schoolchildren of tender age were made to walk four times a day to stated places within the Martial [Law] area in the Punjab and to salute the Union Jack, through the effect of which order two children, seven years old, died of sunstroke having been made to wait in the noonday sun.[1] In my opinion it is a sin to attend the schools and colleges conducted under the aegis of this Government so long as it has not purged itself of these crimes by proper repentance. We may not with any sense of self-respect plead before the courts of the Government when we remember that it was through the Punjab courts that innocent men were sentenced to be imprisoned and hanged. We become participators in the crime of the Government by voluntarily helping it or being helped by it.

The women of India have intuitively understood the spiritual nature of the struggle. Thousands have attended to listen to the message of non-violent non-co-operation and have given me their precious ornaments for the purpose of advancing the cause of swaraj. Is it any wonder if I believe in the possibility of gaining swaraj within a year after all these wonderful demonstrations? I would be guilty of want of faith in God if I underrated the significance of the response from the women of India. I hope that the students will do their duty. The country certainly expects the lawyers, who have hitherto led public agitation, to recognize the new awakening.

I have used strong language but I have done so with the greatest deliberation. I am not actuated by any feeling of revenge.

[1] The references here are to the Punjab disorders of 1919; *vide* Vol. XVII, pp. 114-292.

I do not consider Englishmen as my enemy. I recognize the worth of many. I enjoy the privilege of having many English friends, but I am a determined enemy of the English rule as conducted at present and if the power—*tapasya*[1]—of one man could destroy it, I would certainly destroy it, if it could not be mended. An Empire that stands for injustice and breach of faith does not deserve to stand if its custodians will not repent, and non-co-operation has been devised in order to enable the nation to compel justice.

I hope that Bengal will take her proper place in this movement of self-purification. Bengal began swadeshi and national education when the rest of India was sleeping.[2] I hope that Bengal will come to the front in this movement for gaining swaraj and gaining justice for the Khilafat and the Punjab through purification and self-sacrifice.

Young India, 22-12-1920

70. LETTER TO SARALADEVI CHOWDHARANI

CALCUTTA,
December 14, 1920

My love for you is not a task. It is one of the keenest pleasures of my life. It is based on faith in you, i.e., in your ultimate goodness. It will go only if I find you to be bad. My love is nothing if it does not draw the best out of you and make you better and purer than you are. And you must bear with me if in the process of helping you sometimes I seem to be rubbing you up the wrong way. Anyway, I am studying you and shall endeavour not to do so.

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary. Courtesy: Narayan Desai

[1] Penance generating spiritual strength

[2] This was in 1905 and 1906 when the popular agitation against the Government resolution for partition of Bengal was in full swing.

71. SPEECH AT STUDENTS' MEETING, CALCUTTA

December 14, 1920

Mahatma Gandhi began by addressing the audience as fellow-students as he thought that though he read in no college, whether national or affiliated to universities established under the aegis of the Government, every reasonable being ought to remain a student throughout his life. The president and the other two speakers who preceded him had told the audience to come to a final decision in the matter of withdrawal from schools and colleges that very evening. The speaker desired to disabuse their mind of any such idea. He desired that the students should not come to any decision that evening. He desired to appeal to their intellect and not to their emotions. Instead of wishing them to come to any decision that very evening, he wanted them to retire to their closets and be on their knees and then seek and follow the guidance of God. Mahatma Gandhi tried to make it clear that his message was not to those who did not believe in an Almighty Power Who guides all our steps.

Coming to the subject-matter of the present lecture, Mahatma Gandhi said that the task was no small one. They were face to face with a situation such as had never been faced probably at any time throughout the long period of British occupation. The British Government had stabbed Islam in the back. It was common knowledge that Mr. Lloyd George had made a solemn promise[1] to Indian Mussulmans, a promise which was repeated by him to Muslims generally and Indian Muslims in particular more than once, guaranteeing the integrity of the Turkish sovereignty. This promise Mr. Lloyd George has gone back upon and has dispossessed the Turkish Sultan of Constantinople, Thrace, Smyrna and all the fair lands of Asia Minor. It might be said by some that Constantinople was in the possession of the Turks but the speaker made bold to say that the Sultan was prisoner in Constantinople even in his own kingdom. His territory of Mesopotamia was in the hands of the British and Syria was in the occupation of the French. So long as this would remain unhealed, it would go on festering in the heart of Islam and if the Hindus wanted to do their duty by their Mussulman brothers, they ought to stand by the latter in their hour of trial. Similarly, the British Government had stabbed the heart of India through the Punjab and yet that Government was unrepentant and asked

[1] On January 5, 1918, Lloyd George had declared: "...Nor are we fighting to deprive Turkey of its capital or of the rich and renowned lands of Asia Minor and Thrace which are predominantly Turkish in race. We do not challenge the maintenance of the Turkish Empire in the homeland of the Turkish race with its capital at Constantinople."

India to forget the wrongs and pleaded helplessness in the matter of the Turkish treaty. The question before them now was whether the Indians could, consistently with their self-respect and dignity, continue to associate with a Government which was responsible for the Punjab atrocities and the Turkish treaty and under whose aegis innocent men had been killed.

It was for India to make her choice. The speaker freely confessed that if these two wrongs did not stir them, the whole case for non-co-operation would go. They could not retain their title to be called a nation if they continued to be associated with such a Government. They could not co-operate so long as these wrongs remained unrighted. Two courses were open to a people so distressed: either to draw the sword or to non-co-operate with the Government. The whole of India had admitted her powerlessness to draw the sword. With himself, the speaker said, to draw the sword was a sin, though with the majority of the Mohammedans and a considerable body of the Hindus, not to draw it was a matter of policy. It was a recognized fact that to draw the sword was an impossibility. What could we do then with a Government subduing 300 millions of men with one lakh of English soldiers?

Another question was how the Government held India under subjection. This Government, the speaker impressed upon the audience, would totter and fall to pieces immediately all co-operation was withdrawn. So long as we co-operated with the Government through the law-courts, Councils, and schools, which he called our three *mayas* or hallucinations, so long as we believed in our helplessness without any law-courts to administer justice, and Councils to legislate for us, so long as we thought ourselves helpless with regard to education without institutions controlled by the Government with which we co-operated either by patronizing it or submitting to its discipline, so long we were slaves. The question before the students was a question of duty. They could not be said to be drawn to the performance of their duty unless they were prepared to face starvation of education. The question before them was very simple—were they or were they not disgusted with the feelings of domination that prevailed in these schools? Were they filled from top to toe with the disaffection not to have anything to do with such a Government? The case of the speaker was sufficiently simple. If there was no national consciousness, if there was no sense of national self-respect, his whole case for non-co-operation fell to the ground. He called to mind an illustration from the Boer War. When President Kruger[1] threw down the challenge to the British Government all the students withdrew from schools and no provision was made for their study. On the other hand they were found to be fighting in the trenches or helping the wounded on the battle-field. They did not consider that their minds would be starved by such discontinuance of studies. How did Oxford, Cambridge and the Inns of Court send out their students during the War? Did they not go to fight

[1] S. J. Paul Kruger (1825-1904); President of the Transvaal, 1883-1900

in the trenches? The speaker said that he himself formed an ambulance corps for relieving the sick and the wounded from among these students for which his services were gratefully acknowledged by the very Government with which he now found it impossible to co-operate. All were fired with one ambition, viz., to defeat the enemy. The stake before India today was the same as the stake before England on that occasion. England was fighting for life, for honour. She was ready to sacrifice all because there was an assault upon the honour of England. Was not India reduced to the same condition? Had India conscience enough to be stung in her heart, to be ready for similar sacrifice in order to save these (life and honour) when they were at stake?

He then showed the audience two documents which had been placed in his hands. Students asked him in these letters what they should do after withdrawing from colleges. Medical students asked where they were to go in that case. He said that his message to them was to withdraw completely from schools dominated by the Government because honour demanded it. It was wrong to co-operate with the Government in any way. What would they do after withdrawing? They might break stones or take to scavenging and cleansing the stinking stables of India. He would make no promise to, or any bargain with, the students. It was their duty which could not require any reward. It was a debt to be paid with life. Their reward was to be in heaven and not in this world. The reward which they were to get here was freedom. Only those students who had a choking sensation each time they went to school had the right to leave such Government schools. [Gandhiji continued:]

If you think that you will improve in your mind if you remain there, then you should not come out. If you feel you are evolving freedom by being inside these schools, it is your bounden duty to remain. But you should remain true to your oath, true to the loyalty which you are always presupposed to have for your institution by going to the school or college. But you should never be hypocrites by going there, harbouring disaffection in your minds. Under such circumstances, it would be your bounden duty to withdraw and not only to withdraw but also to proclaim from the house-tops that it was your intention to break the entire system. Once again, I say that I make no appeal to your emotions only, but to your intellect and heart combined. You are asked to give me a patient hearing and after due consideration for some time, you should give your verdict to God. If you consider it your bounden duty to withdraw from colleges, you cannot remain there for one day more. You cannot harbour feelings of revenge and yet go to these institutions for the present in expectation of some future opportunity.

[Gandhiji added that] history, of course, abounded in such deceitful beha-

viour. Other nations might have resorted to treachery, chicanery and fraud but not so the non-co-operation movement which was a purifying process and sought for assistance from God and not from man. The highest sacrifice with the greatest nobility of purpose was the thing required. Consequently, it hurt him when he found any who entertained the view that students should continue to go to these institutions and yet harbour ill will against them and then strike the death-blow when the opportunity came. If they retained any spark of the *rishis* of old, if the Mussulmans retained any respect for the true fakirs who made Islam what it was and read their Koran aright, they would find that treachery and dishonesty found no place in their religion. There was no room for camouflage in such a matter. Their battle was nothing but a religious battle. If they employed Satanic methods they were doomed. What then were the students to do? He had already said that he had not come to bargain but he might assure them if they came out in a body, national institutions would not be wanting. All the leaders who seemed now to be asleep, would then wake up and come to establish schools and colleges for these students. That was the case in Gujarat, that was the case in Surat. What was the fault of these leaders? They did not believe in non-violent non-co-operation and so they did not show any enthusiasm. But if all the students came out, he did not despair even of Babu Surendranath Banerjea. By boycotting such schools and colleges, he wanted them to be self-reliant and not merely to go from one slavery to another. He wanted the students to be absolutely self-reliant, to breathe the ozone of freedom by leading a new life and to change their helplessness into self-help. Lastly, the speaker dealt with the duty of the students to their parents. He considered here the case only of those who were over 16 years of age as, according to the Hindus, boys were then friends of their parents. Mahatma Gandhi said that he could not ask them to disobey their parents wilfully. If they believed that they were right, they should try to persuade them on bended knees. They should try to convince their parents what a great wrong had been inflicted on them and there was no parent who would not respect the opinions of the son. The minds of the parents were cast in a certain mould, but their minds were so many clean slates. So there might be difference of opinion. But never should they prefer the speaker's opinion above the opinions of the parents; but if the opinion of the speaker became their own conviction they were entitled to disobey their parents. He exhorted them again not to be carried away by emotion. It was better that they should stay on rather than return after coming out in a fit of the moment. Breach of promise and dishonour would be the only result of such hasty action. He asked the students to consider fifty times before taking any steps. They should discuss the situation with their friends, parents and teachers, and if they were still convinced of the rightness of the cause, they should withdraw.

If students came out they should not underrate the devotion of those who did not withdraw. Too often had he seen taunts flung at those who remained

inside. They must concede that liberty to others which they claimed for themselves. In meetings also they should not adopt Western methods of howling down or applauding a speaker. These did not help but merely interrupted the flow of thought. He asked them to give the same attention to every speaker that came before them. They should give undivided attention to the thing as theirs was a business of earnestness. If they wanted to have India free in one year, each should do all that lay within his power.

Amrita Bazar Patrika, 16-12-1920

72. *NOTES*

Repression in Bengal

The Government of India *communique*[1] on non-co-operation says that, for the time being, at any rate, there is to be no repression, so long as non-co-operation remains non-violent, and so long as speakers do not travel beyond the limits set by the leaders. This reads fine. I showed at the time that there was not much truth in it. Evidence is pouring in upon me that repression is going on. And now the mask is removed. The farce of trials is to be done away with and orders under the Defence of India Act are to take their place. Here is one order from Calcutta:

> Whereas the Commissioner of Police, Calcutta, is of opinion that the delivery of public harangues by you, Nagendra Nath Bhattacharji of Calcutta, is likely to incite to the commission of an offence and to a disturbance of the public peace and resistance to and contempt of law and lawful authority, the Commissioner of Police, in pursuance of the powers vested in him under Section 62-A, Clause 3 of Act A of 1866, and Section 39A, Clause 3 of Act 11, 1866 P.C., as modified up to the 1st June, 1910, prohibits you, Nagendra Nath Bhattacharji, from delivering any public harangues for a period of one year from this date, the 6th November, 1920, within the limits of the Town and Suburbs of Calcutta.

The order is dated the 6th November. It is the old dodge—no reasons are given. Vague fear of a disturbance is trotted out as sufficient reason for gagging a young man. Even a farcical trial serves one useful purpose. It enables an accused person to know the reason for restriction on his liberty. Under the order quoted, Mr. Nagendra Nath Bhattacharji has no knowledge of his offence; the public has less. And yet there are people who wonder why there is hatred in the land, and then ascribe it, not to the

[1] Released in November 1920

high-handedness and intolerance betrayed by the Government, but, to non-co-operation—the one remedy which is calculated to regulate it and, ultimately, to eradicate it.

And in the Punjab

The Punjab is not behind Bengal in the matter of administrative, as distinguished from judicial, repression. Maulana Zafar Ali Khan was tried and convicted. Now Aga Sufdar, a worker of unimpeachable character, commanding great local influence, and secretary of the Khilafat Committee, has received an administrative order not to speak in public. I have only seen a telegram to that effect. I am making further inquiries into the matter. But there appears to be no reason to doubt the accuracy of the information. Granting it to be true, the order shows that the Punjab Government cannot tolerate free speech. Lala Lajpat Rai[1], in his trenchant letters to the Lieutenant-Governor, has shown clearly that under Sir Edward Maclagan[2] the Punjabis have not fared much better than under Sir Michael O'Dwyer. No doubt, Sir Edward's methods are not so rough and ready as Sir Michael O'Dwyer's. But what difference can it be to the Punjabis whether they wear chains with or without gilt? The real article will any day be preferable to the misleading gilded one. Is the Punjab essentially freer for the milder methods of the present administrator? Do the people feel taller? It is time we realized the true situation. The spirit of the administration of India is evil, degrading and enslaving. It therefore matters little whether it is an angel who administers our affairs or Satan. My purpose in quoting Aga Sufdar's case, however, was merely to show that the acts of the Government belie its pompous declarations.

Some Doubts

Babu Janakdhari Prasad was a staunch co-worker with me in Champaran.[3] He has written a long letter setting forth his reasons for his belief that India has a great mission before her, and that she can achieve her purpose only by non-violent non-co-operation. But he has doubts which he would have me answer publicly. The letter being long, I am withholding it. But the doubts are entitled to respect and I must endeavour to answer them. Here they are as framed by Babu Janakdhari Prasad.

[1] 1865-1928; nationalist leader of the Punjab; journalist and educationist

[2] Who assumed office as Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab on May 26, 1919

[3] During the satyagraha there in 1917

(a) Is not the Non-co-operation Movement creating a sort of race hatred between Englishmen and Indians, and is it in accordance with the Divine plan of universal love and brotherhood?

(b) Does not the use of the words "devilish", "Satanic", etc., savour of unbrotherly sentiment and incite feelings of hatred?

(c) Should not the Non-co-operation Movement be conducted on strictly non-violent and non-emotional lines both in speech and action?

(d) Is there no danger of the movement going out of control and leading to violence?

As to (a), I must say that the movement is not "creating" race hatred. It certainly gives, as I have already said, disciplined expression to it. You cannot eradicate evil by ignoring it. It is because I want to promote universal brotherhood that I have taken up non-co-operation so that by self-purification, India may make the world better than it is.

As to (b), I know that the words "Satanic" and "devilish" are strong, but they relate the exact truth. They describe a system, not persons. We are bound to hate evil, if we would shun it. But by means of non-co-operation we are able to distinguish between the evil and the evil-doer; I have found no difficulty in describing a particular activity of a brother of mine to be devilish, but I am not aware of having harboured any hatred about him. Non-co-operation teaches us to love our fellowmen in spite of their faults, not by ignoring or overlooking them.

As to (c), the movement is certainly being conducted on strictly non-violent lines. That all non-co-operators have not yet thoroughly imbibed the doctrine is true. But that just shows what an evil legacy we have inherited. Emotion there is in the movement. And it will remain. A man without emotion is a man without feeling.

As to (d), there certainly is danger of the movement becoming violent. But we may no more drop non-violent non-co-operation because of its dangers than we may stop freedom because of the danger of its abuse.

Young India, 15-12-1920

73. DYERISM IN CHAMPARAN?

India is a land full of tragedies. Champaran probably contributes the largest number of them. *The Searchlight* of Patna has just reported one such awful tragedy. It is being investigated by a local Congress Committee of which Mr. Mazharul Haq is the chairman. I do not propose to anticipate the verdict. I understand that the matter is also engaging the Bihar Government's attention. But as I happened to be in Bettiah, together with Maulana Shaukat Ali in connection with our non-co-operation tour, I venture to give my own impressions gathered from a hurried visit to the spot.

The tragedy took place about fourteen miles from Bettiah, about the 30th November last. I do not think that the Government, i.e., the high officials, had any part in its enactment. Nor had the English planters. This seems to have been peculiarly a police matter, in which the police have acted in an irresponsible manner and without the knowledge of the higher authorities.

Its origin lies in a petty dispute between villagers that resulted in a petty assault. In connection with it a local man of influence was arrested by the police. The villagers appear to have resented it and rescued the man, and even surrounded the constables who arrested him. This proved too much for the wounded dignity of the police. The local *Daroga*, i.e., Sub-Inspector of Police, is said to have organized a loot in which, under the guidance and direction of the police, men from a neighbouring village also are said to have taken part. Houses were denuded of their contents—grain and ornaments. Women are reported to have been molested and robbed of their jewellery. One woman told me that she was made naked and dust was thrown into her eyes. Another was equally grossly maltreated while she was in the act of easing herself. The villagers had fled in a cowardly manner. Houses were shown to us in which the grain *kothis*[1] were found to be emptied and broken, grain scattered about, big boxes unlocked and opened—with the contents removed.

Needless to say that the rescued man was almost immediately rearrested and several other men, too, were arrested by the police. Among them is a local *brahmachari*. He is a man of considerable influence. He has succeeded in organizing panchayats and there-

[1] Large earthen jars.

through settling local disputes. His activity bids fair to popularize the principle of arbitration among the villagers. The police, naturally wanting to undermine his influence and suspecting him of having had a hand in inciting the people to defy their authority (so it appears from the evidence given to me), have arrested the *brahmachari* who is now out on bail.

I am unconcerned with the result of the trials that will now probably take place. Some of the arrested men will no doubt be convicted on concocted evidence. Of all the places in India, the most perjury committed on either side is in Champaran. Incredible as it may appear, the occurrence I have reported is not the first of its kind. The Champaran peasantry is the most helpless and the most terror-stricken of all I have seen. They dread the approach of the police and leave their villages as soon as they appear on the scene. The police have become equally demoralized: bribery and corruption are rampant among them. And each time the people have resented the police treatment, as in the case in point, they have been reduced to greater helplessness by a system of terrorism, in which the magistracy has taken no mean part on behalf of the local Dyers.

At times the police have been reprimanded by magistrates or the Government. That they do not mind. The lower police never even know anything about such reprimands; and they care less. The system of terrorism continues and flourishes.

How are the people to be helped? How is the corruption to be removed? Certainly not by courting an official inquiry. That must result in only strengthening the police. Already the police is fortifying its position. Certainly not by the villagers seeking the protection of the courts. It is my settled conviction, based on a study of the records of cases, that in the vast majority of them the people have lost both in money and in power. An isolated discharge of an innocent man is all they can show as a result of paying fortunes to the lawyers and the bribe-takers.

This police, composed mainly of our own men, must be reformed and won over by non-resistance. We have unnecessarily vilified them instead of pitying them. They are victims of a vicious and even inglorious system. I decline to believe that the Indian policemen are inherently bad and that the Government are powerless to reform them. On the contrary, the system of the Government is such as to corrupt even the most honest of men. It is based upon the practice of securing the greatest immunity for itself. It has made of prestige a fetish and has arrogated to itself the position of infallibility and protection.

Local men everywhere must therefore befriend the police, and the best way of befriending them is to cease to fear them or their authority.

In the present case, the village must be advised to forget the wrong. If they can recover stolen property by seeking the intervention of friends, they must do so. They must patiently suffer imprisonment. As defendants, they must resolutely decline to be represented by pleaders. They must give an unvarnished version to the court. They must submit to misrepresentation, even to the taunt of having no case.

And in future, if and when such incidents happen, they must be prepared to defend themselves. It is better if they can manfully stand persecution and allow themselves to be robbed, instead of hitting in defence of their persons or property. That would indeed be their crowning triumph. But such forbearance can only be exercised out of strength and not out of weakness. Till that power is acquired, they must be prepared to resist the wrongdoer by force. When a policeman comes not to arrest but to molest, he travels beyond his authority. The citizen has then the inalienable right of treating him as a robber and dealing with him as such. He will therefore use sufficient force to prevent him from robbing. He will most decidedly use force in order to defend the honour of his womanhood. The doctrine of non-violence is not for the weak and the cowardly; it is meant for the brave and the strong. The bravest man allows himself to be killed without killing. And he desists from killing or injuring, because he knows that it is wrong to injure. Not so the villagers of Champaran. They flee from the police. They would strike and even kill a policeman if they had no fear of the law. They gain no merit of non-violence but on the contrary incur the reproach of cowardice and unmanliness; they stand condemned before Government and man.

But the workers among a people so fallen as in Champaran will have to be most careful about what they do. They and the people will put themselves in the wrong if they resist the police in the lawful execution of their office, even though the execution may prove or appear to them to be unlawful. The police must not be resisted if they arrest without a warrant. They must not take the law into their own hands but scrupulously obey it. The safeguard against any serious blunder lies in the fact that on no account are they to seek the protection of the law. If, therefore, they are in the wrong, they will invariably suffer punishment. And when they are in the right, they will most probably not suffer punishment, and they will always have the satisfaction of having

saved, or attempted to save, the property, or, what is infinitely better, the honour of their women. In the case in point, it was wrong to rescue the man who was arrested even though in the opinion of the villagers he was innocent. It was wrong because the police had the authority in law to effect arrests. It was cowardly on their part to have fled on the approach of the police; it would have been right for them to have defended their women and their goods. If they had not fled, they, being so numerous, would easily have saved their property and protected their women merely by standing their ground. In no case would the villagers have been justified in doing more bodily injury than was needed on the occasion. It is invariably a sign of cowardice and madness to use excessive force. A brave man does not kill a thief but arrests him and hands him to the police. A braver man uses just enough force to drive him out and thinks no more about it. The bravest realizes that the thief knows no better, reasons with him, risks being thrashed and even killed, but does not retaliate. We must at any cost cease to be cowardly and unmanly.

Young India, 15-12-1920

74. *REJOINDER*

Messrs Popley and Phillips have been good enough to reply to my letter "To Every Englishman in India"[1]. I recognize and appreciate the friendly spirit of their letter.[2] But I see that there are fundamental differences which must for the time being divide them and me. So long as I felt that, in spite of grievous lapses, the British Empire represented an activity for the world's and India's good, I clung to it like a child to its mother's breast. But that faith is gone. The British nation has endorsed the Punjab and the Khilafat crimes. There is no doubt a dissenting minority. But a dissenting minority that satisfies itself with a mere expression of its opinion and continues to help the wrongdoer partakes in the wrongdoing.

And when the sum total of his energy represents a minus quantity one may not pick out the plus quantities, hold them up for admiration, and ask an admiring public to help regarding

[1] *Vide* Vol. XVIII, pp. 373-5.

[2] In this letter, written from Bangalore on November 15, Popley and Phillips had said, among other things, that they would like to become the servants of India rather than her rulers.

them. It is a favourite design of Satan to temper evil with a show of good and thus lure the unwary into the trap. The only way the world has known of defeating Satan is by shunning him. I invite Englishmen, who could work out the ideal they believe in to join the ranks of non-co-operationists. W. T. Stead[1] prayed for the reverse of the British arms during the Boer War. Miss Hobhouse[2] invited the Boers to keep up the fight. The betrayal of India is much worse than the injustice done to the Boers. The Boers fought and bled for their rights. When, therefore, we are prepared to bleed, the right will have become embodied and the idolatrous world will perceive it and do homage to it.

But Messrs Popley and Phillips object that I have allied myself with those who would draw the sword if they could. I see nothing wrong in it. They represent the right no less than I do. And is it not worth while trying to prevent the unsheathing of the sword by helping to win a bloodless battle? Those who recognize the truth of the Indian position can only do God's work by assisting this non-violent campaign.

The second objection raised by these English friends is more to the point. I would be guilty of wrongdoing myself if the Muslim cause was not just. The fact is that the Muslim claim is not to perpetuate foreign domination of non-Muslim or non-Turkish races. The Indian Mussulmans do not resist self-determination, but they would fight to the last the nefarious plan of exploiting Mesopotamia under the plea of self-determination. They must resist the studied attempt to humiliate Turkey, and therethrough Islam, under the false pretext of ensuring Armenian independence.

The third objection has reference to schools. I do object to missionary or any schools being carried on with Government money. It is true that it was at one time our money. Will these good missionaries be justified in educating me with funds given to them by a robber, who has robbed me of my money, religion and honour, because the money was originally mine?

I personally tolerated the financial robbery of India, but it would have been a sin to have tolerated the robbery of honour through the Punjab and of religion through Turkey. This is

[1] William Thomas Stead (1849-1912); English journalist and reformer whose enterprise and originality exercised a potent influence on contemporary journalism and politics; an enthusiastic supporter of the peace movement in Great Britain

[2] Emily Hobhouse; an Englishwoman of liberal views, mentioned by Gandhiji in *An Aulobiography*

strong language. But nothing less would truly describe my deep conviction. Needless to add that the emptying of Government-aided or -affiliated schools does not mean starving the young mind; national schools are coming into being as fast as the others are emptied.

Messrs Popley and Phillips think that my sense of justice has been blurred by the knowledge of the Punjab and the Khilafat wrongs. I hope not. I have asked friends to show me some good fruit (intended and deliberately produced) of the British occupation of India. I repeat the request. And I assure them that I shall make the amplest amends if I find that I have erred in my eagerness about the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs.

Young India, 15-12-1920

75. SPEECH AT DACCA

December 15, 1920

I had a great desire to come to Dacca when Maulana Shaukat Ali last visited this place. Today I feel a great deal of pleasure in coming here. I am sorry that this is the first time that I feel that my voice is breaking down.

This Government has done a very great injustice to the Indians. It has acted treacherously with our Muslim brothers. Every Indian knows that in the Punjab, the Indians were made to crawl on their bellies. Many innocent men have been sentenced to death by the judges of the Punjab and a great many were sent to jail. A great injustice was done to our students in the Punjab. Small children were ordered to make salaams four times. I myself think it a sin to be loyal to a Government which has done such a great injustice to us. Every Indian who loves freedom would feel just as I do. It would be his duty to destroy this Government or rectify it. (Cheers.) I am not sorry because my voice fails but you should know that the work you are going to do does not need the use of your voice. Two things are incumbent upon us: one, to convene meetings and pass some resolutions; and two, to bring the latter into practice. The opportunity has appeared before us and the greater part of our work should be practical. We should now give up processions, for we have hitherto seen that they have been of no use to us in India. We are lacking in the power of management. "*Hindu Mussulman ki jai*"[1] is to my considera-

[1] Victory be to the Hindus and the Mussulmans

tion, a kind of prayer to God. *Bandemataram*[1] is prayer offered to *Bharat Mata* (Mother India). The *sangit* (song) of our Bengali brothers is so powerful that the like of it cannot be found in India. If you want to worship your country loyally, you should learn what they teach. In my consideration, this education should be spread among the common people. For the last 35 years we have been receiving the degenerate education with the result that we are 35 years back in progress. Our late Dadabhai Naoroji wrote[2] that the expenditure of soldiers and of railways was daily increasing. The trade of India had been made so much worse that crores of rupees were every year going away abroad. The Rowlatt Act[3], the Press Act[4], the compulsion of students and the unveiling of women had never been seen during the time of Dadabhai Naoroji. If you say that we have been favoured with the Council and that Lord Sinha has been appointed Governor of Bihar, then I would tell you that your slavery has now become complete. India is much worse than what she was 50 years back. The people of India are more cowardly than they were 50 years back. They had strength to draw swords 50 years back, but now they have become weaker. It is very difficult to liberate India from the bond of slavery. The Muslims have been seduced to go abroad and made to fight against the Turks and occupy Mesopotamia. Our Government solaced us with the Reform Scheme[5] and at the same time passed the Rowlatt Act. Events happened in India which caused Indians to rub their noses in the dust of disgrace. India can never forget the services that Mr. C. R. Das rendered while working with me in the Congress Committee of the Punjab[6] along with other fellow-workers such as Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Motilal Nehru, Harkishen Lal, Lala Giridhari Lal and Jayakar[7]. When the report[8] came out, I accepted the minimum and took an oath that either I would grow

[1] The opening words of a national song composed by Bankimchandra Chattopadhyaya; literally, "I bow to the Mother"

[2] In his book *Poverty and Un-British Rule in India*

[3] *Vide* Vol. XVI.

[4] Of 1910

[5] The scheme of Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms

[6] The Punjab Sub-committee appointed by the Congress to inquire into the Punjab disorders of April 1919

[7] M. R. Jayakar (1873-1959); Bombay lawyer and liberal leader, leading political negotiator and peacemaker

[8] The Congress report on the Punjab disorders which was published on March 25, 1920

fearful or destroy this Government. We have not been able to set aside the pension of a degenerate ruler[1] who has ruined the Punjab. I have made friends with the two brothers, Shaukat Ali and Mahomed Ali, and promised before my Indian brethren that I will fight on their side and sacrifice my life till the demands of my Muslim brethren are satisfied. I will give up my life for the sake of Khilafat. Our religion does not teach us to cut the throats of Englishmen with our swords. If we could have used our swords in India, these men, Mahomed Ali and Shaukat Ali, would never have remained silent. They have sheathed their swords in order to render good to the Muslim community. The movement that is before you is non-violent non-co-operation. If you want to free India within a year—when I spoke "a year", I did not say it in jest—adopt it. India needs only one lesson to learn, and that is, not to be afraid. When she has learnt that, I would then understand that India has become independent. Your actions should now be practical. The two words "non-violent" and "progressive" are part and parcel of non-co-operation. We do not now possess so much strength that we can approach the cultivators and tell them not to pay taxes or ask a soldier to leave his service. We will use swords, when the time will come. He who does not draw the sword at the proper time is a fool and he who uses his sword at an improper time is also impudent. The problem of non-co-operation is before you. Indians need to remember only one thing, and that is, they should expel fear from their minds. If you do this, you will then think that India has become free. I am overwhelmed with grief when I think how very cowardly Indians have grown. Let Indians give up fear only for five years.

You cannot dispense with the two words "non-violent" and "progressive" that have been attached to the word "non-co-operation". If the people of India accept this, they will not only sacrifice their voice but their life and property, too. If our leaders go to Indian title-holders, pleaders, students and Councillors and appeal to them, it is my firm belief that they will condescend to undergo a sacrifice and will think that God is the only Being who feeds them and that Government, the courts and the Councils are not their gods. If you do this there will be no necessity of going to peasants and soldiers. The Mohammedans will then be able to save not only Islam but India, too. I congratulate the people of India in general and of Bengal in particular for the work

[1] Sir Michael O'Dwyer

they have done in connection with votes.[1] We shall work with patience which can win over Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and other leaders, including our brother Surendranath Banerjea, to our side.

We should work peacefully. I cannot think that intimidation can succeed in inducing our brethren to join hands with us. It gave me much pain when I learnt that night-soil was thrown over a candidate and the ear of a voter was chopped off. Certainly those were most dirty deeds. We should approach our brethren most courteously, appeal to their hearts and try to win over their hearts by means of love and kindness. If you work in this manner with patience and perseverance, I can assure you that within one year, nine months from now, India *must* become independent and the Muslims will surely free Islam from danger. I appeal to the students to think over the Punjab affairs and the condition of Islam, and if you do so, you will find that this rule is a Satanic rule, this Raj is *Ravanarajya.* If you are told that you will be given free education, even then you should not go to the schools of Ravana which are full of Satanic things. I do not call any Englishman a Satan. I love Englishmen in the same way as I love Mr. Shaukat Ali and Mr. Das. But what I say is this, that this Administration is Satanic. If God gives me enough power, I will rectify this Government or end it; I will not rest until I have mended this Government. I know full well that today I am violating the Seditious Act [*sic*] of the Government—I am a loyal subject of this Government and I am also its loyal friend and as such I tell the Government to reform itself or be destroyed. I will take part in its destruction and I invite you, too, to join with me. Either we will mend this Government or destroy it. I cannot live to see the black disgrace by Englishmen with impunity—I want to meet Englishmen in the open field and tell them that we, too, do possess the same amount of strength as they do.

I wish to tell my student friends that it would be a regrettable thing if you do not understand my simple Hindustani. This shows how far we have become degenerated. This Government has acted treacherously with us. You have realized this and you should leave the educational institutions unconditionally.

From Records of the Intelligence Branch of the I.G.P., West Bengal

[1] That is, dissuading people from voting in the elections to the Legislative Councils held in November 1920

76. SPEECH TO STUDENTS, DACCA[1]

December 15, 1920

It is difficult for me to resist the word of a friend and a dear co-worker. I was so thoroughly bound up with my Hindi and with my theme that I was hoping to be able to finish the whole of my remarks in Hindustani. But I am helpless; Mr. Das suggests that I should speak on the topic of the students in English. I do so not without some degree of pain, but I do so also not without pleasure—pleasure, because I satisfy his desire, pain because I am compelled to make my meaning clear to you through a medium which is foreign both to you and to me. I am explaining to the students their clearest possible duty. If you, the students, have understood the purport of my remarks, and if you feel with me that this Government of ours is dominated by the spirit of Satan, if you feel with me that the net result of the activities of our Government is to tighten the bonds of slavery rather than to loosen them, if you feel with me that today our slavery is stronger than ever and if you feel with me that in order to vindicate the self-respect of the Punjabi, in order to vindicate the honour of Islam, you and I should do something, then I say to the students of Dacca: Consider your own immediate duty. Imagine that Satan has established schools and seminaries for the instruction of Indian youths, imagine that you have a choice between allowing your intellect and your heart to remain virgin and attending the seminaries and the colleges established by Satan. Imagine also that the youths of India are possessed with the fear of God, that you are all believing men, that you have faith in God and that you believe in the righteousness of godhead; imagine all these things and tell me whether you will choose rather to remain without any instruction or whether you will choose to go and attend the seminaries and colleges established by Satan. And, if your answer is positively in favour of leaving Satan's colleges and schools, then I tell you, I suggest to you, that my case is absolutely complete. My own position is that this Government in its nakedness is dominated by the spirit of Satan and if you want to be dominated by the spirit of God, if you want to esta-

[1] After his speech in Hindi at the public meeting (the preceding item), Gandhiji, at the request of C. R. Das, delivered this speech in English.

blish the kingdom of heaven in India, if you want, that is to say, to establish what swaraj is in India, it is your bounden duty to leave these colleges and schools without any condition whatsoever. Because the instruction that you receive in these schools and colleges is not the instruction that will give you swaraj, this is not the instruction which a man ought to receive who desires freedom or liberty. It is a slave-owning state and do you imagine that a slave-owning state can possibly give you education in such a manner that you can break down the shackles that bind you in slavery? I have never yet known a slave-owner teaching his slave the price of freedom, the price of liberty. Wherever slaves have enfranchised themselves, they have done so in spite of the slave-owner. I am not now attacking the system of education, base as it is, imperfect as it is. I am simply attacking the aegis under which this imperfect, this base instruction is given to the youths of India. I consider it undesirable on our part to go to these schools and colleges to nurture disaffection. And it is disaffection I am spreading throughout the length and breadth of India. I say affection for this Government is disaffection to God. It is disaffection towards India, it is disaffection towards Islam, and we are bound to remain disaffected towards the Government until it mends its wrongs and until it bends upon its knees. I pray to God for forgiveness to retrieve the blunders that it has committed. So, my friends, I suggest to you that the choice before you is absolutely clear. The case that I have made out before you is, in my opinion, also clear. I do not for one moment wish to suggest that you have not derived some advantages from this Government. That is only Satan's way. When Satan comes in the garb of a righteous man he is most deceptive. 'Beware of the Greeks when they approach you with their gifts'—this is a wise saying. Beware of this Government when it professes to approach you with titles, with its seats in the Councils, with judgeships, with its governorships and most of all, you, youths of India, who have a right to carry a clean slate, beware of the traps that this Government has laid for you in establishing factories for creating slaves. You may get posts under the Government. You may become Deputy Magistrates and what not. But all these are badges not of our freedom but they are badges of our slavery. If you feel that you cannot tolerate this Government for one moment, honour demands, the self-respect of India demands, that you leave these colleges and schools tomorrow. You must not harbour disaffection and dishonourable means in those schools and colleges. You must not say that you go to these schools in order to demolish this Govern-

ment. In my opinion it would be disloyalty. It is not disloyalty of the Penal Code. It is not manufactured disloyalty but it is disloyalty in accordance with the eternal laws of God. If you go to these schools and colleges established by the Government you should go to these schools and colleges with a clean heart. Imagine the Governor attends the schools and you have got to stand up. You have got to sing "God save King George". An Englishman, and we as gentlemen, can pray to God to save King George but we cannot with a clear conscience cry out "God save the King" of this kingdom. That is the meaning: God save this kingdom. Does it mean that the present ruler who sits in England in the Buckingham Palace may remain alive for eternity? It means that this British Empire in which the sun never sets may remain for ever, till eternity. And if you, the youths of India, the future hope of India on whom the foundation of the nation rests, if you feel with me that it is not possible for you to get up to honour the Governor in virtue of his office when he attends your schools and colleges, that it is not possible for you to get up when "God save the King" is struck up in schools, then I say, do not go to these schools and colleges. You will be false to your traditions and you will be false to India's past.

After leaving the schools, if they are not afraid to leave the schools, I say that as soon as they leave the schools and colleges, they are masters of the liberty of India. They are custodians of the liberty of India. They have tasted the first fruit of liberty. They have laid the foundation of a career of freedom rather than a career of slavery and on that foundation you may build today and you may leave that foundation as it is. That foundation will never arise so long as you are nurtured in these institutions. And so I appeal to the students: If you accept the case that I have made out you will leave your colleges and schools unconditionally. I have got a letter in my pocket addressed to me by a student in which he asks me what he is to do if he leaves his college. He asks me further if he may go on preaching non-co-operation. I am not such a fool. I ask him to preach nothing but I ask him to do a little bit of practice. An ounce of practice is worth tons of preaching. I want unadulterated, pure gold. And if you are ready today to sacrifice a little bit of this intellectual training that you get in these colleges and schools, if you are ready to suspend this intellectual development that you receive in these schools and colleges, then and then only you should do so for the sake of India. Remember how the Boer children did during the Boer War. Remember how the students of Cambridge and Oxford

did at the time of the late War. Remember what the youths of Arabia are doing today. They are not deceived by the promise of education that the Government makes to them. Their freedom is more precious to them than the training of their intellect. What is the training of intellect of a slavish mind if that training of intellect does not bring him freedom? If you believe that you are taking a training in schools and colleges that will secure the liberty of India or of Islam, remain in your schools and colleges. If you believe with me that those badges of educated Indians got through these schools and colleges are badges of slavery, then you will desert these schools and colleges tomorrow without a single doubt.

This student has given me another piece of information which is painful. He tells me that when Babu Bipin Chandra Pal[1] rises on the platform in Dacca and tells you something against leaving the schools until new schools and colleges are established, the students hiss him off the platform. That is not education in non-co-operation. That is not India's tradition and the least you have of these Western traditions the best. Babu Bipin Chandra Pal and I differ as poles asunder. We have differed now for all the years that I have had the pleasure of knowing him but all the same I will not be a party to this; let me not be guilty of encouraging any rough conduct on the part of the youths of India towards him or anybody. After all, Babu Bipin Chandra Pal has served his country to the best of his light and he feels even now that he is serving his country to the best of his light. His advice to students to wait till the new schools and colleges are established is bad advice. But that is a matter of opinion. This is a difference of opinion. He sincerely believes that to ask the students to give up the education they now receive is wrong. I believe that the youths of India should rather remain without education.[2]

Mr. Das tells me that Babu Bipin Chandra Pal never said that during the course of his lectures. Then the case is still worse on the part of those who hiss him off the stage. It is necessary for you to listen with attention to every speaker. It is necessary on our part that we should trust every speaker.

We ought to have sufficient freedom in ourselves to form our own judgment. We shall not be able to lead this nation to the

[1] 1858-1932; educationist, journalist, orator and political leader of Bengal

[2] At this stage, C. R. Das interrupted to remark that he had attended all the meetings addressed by Bipin Chandra Pal and that Pal had never given the advice attributed to him.

promised goal unless we are capable of sifting wheat from chaff, unless we are able to distinguish between error of judgment and wise advice, unless we are able to exercise our faculty of discrimination. But let us not forget ourselves and insult a speaker who stands up on the platform. I give you one recipe which I gave to the Gujarat students. If you believe that a particular speaker is insincere—even now there are speakers in India who are—if you believe that there is a particular speaker who is insincere, even then you are not entitled to hiss him, you are not entitled to show any disrespect to him. But you are entitled to leave the stage and leave the audience. When the students hissed Mrs. Besant[1] it cut me to the quick. I feel that these students who claimed to be non-co-operationists had done the highest disservice to the cause and had done something which was disgraceful on their part from the non-co-operator's standpoint. I suggested to them that if they did not wish to listen to Mrs. Besant, if they found that Mrs. Besant's remarks irritated them, if they found that she did not do justice to the cause, they were entitled to withdraw from the stage but they were not entitled to show disregard to a venerable lady. I say even if a hypocritical speaker appears on the stage you are bound in common courtesy to give him a hearing.

Young men of Dacca, I ask you to join the banner of non-co-operation. Understand please that this is a battle of self-purification; it is a call upon you to exercise common self-restraint, it is a call upon you to exercise your own judgment and not slavishly to follow anybody else. I ask you not to follow the judgment of others. If you feel, if your heart endorses what I am saying to you, if you can assimilate what I say to you, then and then only you are justified in leaving your schools and colleges. If you feel what I have said, it would be your sacred duty—because your parents may not endorse what I have said—even respectfully to disobey them if they call upon you not to leave these schools and colleges. But the condition of this disobedience is perfect civility, perfect self-restraint and not dishonouring your parents. If I know the parents of India, I know that you, the youths of India, will be able even to persuade your parents in the granting of permission to leave your schools and colleges if you are in earnest. I think that the parents of India will have a perfect right to warn you against leaving your schools and colleges, against being

[1] Annie Besant (1847-1933); president, Theosophical Society, 1907-33; founded Central Hindu College at Banaras, 1898; organized Indian Home Rule League; president, Indian National Congress, 1917

carried away by the eloquence of any indifferent or good speaker. You have been in the habit of being carried off your feet. Therefore if your parents warn you, think fifty times. It is wise.

I ask you young Indians, if you hold with me that this is a sacred duty—to leave these schools and colleges unconditionally—you are to do so at once. But you must pray to your God confining yourself within your closets and see whether it is the voice of clear conscience. And, if you are satisfied, then check yourself by going to your parents, by going to your elders and your teachers, and if still you remain unconvinced and if you feel that you must leave these schools and colleges, then, consistently with full regard for your parents, it is your sacred duty to leave these schools and colleges. This is the command of the Hindu shastras. This is the command of the holy Koran. If you are satisfied you will have no hesitation in leaving your schools and colleges.

One thing more and I have done. You want new schools and colleges in place of the old. I am aware of that. Whilst I ask you to leave these schools and colleges unconditionally I know that the duty rests upon the leaders to establish schools and colleges and they shall do what is best for you. But I ask you to have sufficient faith in yourselves. I want you to have sufficient faith in your leaders. You will have to create the want and immediately the leaders are sure that you do not want to go to the established schools and colleges that are affiliated to the universities, that very moment you will find them providing institutions for you. May God give you strength. May God give you health. May God give you faith to see your path quite clear.

Amrita Bazar Patrika, 18-12-1920

77. *LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI*

[ON WAY TO CALCUTTA,
Thursday [*December 16, 1920*][1]

CHI. MAGANLAL,

We shall be in Calcutta in a few hours. If you can manage somehow to build the house for Dr. Mehta[2], do build it. Should we not learn, ourselves, to spin well-twisted good quality yarn?

[1] Gandhiji arrived in Calcutta from Dacca on this date, which fell on a Thursday.

[2] Dr. Pranjivan Mehta, for whom a house was built near the Ashram

It would be good if through Kale's[1] experiments such yarn could be produced even on the ordinary spinning-wheel.

Be solicitous for Lakshmidas[2]. Personally, I liked his nature very much. See if the spinning-wheel made by Kale can be kept working for eight hours at a stretch.

Let me know what you have done about the document which was to be executed. I myself will be out touring for a month.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Revashankar has also come along this time.

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 5984. Courtesy: Radhabehn Choudhri

78. *DISCUSSION ABOARD THE "GURKHA"*[3]

December 16, 1920

I[NDIAN]: The immediate aim of non-co-operation, then, is to protest against injustice, isn't it?

G[ANDHIJI]: No, it is not protest, but purification. Through self-purification, purification of the other party.

E[NGLISHMAN]: And to dissociate yourselves from sin?

G. Quite so.

E. Well, do you feel that you have succeeded in bringing about such purification in any degree?

G. I have been touring the country these days and I am quite surprised to observe how people are learning self-restraint and self-reliance. Even the peasants are developing both these qualities and I feel that British officers, too, have not remained unaffected. Their minds, too, are being purified.

E. Through this purification, what would you have the British do? In what respect do you want their conduct to change?

[1] One of the competitors for the prize announced in connection with a particular type of spinning-wheel

[2] Lakshmidas P. Asar; an inmate of the Satyagraha Ashram who specialized in khadi and village industries

[3] Extracted from Mahadev Desai's account of the tour. The discussion took place during Gandhiji's voyage from Narayanganj to Golando on his way back from Dacca to Calcutta. The interlocutors were two barristers, an Indian named Mitra and an Englishman named Meyer.

G. I wish to bring about a state of affairs in which every Englishman would look upon every Indian as his equal. I want to bring down the Englishman from the superior heights from which he talks and to make him think of even the most ordinary Indian labourer as his equal. I want to create a state of affairs in which he would not slight an Indian in any dealings with the latter, would, on the contrary, in all affairs deal with him as with an equal partner. On no other terms can the Englishman have a place in India. The moment the British and the Indians both come to feel this sense of equality, feel it as a reality, my country will have won its freedom. And to bring about this result, it will be enough if the fetish they make of prestige and dignity is destroyed. What do you find today on all sides? Indians afraid of the British—Indians concealing their thoughts from others. What can be more degrading than this?

E. Don't you think you are asking too much when you say that every Englishman should look upon even a labourer in India as his equal? Does every Indian gentleman do so? It would be reason if you merely asked that an Englishman should behave towards Indians as he would towards other Englishmen. He should behave towards an Indian labourer as any English squire would behave towards his farmers.

G. Wonderful. You have put it so much more beautifully than I. That is just what I mean.

I. So, then, you say even the immediate aim of non-co-operation with an unjust Government is purification irrespective of whether purification does or does not bring any material benefits?

G. When we have gone through a full measure of untainted self-suffering, material benefits will follow as a matter of course. For instance, nothing will then remain to be done in regard to the Punjab atrocities. Not only will none of those guilty of the Punjab crimes have any place in India, it will also be impossible to pay salary or pension to any of them from our treasury.

E. Have you, then, reserved punishment only for the British? Crimes were committed even by Indians—common Indians. What about them?

G. This is an astonishing question. We have been punished for our crimes a thousand times more severely than we deserved. I assure you that not only have all the guilty been punished, but hundreds of innocent people also have been killed. Innocent people have had to suffer imprisonment. Even children suffered. Innocent women were humiliated. The victims of the Jallianwala massacre, too, were innocent people. What punishment more

severe than this can you think of? However, I have said nothing about punishing British officers. All that I have suggested is that they should not still continue to receive Indian money and to hold any titles or posts. As for punishing them, the only punishment for some of them can be hanging. My religion has no room for this. I do not know what India wants.

Talking of this subject, I remember an incident. When Mr. Andrews compared the Jallianwala Bagh massacre to the massacre of Glencoe[1], I hastened to publish in *Young India* even an account of the latter. I did that only in order to show the revulsion Mr. Andrews must have felt at the cruelty of the Jallianwala massacre. But on rereading the account, I felt that Mr. Andrews had been a little unjust and I felt quite unhappy about the matter. I saw Principal Rudra[2] and had a talk with him; he also thought as I did. But I realize today the aptness of Mr. Andrews' comparison. I now feel that the Jallianwala massacre was even more wicked, more reprehensible than the other one, for there is a whole world of difference between the state of civilization then and now.

I. Why do you say that the Government has attacked our religion? It was but one partner in the Grand Council of the victorious Allies.

G. I am surprised to hear a man like you asking such a question at this hour of the day. The leading part in planning the dismemberment of Turkey was taken by England.[3] The Prime Minister's[4] actions are now recoiling on himself. Having outraged his nonconformist conscience, he has, in order to satisfy it, had to go back on his promise[5] and has hurt the Muslims thereby.

I. Well, let's turn to another matter. You have been asking the students to leave their schools, but do you make any alternative arrangements for their education?[6]

* * *

I. Is the present educational system bad, then?

G. The question doesn't arise at all. But I have no objection to replying to it. I say, "Yes, it is bad." The medium of edu-

[1] In Scotland. The incident took place in 1692.

[2] Sushil Kumar Rudra, then principal of St. Stephen's College, Delhi

[3] Under the Peace Treaty after the conclusion of World War I

[4] Lloyd George

[5] Of January 5, 1918; *vide* footnote 1, p. 108.

[6] Mahadev Desai records that Gandhiji replied to this question with a detailed account of the educational movement then in progress in Gujarat, but does not report the answer.

:ation being English has doubled the load on the students' brains. How should I explain to you what is in my mind? Men like Professor Jadunath Sarkar[1] say that the class educated under the system of a foreign medium has lost its intellectual vigour. Our maginative and creative faculties have been completely des-:royed. The whole of our time is taken up with learning the pro-nunciation and the idiom of a foreign tongue. From its very nature this is mere drudgery, and the result has been that we function ike blotting-paper before Western civilization; instead of imbibing the best from it, we have become its superficial imitators. The second result is that a gulf has been created between us and the masses. We cannot explain to them in a language which they will understand even the elements of hygiene and public health, let alone politics. We have become the modern counterparts of the Brahmins of old days; in fact, we are worse, for the Brahmins didn't mean ill. They were the trustees of the nation's culture. We are not even that. Actually, we have been misusing our education, behaving towards the common people as if we were superior. I should like you to cross-examine me on this matter. Let me say, however, that these views of mine are not recent but are the fruit of many years' experience.

E. We have never thought about this aspect of the matter, and so all we can say is that we shall now think about it.

G. That's right. I forgot one thing. I forgot to say that the system has killed us spiritually. Since you have been worshippers of secular education, the Hindus did not get any religious education. In England, the result has not been quite so bad. There the priests arrange to provide some religious education.

I. The thing is that you do not want your children to be educated with robbed money; am I right?

G. Yes, not only not with robbed money, but not under the robber's flag either. I have said that we should have nothing to do with schools controlled by a Government which has forfeited our loyalty and our love. I shall tell you a simple thing. There was a time when not only did I myself use to sing "God save the King" with the greatest fervour but had even got my sons, who did not know English, to learn it by heart. When I returned from Africa to Rajkot, I taught the anthem to the students of the Training College also, for I thought that every loyal citizen must

[1] 1870-1958; educationist and historian; vice-chancellor, Calcutta University, 1926-8

know it. But what is the position today? I certainly cannot lay my hand on my heart and sing it or ask anyone else to sing it. I would say that as a good man, King George should live long. But I cannot bring myself to pray that an Empire which has debased itself before man and God should live a moment longer.

I. You said you did not care what the actual system of education was.

G. Yes, that is so.

I. Our universities are run by Indians; their policies are also determined by Indians.

G. Yes, that is true. If the people who run the universities would listen to me, I would simply ask them to tear up their charters. Then I would say that the universities were mine. If they protest that in that case Government grants would stop, I am prepared to give them a guarantee that I would get the funds. All that I am asking them to do is to make the universities national. What did I tell even Panditji[1]? "Return the charter to the Viceroy and, if the Maharajas[2] want their money back, return even that. We shall meet the deficit by begging. If you have an incomparable gift of begging from Maharajas, I have some gift of begging from the common people."

I. But what harm has the "charter" done?

G. Why, with the charter comes all that the Government means. It is because of its charter that the Hindu University will honour the Duke of Connaught. How can I stand this? No; I tell you the truth. Mrs. Besant was right when she once said that I wanted a political revolution. Only, the revolution should not be a simple revolution but an evolutionary revolution. But a revolution, I think, there must be. There is no alternative. Just see how the Government has lost all sense of decency. Look at the shameless public statement it has issued recently. Weaving an elaborate web of big phrases, the Government say that at present they have given freedom to the Press, that they do not intend to gag anyone. But actually what are they doing? Why did they gag the silent worker of the Punjab, Aga Sufdar? He has nothing of the fanatic in him; I have not seen another silent worker like him in the Punjab. And only the other day, Babu Shyam Sunder Chakravarti of *The Servant* told me that he had re-

[1] Madan Mohan Malaviya

[2] Indian princes who had contributed liberally to the funds for the Benares Hindu University

ceived a warning from the Government. Why? Is it for reproducing Mr. Rajagopalachari's[1] article "Suggestion to Voters" published in *Young India?* This is an intolerable situation.

I. Let us now turn to courts. What do you have in mind when you ask lawyers to leave courts and give up practice?

G. I want to shatter the Government's prestige. It is these courts and schools that strengthen the foundation on which its prestige rests. It is with them that the Government has ensnared the people.

I. How will disputes be settled, then?

G. Shall I tell you my experience? In the course of my practice, I got 75 per cent of my cases settled out of court, and I was considered an expert in getting cases settled in this way. I had earned a name there for my impartiality. And, therefore, as soon as the party received a notice from me, he came running to me and requested a settlement. Many people felt obliged for this reason to engage two solicitors. If they did not get things their way with me, they would approach another solicitor to fight their case. I accepted only clean cases.

E. Do you think there will be many litigants who will have such trust?

G. If 50 per cent of the litigants avoid going to courts, the number of cases will be reduced by 50 per cent. I have been told that 50 per cent of the cases are created by touts. Mr. Das said that this was not so in Calcutta but others told me that he had no experience about this.

A Calcutta pleader who had been following the conversation intervened at this point to remark that mofussil courts were full of touts.

I. Maybe, but I am talking about cities. The Bengal Chamber of Commerce has set up an "Arbitration Tribunal". The Chamber is said to be an influential body, but the number of business men's cases going to courts has not gone down.

G. It is possible, for the number of lawyers has not decreased.

I. What effect will it have if a solitary individual gives up practice?

G. It is bound to have some effect, relatively speaking. I would certainly say that the tottering structure of the Government's prestige has received one more push by Pandit Motilal Nehru's giving up practice. You may ask Sir Harcourt Butler.

[1] Chakravarti Rajagopalachari (1879-); lawyer, journalist, author and statesman; Governor-General of India, 1948-50

E. You have been dissuading intending litigants, too, from going to courts; haven't you?

G. Yes.

E. But how will that be? In your case, the litigants trusted you. You could only settle the affairs of those who approached you with a clean conscience and with clean hands. You didn't even look at others with unclean hands who might come to you. What will you do about such people? There will hardly be any cases in which both the parties have clean consciences and clean hands.

G. Without the least hesitation, I would make a gift of the unclean ones to the Government.

I. I hope you know that we have not come to you to quarrel with you, but only to understand. We will ask only one more question. Isn't it true that the non-co-operation of your followers rests on malice and hatred?

G. Yes. An English friend from Madras has also written to me about this.

E. I understand your principle, but the tongues of your followers utter undiluted poison.

G. Yes, yes, but my position is that a noble action, whether done with love or hatred, cannot but yield fruit. Whether truth is spoken out of fear or purposefully, it cannot but have its fruit.

I. Your principle is: hate the sin, but not the sinner. But that of your followers seems to be the reverse of this—hate the sinner; there is no need to hate sin.

G. Are you not being unjust? Some hate both sin and the sinner. It is because they hate sin that they have been renouncing so much, have come forward to make such heavy sacrifices. Do you think anyone who merely hated the sinner could make these sacrifices? Never.

E. Your fundamental principle is not to associate yourself with sinners. Then how can you work with ungodly colleagues? How can a man working from the exalted position that you take work with impure instruments?

G. Will you compare the Government's ungodliness with the imperfections of my colleagues? Consider a little further and you will understand. Any reformer—and I am a reformer—is bound to carry on with whatever instruments are available to him—not impure instruments, but, say, imperfect instruments.

I. We have given you so much trouble today. Kindly excuse us. I have been till now opposing non-co-operation, but today I realize that the non-

co-operation I opposed was not non-co-operation as I understand it from you today. We are both grateful to you.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 29-12-1920

79. LETTER TO K. K. BHATTACHARYA

[*December 16, 1920*][1]

DEAR SIR,

I have only just received your letter of the 29th September last. Could you send me more details of the strike and the cutting of the *Times of Assam*?

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 7285

80. LETTER TO SARALADEVI CHOWDHARANI[2]

December 17, 1920

I love you more [for] loving me less for any hate you may see in me. And you would be right in your regret over my being engaged in N[on]-C[o-]O[peration], if it was a matter of politics with me. As it is, with me it is my religion. *I am gathering together all the forces of hate and directing them in a proper channel.* Hatred is a sign of weakness as contempt of insolent power. If I could but show our countrymen that we need not fear the English, we will cease to hate them. A brave man or woman never hates. Hatred is essentially the vice of cowards. N[on-]C[o-]O[peration] is self-purification. Even as the dirt comes to the surface when you are purifying sugar, so does our weakness come to the surface whilst we are purifying ourselves. But what I like about your letter is your clear position. Your love for me is based on your belief in my purity and gentleness. I am worth nothing if I have

[1] Noted as the date of reply on the addressee's letter of September 29, 1920 (S.N. 7285)

[2] This was written in reply to a letter in which Saraladevi had expressed her regret over Gandhiji's being engaged in non-co-operation which, in her opinion, was based upon hatred. She had stated that she could have loved him more if he had got rid of hatred.

not these and I should hold myself unfit for all the renunciation of yours described in your previous letter.

I have been analysing my love for you. I have reached a definite meaning of spiritual wife. It is a partnership between two persons of the opposite sex where the physical is wholly absent. It is therefore possible between brother and sister, father and daughter. It is possible only between two *brahmacharis* in thought, word and deed. I have felt drawn to you, because I have recognized in you an identity of ideals and aspirations and a complete self-surrender. You have been 'wife' because you have recognized in me a fuller fruition of the common ideal than in yourself. For this spiritual partnership to subsist, there must be complete coincidence not from faith, but from knowledge. It is a meeting between two kindred spirits. This partnership can take place whilst either party is physically married to another, but only if they are living as celibates. Spiritual partnership is possible even between husband and wife. It transcends physical relations and persists beyond the grave. It follows from what I have stated that spiritual partners can never be physically wedded either in this life or a future, for it is possible only if there is no carnality, latent or patent. Are you spiritual wife to me of that description? Have we that exquisite purity, that perfect coincidence, that perfect merging, that identity of ideals, that self-forgetfulness, that fixity of purpose, that trustfulness? For me I can answer plainly that it is only an aspiration. I am unworthy to have that companionship with you. I require in me an infinitely higher purity than I possess in thought. I am too physically attached to you to be worthy of enjoying that sacred association with you. By physical attachment I here mean I am too much affected by your weaknesses. I must not be teacher to you, if I am your spiritual husband, if coincidence or merging is felt. On the contrary there are sharp differences between you and me so often. So far as I can see our relationship, it is one of brother and sister. I must lay down the law for you, and thus ruffle you. I must plead gently like a brother ever taking care to use the right word even as I do to my oldest sister. I must not be father, husband, friend, teacher all rolled in one. This is the big letter I promised. With dearest love I still subscribe myself,

Yours,

LAW-GIVER

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary. Courtesy; Narayan Desai

81. SPEECH AT PUBLIC MEETING, NAGPUR

December 18, 1920

We two brothers[1] have been touring India for some months past. Our Chairman did not introduce the Maulana Sahib for he was your guest at Chhindwara[2] for quite a long time. You know the reason why he was the Government's guest there and what work we are doing these days. I congratulate the pleaders who have given up practice and tell them that what they have done is not enough. You have invited the Congress to meet in Nagpur;[3] what should you do to deserve the honour? I have been told that the Central Provinces have been doing excellent work and that the Congress session here will be a success. It is good to hear that the movement to wean away people from drinking is making good progress here. I tell you even success in this will mean our victory. We seek to employ non-co-operation and, therefore, if we drink and excite our brains and indulge in unworthy behaviour, that would be no way of remaining peaceful. Unless we remain so, we shall not succeed in seeing the end of the Empire in our lifetime. If we wish to mend it or end it, there is no weapon other than non-violent non-co-operation. I have been saying that this Empire is steeped in Satanism. If we wish to reduce Satan to submission, drive him back, we shall not succeed in our aim by resorting to Satanism. We should seek help from God alone. Our fight is one of dharma against *adharma*. Though guilty of the Punjab and the Khilafat wrongs, the Empire does not want to apologize. It asks us to forget these issues and do what else we would. I tell both Hindus and Muslims that until there is real unity between them it will be impossible to see the end of this Empire, that such unity is an essential condition. Non-violent non-co-operation is our highest duty. There can be no co-operation between dharma and *adharma*. It requires courage to stop receiving help from Satan. It is with this aim in view that Jamnalalji[4] is here today presiding over this meeting. When

[1] Gandhiji and Shaukat Ali

[2] Where Shaukat Ali and Mahomed Ali were held under surveillance under the Defence of India Act, 1915

[3] Gandhiji arrived in Nagpur on December 18; the Congress session was to be held there on December 26.

[4] Jamnalal Bajaj (1889-1942); merchant, banker, social worker and philanthropist; devoted follower of Gandhiji; served as treasurer of the Congress for

abandoning a house on fire, we don't pause to think whether we should or should not abandon it. By entering councils, we cannot undo either the Punjab or the Khilafat wrong. Only by winning swaraj can we secure justice for the Punjab.

Seven crore Muslims and 23 crore Hindus can live together on no condition except that of unity.

Till now, we passed resolutions; now has come the time for action. If, before the Congress meets, you want to show that you have done something, you should see to it that all schools and colleges in Nagpur are vacated.

There is a serious difference of opinion between Shri Khaparde and me, but I do not like anyone to harass him. I want that he should have the same freedom which I want for myself. If we achieve good results through action, we shall see that Shri Khaparde and all others like him will come over to us.

We should have the strength to make within a year all preparations for managing our affairs. We should have faith that we shall succeed in getting justice on the Punjab issue. It is because of our timidity that a handful of Englishmen rule over us. We should have swaraj in order that there be no repetition of such treachery in future. Until we get ready for concrete work, we shall be able to achieve nothing. I cannot understand what sacrifice is involved in swadeshi. We have an opportunity such as the people in Egypt and Korea never had. There are 30 crores of people in India. Egypt has only a handful. We two brothers are an object lesson for the whole country. We live as two blood-brothers would. Neither has any reserve in his heart.

[From Gujarati]

Mahadevbhaini Diary, Vol. V

82. *MORE ABOUT "ANTYAJAS"*

I feel sorry that *Navajivan* has had to join the present controversy about *Antyajas*. Since, however, the issue has a bearing on the success of non-co-operation, I hope the readers of *Navajivan* will forgive me for taking up its space. It is *Navajivan*'s duty to place before the people the naked truth as the workers who run the journal see it.

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many years. He was chairman of the reception committee for the Nagpur session of the Congress.

The path of non-co-operation is both easy and difficult. It is easy for those who understand it. For the others, it is difficult; for, not understanding it, they get confused again and again.

Problems do not get solved by our trying to put them out of sight. The path of non-co-operation will be the easier if we solve a problem the moment it arises. Unless we co-operate among ourselves, we shall not acquire the strength to employ non-co-operation against the Government. We shall not succeed if we look upon six crores of *Antyajas* as *Dheds*[1] and despise them. An Empire which has set the Hindus and the Muslims against each other will not hesitate to create enmity between the *Antyajas* and the rest of the Hindus.

In forming our judgments, it is desirable that we are not led away by wrong information. The resolution that *Antyajas* will be admitted to schools recognized by the Vidyapith[2] is not a new rule; it merely asserts what is implied in the constitution of the Vidyapith. The interpretation which it contains has not been inspired by Mr. Andrews; he asked a question and the resolution was a reply to his question. The reply would have been the same if anyone else had asked the question.

I have said earlier that the resolution was not mine or that of any individual; it was of the Vidyapith's senate as a whole.[3]

The resolution was adopted not as a measure of expediency but as an imperative moral obligation.

Its adoption is not the work of the new wind from the West but only means accepting what Hinduism says. I myself would not sacrifice dharma for the sake of swaraj. I have been fighting for swaraj because I think of it as an essential aspect of dharma.

I would be ready even to sacrifice the country for the sake of dharma; such is the ideal which inspires me. My patriotism is subject to my concern for dharma and, therefore, if the interest of the country conflicts with that of dharma, I would be ready to sacrifice the former. I look upon it as *adharma* to treat *Antyajas* as untouchables, and I have not the slightest wish to advance the interests of the country through *adharma*. I am convinced that we shall get swaraj only when there is religious awakening in the country. This awakening seems to be near at hand and that is the reason why I believe it possible to win swaraj within one year. What I have said so far will have made it clear that, if I

[1] One of the communities traditionally regarded as untouchable

[2] Gujarat Vidyapith

[3] *Vide* "To *Vaishnavas*", 5-12-1920.

have been striving hard to eradicate the practice of untouchability, it is because I look upon it as *adharma*.

I am sure Hinduism does not at all teach that there can be any person who is born an untouchable and must die an untouchable. To describe such *adharma* as dharma is to be guilty of a further violation of dharma. I have been entreating the Hindus of Gujarat to give up, on rational grounds, the idea of untouchability which in any case is not followed in practice. If the idea had been right from the point of view of dharma and had disappeared in practice at the present time, I would have wished to revive it in the Vidyapith. But it is because I believe that the idea is contrary to dharma that I have welcomed the resolution of the Vidyapith and request all Gujaratis to do the same.

I realize that it is difficult to overcome old prejudices. Those who see the practice of untouchability in the light of a prejudice and cannot get rid of it all at once have my sympathy. But I merely pity those who keep it alive because they think it is dharma.

It is dangerous to give credence to everything which may be said in the name of Hinduism or the shastras. I, therefore, request the Gujarati Hindus not to be misled by the resolution passed [at the meeting held] under the presidentship of the Shankaracharya.

It is very necessary, however, that in all our discussions we remain peaceful. This is especially true of the non-co-operator. I read in one of the articles of Shastri Vasantram that someone has held out a threat to him. We shall not succeed in solving religious issues or coming to right decisions in any other matter by resorting to violence. We can decide between right and wrong only by reasoning with one another in a respectful manner. All moral problems will be resolved by each one of us acting on his ideas. The truth will emerge when we try to do so. Trying to throw dust up at the sky we only fill our own eyes with it. Where is the need to argue this? Those who enjoy throwing dust will certainly throw it and learn, from experience, what is right and what is not. The effort to win swaraj while clinging to the sin of untouchability, a load of dirt, is like the attempt to throw dust up at the sky.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 19-12-1920

83. NOTES

Behold the Woman

We may learn much from the women of India. I wish the Englishmen as well as our own unbelievers in the efficacy or the necessity of non-co-operation were to witness the demonstration of the women of India in favour of non-co-operation. Everywhere they have flocked in their hundreds and thousands. They have even come out of their *purdahs* and given Maulana Shaukat Ali and me their blessings. They have instinctively understood the purity of the movement. Their hearts have been touched. They have given up their pearl and diamond bangles, their necklaces and their rings. All have come—both rich and poor—and given us their blessings and accompanied them with rich gifts, rich because of the absolutely voluntary nature thereof. They have understood, too, that the purity of the poor women of India is hidden in the music of the spinning-wheel. They do not flock to the standard of non-co-operation through hatred.

The Other Side

But the men are impatient and grievously err as they are reported to have done at Delhi and in Bengal. It was cruel and sinful to deny the rights of burial to the corpse of a man whom the so-called non-co-operators (if they were non-co-operators) disliked.[1] It was filthy to throw, at a place in East Bengal, night-soil on a candidate who had stood for election as a Council member, or to cut [off] the ears of a voter for daring to exercise his vote.[2] These are just the ways of defeating our own purpose. Non-co-operation is non-violent not merely in regard to the Englishmen and Government officials. It has to be equally so as between ourselves. A co-operator is as much entitled to freedom of action, speech and thought as the tallest among non-co-operators. Non-co-operation is directed against all slavery. Every non-co-operator therefore retards the function of his cause by resorting to violence. It is a sure sign of want of faith in his mission.

[1] *Vide* footnote 1, p. 97.

[2] Both the incidents had occurred in November 1920, during elections to Legislative Councils.

MORE REPRESSION

Whether it is in answer to the Delhi incident or what, the Seditious Meetings' Act is again applied to Delhi and a certain volunteer corps disbanded.[1] I am unable to say much about this repressive measure in the absence of more information. But this I know that the orders of disbandment, prohibition of meetings, posters, etc., must be scrupulously carried out if the campaign is to be quickly carried to a successful issue. We must be able to conduct the movement without public meetings and placards if need be. The disbanding order has not much meaning. No government in the world can prevent a man from rendering service if he wants to. He does not need a label to enable him to do so. But volunteers must not act as the police is reported to do. They must not terrorize those who do not fall in with their views. They are servants, not masters of the nation.

Young India, 22-12-1920

84. THE SIN OF SECRECY

One of the curses of India is often the sin of secrecy. For fear of an unknown consequence we talk in whispers. Nowhere has this secrecy oppressed me more than in Bengal. Everybody wishes to speak to you 'in private'. The spectacle of innocent young men looking around before opening their lips to see that no third party overhears their conversation has given me the greatest grief. Every stranger is suspected of belonging to the Secret Service. I have been warned to beware of strangers. The cup of my misery was filled when I was told that the unknown student who presided at the students' meeting belonged to the Secret Service department. I could recall the names of at least two prominent leaders who are suspected in high Indian circles of being spies of the Government.

I feel thankful to God that for years past I have come to regard secrecy as a sin more especially in politics. If we realized the presence of God as witness to all we say and do, we would not have anything to conceal from anybody on earth. For, we would not think unclean thoughts before our Maker, much less speak them. It is uncleanness that seeks secrecy and darkness. The tendency of human nature is to hide dirt, we do not want to see

[1] *Vide* "Telegram to M. Asaf Ali", on or after December 11, 1920.

or touch dirty things: we want to put them out of sight. And so must it be with our speech. I would suggest that we should avoid even thinking thoughts we would hide from the world.

This desire for secrecy has bred cowardice amongst us and has made us dissemble our speech. The best and the quickest way of getting rid of this corroding and degrading Secret Service is for us to make a final effort to think everything aloud, have no privileged conversation with any soul on earth and to cease to fear the spy. We must ignore his presence and treat everyone as a friend entitled to know all our thoughts and plans. I know that I have achieved most satisfactory results from evolving the boldest of my plans in broad daylight. I have never lost a minute's peace for having detectives by my side. The public may not know that I have been shadowed throughout my stay in India. That has not only not worried me but I have even taken friendly services from these gentlemen: many have apologized for having to shadow me. As a rule, what I have spoken in their presence has already been published to the world. The result is that now I do not even notice the presence of these men and I do not know that the Government is much the wiser for having watched my movements through its secret agency. My opinion is that these agents accompany me as a matter of form or routine. They certainly never bother me. I venture to make a present of my experience to every young man in Bengal and for that matter in India. No one need think that my public position, and not my openness, saves me from offensive attention. It is the simplest thing to see that the moment you cease to dread the presence of the spy and therefore refuse to treat him as such, that moment his presence ceases to offend you. Soon the Government will feel ashamed to have its Secret Service department or, if it does not, the secret police will be sick of an occupation which serves no use.

Non-co-operation is essentially a cleansing process. It deals with causes rather than symptoms. The detective department is a symptom of the secrecy which is the cause. Removal of secrecy brings about the full disappearance of the Secret Service without further effort. The Press Act is a symptom of the disease of cowardice. If we would boldly declare our intentions, the Press Act will die of inanition. The beginners will have to suffer for their so-called daring. I hear that *The Servant* of Calcutta has been served with a warning for its tenacity to take over an article from *Young India*[1] condensing Mr. Rajagopalachari's admirable ins-

[1] Of November 10, 1920

tructions to voters. I notice, too, that the most telling passages of my speech in Calcutta have been omitted by the Press evidently for fear of the censor. I would far rather see a complete stoppage of a newspaper if the editor cannot, without fear of the consequence, freely express his sentiments or publish those which he approves.

Non-co-operation, while it gladly avails itself of the assistance that may be rendered by the Press, is, has to be, by its very nature, independent of the Press. There can be no doubt that every thought we print is being printed on sufferance. As soon as its circulation takes effect, the Government, for the sake of its existence, will try to prohibit it. We may not expect this or any government to commit suicide. It must either reform or repress.

In the ordinary course repression must precede reform under a despotic Government such as ours. The stoppage of the circulation of potent ideas that may destroy the Government or compel repentance will be the least among the weapons in its repressive armoury. We must therefore devise methods of circulating our ideas unless and until the whole Press becomes fearless, defies consequences and publishes ideas, even when it is in disagreement with them, just for the purpose of securing its freedom. An editor with an original idea or an effective prescription for India's ills can easily write them out, a hundred hands can copy them, many more can read them out to thousands of listeners. I do hope therefore that non-co-operation editors, at any rate, will not refrain from expressing their thoughts for fear of the Press Act. They should regard it as sinful to keep their thoughts secret—a waste of energy to conduct a newspaper that cramps their thoughts. It is negation of one's calling for an editor to have to suppress his best thoughts.

Young India, 22-12-1920

85. SPEECH AT WEAVERS' CONFERENCE, NAGPUR

December 25, 1920

Though I am extremely busy with other work, I could not refuse the invitation to preside over this Conference. True, I am not a weaver by profession, but I regard myself as a farmer-weaver. In the court also I have stated this as my profession. I think that the regeneration of India will be difficult, if not impossible, without the uplift of its weavers. And the subject, therefore, came up for discussion at the last Congress. At the time that India passed into subjection, there was no other country in the world which produced cloth in the same quantity and of the same quality as it did. All this cloth was being produced when there was not a single mill here. From khadi to Dacca muslin, every variety of cloth was available then. There was enough to meet the country's requirements of cloth and leave a surplus which was exported. Foreigners were drawn to this country as visitors. The man who invented the sacred spinning-wheel had shown a greater genius than Hargreaves (inventor of the spinning-jenny), and greater than anyone else in the country ever did. In the days of our prosperity, there was a spinning-mill in every home. Brahma saw that if India was to remain free her women should be persuaded to look upon it as their sacred duty to produce some yarn [every day]. That is why it happened that he did not create a distinct community whose function would be to spin but made that obligatory on all women. Our downfall began with the coming of the East India Company. From that time, weavers and spinners started giving up their profession. As in Champaran the people were obliged to part with their indigo crop, so [in those times] they were pressed to give yarn, so much so that in sheer desperation people cut off their fingers. After this, started the imports from Lancashire. If you wish to bring about regeneration of dharma, you should atone for the past and revive the old professions of spinning and weaving. Because we have forsaken the path of dharma, we have been doing evil things in the name of swadeshi. I, therefore, ask people to produce more yarn and more cloth so that they may protect dharma. If they do not do this, we shall certainly have to import cloth from outside. Shri Fazalbhoy[1] and Shri Wadia[2] tell us that for fifty years

[1] & [2] Mill-owners of Bombay

more we shall not be in a position to produce all the cloth we need. Shri Gokhale had argued that this would be impossible for a hundred years. They are mistaken. They do not know that every home in the country can have a spinning-wheel and a loom.

So long as spinning and weaving have not been taken up, it is no service to the country to open swadeshi stores; it is actually a sin to do so. The handkerchief given to me is made with foreign yarn.

I see a very small number of weavers here. Of the three classes of them, I do not see any members of the untouchable communities. A gentleman wrote to inform me that such members would not be admitted. I told him that in that case I also would leave the place. The next time you hold a conference, invite weavers of this class.

Your manner of carrying on your profession is not the right one. If you follow it for the benefit of the country, you should produce additional yarn, or have it produced by others, and weave that. You will find it difficult to weave this yarn, but you should not mind it. If young boys and girls spin daily for one hour, all the cotton we produce can be turned into yarn. It would not be right for me to ask you to produce fine cloth for the country at this time. A fire of sorrow is raging at present and I want, if I can, to burn the men and women of India to ashes in this fire. I must tell the weavers that it is a matter of grief that the cloth which they wear is not produced by themselves.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 20-1-1921

86. SPEECH AT "ANTYAJ" CONFERENCE, NAGPUR

December 25, 1920

I feel very happy in taking the chair at this meeting.[1]

I am very glad to see present here such a large number of people belonging to non-*Antyaj* communities.

I have been studying the conditions of the *Antyaj* communities for many years now. On this matter, I differ from our great reformers. I do not follow the same method of work as they do. I have been thinking over their method of work ever since

[1] Before proceeding, Gandhiji, who had begun in Hindi, asked the audience if they followed him, to which they replied in the affirmative.

my return to India, but I have not felt that the work I have been doing is inadequate or that the work of others is better than mine. It is possible, of course, that my work is inadequate, but my faith is that it is not.

My method of work is this. The practice of untouchability is a sin and should be eradicated. I look upon it as my duty to eradicate this sin; it is, however, to be eradicated on the initiative of the other Hindus, not the *Antyajas*. The practice of untouchability is an excrescence on Hinduism. I said once in Madras that I saw terrible Satanism in our Empire and that, if I could not mend it, I wanted to end it; likewise, I believe that the practice of untouchability is a great Satanism in Hinduism.

The late Mr. Gokhale, on being acquainted with all the facts about our position in South Africa, asked why it should surprise us that our condition was so miserable. Just as we look upon the *Antyajas* as untouchables, so the Europeans look upon all of us, Hindus and Muslims, as untouchables. We may not reside in their midst, nor enjoy the rights which they do. The whites of South Africa have reduced Indians to the same miserable plight to which we Hindus have reduced the *Antyajas*. In the Colonies of the Empire, outside India, the conduct of the whites [towards Indians] is exactly like that of the Hindus towards the *Antyajas*. It was this which prompted Shri Gokhale to say that we were tasting the fruit of the Satanism practised by Hindu society, that it had committed a great sin, had been guilty of extreme Satanism, and that this was the reason for our wretched plight in South Africa. I immediately agreed. What he said was perfectly right. My subsequent experience has confirmed it.

I am a Hindu myself and I claim to be an orthodox one. It is my further claim that I am a *sanatani* Hindu. At present I am engaged in a great dispute with the Hindus in Gujarat. They, especially the *Vaishnavas*, reject my claim to be called a *sanatani* Hindu, but I cling to it and assert that I am one. This is one great evil in Hindu society. There are many others, but those you may eradicate, if not today, after a thousand years and the delay may be forgiven. This practice, however, of regarding the *Antyajas* as untouchables is intolerable to me. I cannot endure it. The Hindus owe it as a duty to make a determined effort to purify Hinduism and eradicate this practice of untouchability. I have said to the Hindus, and say it again today, that till Hindu society is purged of this sin, swaraj is an impossibility. If you trust my words, I tell you that I am more pained by this evil being a part of the Hindus' religion than the *Antyajas* are by

their being treated as untouchables. While the practice remains in Hindu society, I feel ashamed and feel unhappy even to call myself a Hindu. The speakers[1], who preceded me and spoke to you in Marathi, made a kind of attack [on me]. I would be [they said] worthy of the title [Mahatma] which the country has conferred on me—but which I have not accepted—only when Hinduism was purged of the evil of untouchability. When I am pouring out my heart, please do not interrupt me with applause. I ask you, tell me if you can, is there any method of work by following which one individual may end a very old practice? If anyone could show me such a way, I would end the thing today. But it is a difficult task to get Hindu society to admit its error and correct it.

I put into practice what I say. I have had to suffer much in trying to carry my wife with me in what I have been doing. By referring to my ordeals I want to show to you, *Antyajas* and Hindus, that this is a task full of great difficulties. I don't wish to suggest that we should on that account give it up. Only we should take thought about the method of work. This is my reason for not approving of your resolutions.

You want to pass a resolution to the effect that the *Antyajas* should be free to enter all the temples. How is this possible? So long as *Varnashram-dharma* occupies the central place in Hinduism, it is in vain that you ask that every Hindu should be free to enter a temple right now. It is impossible to get society to accept this. It is not prepared for this yet. I know from experience that there are many temples which some other communities besides the *Antyajas* are also forbidden to enter. Some of the temples in Madras are not open even to me. I don't feel unhappy about this. I am not even prepared to say that this betrays the Hindus' narrow outlook or that it is a wrong they are committing. Maybe it is, but we should consider the line of thinking behind it. If their action is inspired by considerations of discipline, I would not say that everyone should be free to go into any temple. There are a variety of sects in India and I do not want to see them wiped out. Hindu society has not fallen because of sects or on account

[1] The mover and the seconder of the proposal requesting Gandhiji to accept the presidentship of the Congress had said, as reported by Mahadev Desai in his Diary: ". . . . Mahatmaji has hitherto done nothing for us (untouchables). He sympathizes with our efforts. We do not need Gandhiji's services for securing improvement in our conditions. We can do this even by getting favourable laws enacted by the State, but untouchability cannot be eradicated by laws."

of *Varnashram*. It has fallen because we have forgotten the beauty and the discipline which lie behind *Varnashram*. You should understand that *Varnashram-dharma* has nothing to do with the practice of untouchability. To say that the former is evil, that it is a sin, is to apply Western standards, and I do not accept them. It is by accepting them that India has fallen. I do not want to have the blessings and the goodwill of the *Antyajas* for what I have not done and, therefore, I wish to make it plain to you on this occasion that I have associated myself with these proceedings most reluctantly. For I am with the *Antyajas* and the reformers in wanting to eradicate the evil of untouchability, but I do not go along with them in the other things which you and they want to be done. I cannot tell a Hindu—for I do not believe in it—that he may freely eat and drink in the company of any other Hindus or that all Hindus should freely intermarry. This is not necessary. A man who refrains from these things, I say, may be a man of self-control or he may even be a man of licence. I believe that it is with a view to self-control that people refrain from them.

I myself eat and drink in the company of *Antyajas*. I have adopted the daughter[1] of an *Antyaj* family and she is dearer to me than my very life. I should not, however, tell Hindu society that it might abandon its self-control. I believe that society has a place even for one like me. It has a place for anyone who lives as I do, without being a sannyasi. Just as I would eat something offered by a Muslim, if it was otherwise acceptable, so I would accept anything offered by an *Antyaj*. But I should not like to compel other Hindus to do likewise, for it would mean their casting off self-control, the self-control which protects Hindu society. To abolish *Varnashram* or the restrictions about eating and drinking and to eradicate the evil of untouchability—these two are not quite the same thing. One is Satanism, the other means self-control. I am a student and I have been studying this matter. If, therefore, I ever feel that I have been mistaken, I will forthwith admit my error; at the moment, however, I am ready to declare that I see nothing but hypocrisy, nothing but Satanism, in those who have been defending the practice of untouchability. It is Satanism which they are defending.

[1] Lakshmi, daughter of Dudhabhai and Danibehn who were admitted as inmates of the Ashram at Sabarmati soon after it was founded in May 1915. She was entrusted to the care of Gandhiji in October 1920. *Vide* Vol. XVIII, pp. 328 & 338-9.

I have explained my limitations and the task to which I have addressed myself, as also my method of work. I do not believe that by working among the *Antyajas* and educating them, the reformers will succeed in eradicating the practice of untouchability. I know quite a few people who speak much on platforms but hang back when the occasion may require them to touch [an *Antyaj*]. This method is not mine and I want to tell you that it is not the way to bring about reforms. On the other hand, those who argue that they will change their practice when Hindu society has corrected its error also weary me with their talk. I have been telling the *Antyajas* that I for one would most certainly offer non-co-operation against a sin of this kind. I may tell all those other than *Antyajas* present here that, should all our efforts to eradicate this evil fail, it may even be that, alone, I shall offer non-co-operation against this sin of society—against Hindu society. I don't think it so difficult to end the Satanism of the Empire. That Satanism is of a worldly nature. The Satanism of untouchability has taken on the colour of religion. Hindus are convinced that it is a sin to touch the *Antyajas*. It is a difficult task to make them see reason. We are so much in the grip of lethargy and inertia, so deeply sunk in misery, that we can't even think. Our religious heads, too, are so deeply sunk in ignorance that it is impossible to explain things to them. Eradicating the evil of untouchability means in fact persuading Hindu society of its need. It will be impossible for the *Antyajas* to destroy the crores of Hindus and end the evil of untouchability. If the practice is enjoined in the Vedas or the *Manusmriti*, they ought to be replaced. But where are the men who will write new scriptures? I am a man of the world and lay no claim to being a religious leader. With many shortcomings myself, how can I lay down a moral and ethical code for the Hindus? I may only persuade them to do what I want by making myself worthy of their compassion.

The task is full of difficulties. However, if our reformers only realize that to seek to eradicate this evil by destroying Hindu society is a futile attempt, they will be convinced that they will achieve their purpose only by being patient. I tell you, my *Antyaj* friends, you are as much Hindus as I am, as much entitled to the privileges of Hinduism as I am. If you understand it properly, you have in your own hands the weapons you need, much as we have in our own hands the weapons we need to see an end of the Empire. Just as begging will not avail us for this purpose, so also the means of ending the practice of untouchability is in the hands of the *Antyajas* themselves.

If they ask me to teach them non-co-operation, I am ready to start this very evening. Non-co-operation is a process of self-purification. India is different from other lands and, therefore, we do not seek to get what we want by making things hot for the British. What, then, is the way to purify ourselves? Hindus say that the *Antyajas* drink, that they eat anything and everything, that they do not observe rules of personal cleanliness, that they kill cows. I do not believe that all this is true. No one who claims to be a Hindu can eat beef. If the *Antyajas* want to employ non-co-operation, they should give up drinking and eating beef or, at any rate, killing cows. I do not ask the tanners to give up their work. Englishmen do this work but we don't mind saluting them. These days even Brahmins do it. I see no uncleanliness in doing sanitary work. I have myself done that work for a long time, and I like doing it. My mother taught me that it is holy work. Though it means handling unclean things, the work itself is holy. Anyone who does it and looks upon it as holy work will go to heaven. You can remain in the Hindu fold without giving it up. If anyone offers you left-over food or cooked food, you should refuse to accept it and ask him to give you grains instead. Be clean in your habits. When you have finished your work of cleaning latrines, change your dress. Though doing this work, you should observe as much cleanliness as my mother did. You will ask me how you are to get clothes into which you may change; you should, in that case, tell the Hindus that you will not work unless you get Rs. 15 or 20 or 30, whatever you think you need, you can tell them that you perform an essential service for society, in the same way that carpenters and blacksmiths do. Make yourselves fearless. I know the *Antyajas* of Gujarat, know their nature. I teach them this same thing, that they should end the evil of untouchability by their own strength, that they should live as thorough-going Hindus so that other Hindus may honour them instead of despising them.

I want to get the thing done through you or through Hindu society itself. I ask you to make yourselves fit for the rights which you demand. By saying so, I do not wish to suggest that you are not already fit. When I ask the country to be fit for swaraj, I do not imply that it is unfit. I only ask it to be fitter than it is. I tell the *Antyajas*, likewise, that they have a right to be free, to be the equals of any other Hindu; I ask them, however, to do *tapashcharya* and be fitter for these things.

Speaking of *tapashcharya*, I should like to tell you of two incidents in my life. After I had started the Satyagraha Ashram in

Ahmedabad, I admitted to it an *Antyaj* friend, named Dudhabhai, and his wife. How did our Hindus behave at the time? Dudhabhai's wife was not allowed to draw water from the well which we had been using. I told them that, in that case, I, too, would not avail myself of that well. I had a share in the use of that well. But I let it go. How did Dudhabhai behave? He remained perfectly calm, bearing the abuse in silence. With this *tapashcharya*, the difficulty was overcome in three days, the people having realized that Dudhabhai, too, was free to draw water from that well. This same Dudhabhai's daughter, Lakshmi, lives in my house, moving like [Goddess] Lakshmi indeed. If all of you learnt to do the *tapashcharya* which Dudhabhai did, your suffering would be over this very day.

And now I address myself to Hindus other than *Antyajas* and tell them that they should be brave and get rid of this sin of theirs. I believe that I am a religious man. You may even say that I am superstitious. I believe that so long as you have not rid yourselves of this sin, have not begged forgiveness of the *Antyajas*, you will be visited with no end of misfortunes. Know that the practice of untouchability is a sin. If you can, by your own voluntary effort, purge yourselves of the evils in you, you will have freedom for the asking.

I will cite another instance to show the flexibility of Hinduism. When I returned from South Africa, I had, accompanying me, a boy named Naidoo belonging to the *Panchama* community. Shri Natesan[1] is a sincere worker in the cause of the *Antyajas*. Once I was to stay in his house when I was in Madras on my way to Ahmedabad. Many friends asked me if I knew what I was doing. Natesan's mother [they said] was so orthodox in her ideas that it would be the death of the old lady to know that I was accompanied by an *Antyaj* boy. I told them that I would prefer to avoid Natesan's house rather than send away the boy elsewhere. Natesan, however, is a straightforward man. He went to his mother and told her the real fact. She said the boy was welcome. She had understood that a boy accompanying me could not lack cleanliness. I, too, had seen that he did not. We stayed in his house and drew our water from the very same well which the lady was using. What does this incident prove? That like Natesan, other caste Hindus can succeed, by the purity of their

[1] G. A. Natesan; author, journalist and nationalist politician; later joined the Liberal Party; sometime member of the Council of State and the Tariff Board; founder of the publishing house of G. A. Natesan & Co.; editor, *Indian Review*

character and their straightforwardness, in winning over their mothers and sisters. The point is that this problem can be solved only through the sincerity of caste Hindus and the *tapashcharya* of the *Antyajas*.

I pray to God to give wisdom and patience to the *Antyajas* so that they may not turn away from the path of dharma. On behalf of the Hindus, I pray to God that He may save Hindu society from this sin, from this Satanism.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 2-1-1921

87. MY NOTES

LANGUAGE OF "NAVAJIVAN"

Moving about all the time in the course of my tours, I am not able to write about my experiences and reflections at such great length as I should like to; I, therefore, content myself for the present with brief notes and beg leave to place before readers some important ones.

I am happy that *Navajivan* is read by hack-drivers and workers. Two such readers have written to me to say that I should not permit difficult words like *asprishyata*[1] and *Maharashtra-yatra*[2] to be used in the paper. I should like to satisfy readers like these but it would not be proper, either, to lower the quality of the language. The workers, too, should exert themselves a little and learn to follow cultivated language. They should seek others' help to understand words which they do not follow.

Our language, Gujarati, is used by three classes of people: Hindus, Muslims and Parsis. Each class has developed its own dialect and, besides, the three communities keep so much aloof from one another that none of them acquires acquaintance with the language of the other two. Few Hindus read books written by Parsis. True, there are the writings of Khabardar[3] and others which are an exception, but as a rule Parsis write for Parsis, Muslims for Muslims and Hindus for Hindus. When the feeling of oneness is born among us, when especially we come to have all our education in schools through Gujarati and Gujarati comes to be respected by Gujaratis, all of us will learn to write one and the

[1] Untouchability

[2] Maharashtra tour

[3] Ardeshar Faramji Khabardar, a Parsi poet

same language. Meanwhile, an effort is made to keep [the language of] *Navajivan* as simple as possible; but we cannot avoid using certain words which it is likely that Muslim readers will not easily follow. They should take some pains to learn such words.

National Language

While on the subject of language, some experiences about Hindustani come to my mind. My use of this language is full of errors of grammar. Even so people listen to my Hindustani with love. At some places I tell students that I am ready to speak in English, but they prefer Hindustani. There were in particular three such occasions, in Allahabad, in Patna and in Nagpur, and on each one the students wanted me to speak in Hindustani. Everyone had believed that in Dacca I would have no option but to speak in English, but the people asked for Hindustani and listened to my speech with attention. I see that those public workers, like me, who speak Hindustani with facility find their path clear wherever they go in India. There is some difficulty only in the Bengal and Madras presidencies. Experience shows every day that, with growing awakening among the ordinary people, public speakers have no choice but to speak in Hindustani once they leave their province. It is very necessary that such speakers in Gujarat, if they wish to work on the all-India plane, should learn Hindustani.

Awakening among Women

What is true about language is also true about women. Just as our educated class has neglected the mother tongue and the national language, thereby cutting itself away from the general mass of the people, so also have we neglected women. We believe that they have no contribution to make to the national life and, in consequence, they have taken no part in public life so far. In this matter and in that of language, we have so far believed that without receiving English education and attending schools we simply cannot learn how to serve the country. This belief has been put into our heads by the Government and now we find it difficult to get rid of it. Unless we take a B.A. degree, we cannot get a post in Government service; without such a post we cannot have a position of authority and without authority we cannot be happy; and so we have come to believe that without English education we cannot serve the people. Having had this amount of education, we become "Sahibs" and, like the [English] "Sahibs", the Indian "Sahibs" also look upon the masses as untouchables.

This is the reason why the latter have taken little part in the efforts towards national regeneration.

I have met thousands of women. I talked to them about swaraj, about the Punjab, tried to popularize swadeshi among them and explained to them how today we had only one dharma, non-co-operation, for winning swaraj. The women understood all this. They had had no English education. Rich and poor, but most of them uneducated, these women gave me their blessings and their jewellery. Some gave bangles set with diamonds and pearls, some gave pearl necklaces, others gave diamond rings and still others gold chains. Of finger-rings and ear-rings of gold, there was no counting. The poor among them gave their anklets of silver. With practically no effort, I obtained from women in Gujarat, the South, the United Provinces, Bihar, Bengal and the Central Provinces about 50 thousand [rupees] in jewellery and cash. Nothing was given out of false regard [for me]; everyone gave voluntarily and with a promise not to ask for new jewellery till swaraj was won. With such awakening among women, why may I not believe that we are bound to get swaraj within a year? And this is but the beginning. These women had not come to the meetings with the thought of giving anything, nor had they consulted their husbands before coming. If, nevertheless, so much has been collected, why may I not trust that, with the sacrifice of only a little of what the women spend on their persons, we can start and run new schools in India?

PARSI RUSTOMJEE'S GIFT

The well-known Sheth Rustomjee Jivanji[1] of Natal has addressed a letter to me. Translated, it reads as under:[2]

Everyone in South Africa knows Sheth Rustomjee. He has always taken the fullest part in public life and has also made numerous charities. During the satyagraha there, he suffered a year's rigorous imprisonment. He had a great share, too, in uniting Hindus and Muslims. He is now making his contribution to the public work here. I will consult friends and announce in a short time how this offer will be utilized. Meanwhile, I may mention in passing that Sheth Rustomjee has taken the sting out of the charge that Parsis are taking no part in non-co-operation; it should

[1] A prominent Natal Indian who took a leading part in the satyagraha campaigns in South Africa; *vide* Vols. VIII, IX & X.

[2] This letter, not reproduced here, offered a sum of Rs. 40,000 for school buildings in four villages, provided the local population undertook to meet the cost of running them.

also be noted that Sheth Bomanji, the well-known millionaire of Bombay, has been acting in the same manner. I am sure the non-co-operation movement is so pure that no class of people, whether Parsis or Christians or Jews, who have made this country their own, will be able to keep aloof from it.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 26-12-1920

88. SPEECH AT CONGRESS SESSION, NAGPUR[1]

December 26, 1920

Gandhiji . . . wished that the president's speech should be heard with respect and patience. India was in the midst of a great controversy. The country was divided into two camps. He wished both sides should hear the president with patience and obey his order. The president was a satyagrahi. It was just possible that every finding of his might not be liked by all. He wished that even those who differed from him would give a respectful hearing.

Continuing, he said that he found somebody smoking in the *pandal*[2]; it might cause some danger. He appealed to the audience to abstain from smoking in the *pandal*. Besides, it was not Indian etiquette. In conclusion, he again appealed to the audience to give everybody a patient hearing and said their silence would convince him that God would help the Indians in their spiritual cause. He further exhorted the audience to hear speakers in the language in which they would like to address the meeting. He personally liked Hindi to be the language of the Congress but at present it could not be enforced.

Amrita Bazar Patrika, 30-12-1920

89. SPEECH ON CONGRESS ELECTIONS, NAGPUR[3]

December 26, 1920

Mr. Gandhi . . . impressed upon all non-co-operationists that whatever their grievances might be and whether the election had been rightly held or not they should refrain from any exhibition of temper or violence. If Mr. C. R.

[1] The speech was made on the opening day of the session when Gandhiji seconded the proposal for electing Vijayaraghavachariar as president of the Congress.

[2] Temporary enclosure erected for special occasions

[3] The speech was made when Gandhiji heard complaints regarding the election of delegates to the subjects committee, held in the morning. Ultimately fresh elections were ordered by the president.

Das would conscientiously declare that the election of this morning had been rightly held, then he would ask the Bengal non-co-operators to accept that decision, and if they still had any grievance he would ask them to withdraw from the subjects committee and not to take any active part in the proceedings of the Congress, and he himself would go out and keep out with them, leaving the conduct of affairs in the Congress to Mr. Shaukat Ali.

Amrita Bazar Patrika, 30-12-1920

90. SPEECH ON NEW CONGRESS CREED, NAGPUR[1]

December 28, 1920

The resolution which I have the honour to move is as follows:

> The object of the Indian National Congress is the attainment of swaraj by the people of India by all legitimate and peaceful means.

I do not propose to detain you for any length of time over proposing this resolution to you in a few English words. I am already absolved from that infliction because Lala Lajpat Rai has already arrived and he has undertaken the task of explaining that resolution to you in English. I just want to say a few words, personal words, to those who may not have followed my Hindustani. In my humble opinion, the Congress will have done the rightest thing if it unanimously adopts this resolution.

There are only two kinds of objection, so far as I understand, that will be advanced from this platform. One is, that we may not today think of dissolving the British connection. What I say is that it is derogatory to national dignity to think of permanence of British connection at any cost. (Hear, hear.) We are labouring under a grievous wrong which it is the personal duty of every Indian to get redressed. This British Government not only refuses to redress the wrong but it refuses to acknowledge its mistakes, and so long as it retains that attitude it is not possible for us to say that all that we want to get is by retaining the British connection. No matter what difficulties lie in our path, we must make the clearest possible declaration to the world and to the whole of India that we may not possibly have the British connection if

[1] The speech was made at the commencement of the debate on the draft Creed Resolution at the meeting of the subjects committee.

the British people will not do this elementary justice. I do not for one moment suggest that we want to end the British connection at all costs unconditionally. If the British connection is for the advancement of India we do not want to destroy it. But if it is inconsistent with our national self-respect, then it is our bounden duty to destroy it. (Hear, hear.) There is room in this resolution for both; those who believe that by retaining the British connection we can purify ourselves and purify the British people and those who have no such belief. As for instance, take the extreme case of Mr. Andrews. He says all hope for India is gone for keeping the British connection. He says there must be complete severance, complete independence. (Hear, hear.) There is room enough in this creed for a man like Mr. Andrews also. Take another illustration—a man like myself or my brother Shaukat Ali. There is certainly no room for us if we have eternally to subscribe to the doctrine that, whether these wrongs are redressed or not, we shall have to evolve ourselves within the British Empire: there is ou room for me in that creed. Therefore, this creed is elastic enough to take in both shades of opinion, and the British people will have to beware that, if they do not want to do justice, it will be the bounden duty of every Indian to destroy that Empire.

Then we have some argument as to the means. I will have the right of reply, so I do not want to address myself on that question now.

I want just now to wind up my remarks with a personal appeal drawing your attention to an object-lesson that was presented in the Bengal camp yesterday. If you want swaraj, you have got a demonstration of how to get swaraj. There was a little bit of skirmish, a little bit of squabble and a little bit of difference in the Bengal camp, as there will always be differences so long as the world lasts. I have known differences between husband and wife because I am still a husband. I have noticed differences between parents and children because I am still a father of four sons and they are all strong enough to destroy their father so far as bodily strength is concerned. So I possess that varied experience of husband and parent. I know that we shall always have squabbles, we shall always have differences. But the lesson that I want to draw your attention to is that I had the honour and privilege of addressing both parties.[1] They gave me their undivided attention and, what is more, they showed their attachment, their

[1] One led by C. R. Das and the other by Jitendralal Banerjee

affection and their fellowship for me by accepting the humble advice that I had the honour of tendering to them, and I advised them: "I am not here to distribute justice; the justice that can be awarded is only through our worthy President. But I ask you not to go to the President. You need not worry him. If you are strong, if you are brave, if you are intent upon getting swaraj, and if you really want to revise the creed, then you will bottle up your rage, you will bottle up all the feelings of injustice that may rankle in your hearts and forget these things here under this very roof." And I told them to forget their differences, to forget the wrongs. I do not want to tell you or go into the history of that incident. Probably most of you know. I simply want to invite your attention to the fact. I do not say they have settled their differences. I hope they have. But I do know that they undertook to forget the differences. They undertook not to worry the President, they undertook not to make any demonstration here or in the subjects committee, and all honour to those who listened to that advice.[1] I only want my Bengal friends and all the other friends, who have come to this great assembly with a fixed determination, to seek nothing but the betterment of their country, to seek nothing but the advance of their respective rights, to seek nothing but the conservation of the national honour. I appeal to everyone of you to copy the example set by those who felt aggrieved and who felt that their heads were broken. I know, before we are done with this great battle on which we have embarked at the special session of the Congress[2], we have to go probably, possibly, through a sea of blood, but let it not be said of us or any of us that we are guilty of shedding blood, but let it be said by generations yet to be born that we suffered, that we shed not somebody's blood but our own; and so I have no hesitation in saying that I do not want to show much sympathy for those who had their heads broken or who were said to be even in danger of losing their lives. What does it matter? It is much better to die at the hands at least of our own countrymen. What is there to revenge ourselves about or upon? So I ask everyone of you that if at any time there is blood boiling within you against some fellow countryman of yours, even though he may be in the employ of the Government, even though he may be in the secret service, or he may belong to the detective department, you will take care not to be

[1] All Bengal delegates attended the open session of the Congress despite rumours to the effect that the group led by Jitendralal Banerjee would not attend it on account of differences regarding the election to the subjects committee.

[2] Held at Calcutta in September 1920

offended and not to return blow for blow. Understand that the very moment you return the blow from the detective your cause is lost. That is your non-violent campaign and so I ask everyone of you not to retaliate but to bottle up all your rage, to dismiss your rage from you, and you will rise braver men. I am here to congratulate those who have restrained themselves from going to the President and bringing the dispute before him. Therefore I appeal to those who feel aggrieved to feel that they will have done the right thing in forgetting it and if they have not forgotten I ask them to try to forget the thing—and that is the object-lesson to which I wanted to draw your attention.

If you want to carry this resolution do not carry it only by acclamation, though I shall want your acclamation for this resolution. But I want you to accompany the carrying out of this resolution with a faith and a resolution, which nothing on earth can move, that you are intent upon getting swaraj at the earliest possible moment, and that you are intent upon getting swaraj by means that is legitimate, that is honourable, and by means that is non-violent, that is peaceful. You have resolved upon this thing: that, so far as we can see today, we cannot give battle to this Government by means of steel but we can give battle by exercising what I have so often called soul-force and soul-force is not the prerogative of one man or a sannyasi or even of a so-called saint. Soul-force is the prerogative of every human being, female or male, and therefore I ask my countrymen, if they want to accept this resolution, to accept it with that fixed determination and to understand that it is inaugurated under such good and favourable auspices as I have described to you. I have done. If there is anything which I have got to explain I shall do so in my reply. I thank you very much for giving me this patient hearing. May God grant that you will pass this resolution unanimously. May God grant that you will also have the courage and the ability to carry out the resolution and that within one year. (Loud and continued cheers.)[1]

Report of the Thirty-fifth Session of the Indian National Congress

[1] M. R. Jayakar, in *The Story of My Life*, Vol. I, pp. 414-5, Asia Publishing House, 1958, quotes the following paragraphs as occurring in this speech:

"Now [since the Surat Congress of 1907] about thirteen years have rolled by and many events have since happened which practically make it compulsory, almost obligatory, to change the creed and I am prepared here to say that it could not be changed in a better way than is proposed. I say it is only a development of the policy which was adopted at the last Session at Calcutta in passing the Resolution of Non-co-operation. What does this change of creed

91. SPEECH AT CONCLUSION OF SUBJECTS COMMITTEE DEBATE[1]

December 28, 1920

I have before me the original resolution along with the various amendments, including one about our remaining in the Empire and another suggesting omission of the word "republic". I still maintain that, if our grievances remain unredressed, we should sever the British connection. This is why we are amending the constitution. If redress is available, the possibility of arriving at a compromise on swaraj through discussions is not ruled out. There is no trickery in this. In the form proposed, the Congress creed leaves the door open to both parties. If this is trickery, we should welcome it. Legitimate and peaceful means are the very foundation of the Congress programme. We should proclaim to the Europeans that their lives are safe in our country, that their guns and other things are no weapons of destruction but are mere toys. At the moment, there seems to be no possibility of violence. So far we addressed ourselves to the educated classes, but now we should address ourselves to the masses. If we can have swaraj only through unworthy means, that swaraj itself will be an unworthy thing. If we wish to undo the humiliation offered to Islam we should remain peaceful, otherwise the movement would collapse. If we take to violence, the Congress will be declared an illegal body and crushed out of existence. We should achieve our goal by honourable means. "Responsible government" is

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aim at? A notice to the British public and the British Government that although we do not at the present moment aim, directly aim, to get out of this British Empire, if we remain in it we shall not remain at the dictation of anybody. We shall remain there by our own free choice and free will.

"The phrase 'Swarajya' has been deliberately used for the purpose of enabling us to remain within this Commonwealth if we choose, when that Commonwealth has been established or go out of it when we like.

"I just want to tell you one word: The paths may be long and tedious. The goal may be distant, though I hope it is not. The task may be difficult. But there is nothing impossible before a nation of 315 millions. If we decide to do our duty, to do our duty manfully, fearlessly, in a spirit of selfless devotion to the interest of the country, what we are aiming at we shall achieve at no distant time."

[1] On the draft resolution on the creed of the Congress

a misleading phrase. No dictator will rise to power in India, since swaraj will be rule by the people themselves. If the people in the country themselves want dictatorship, nobody can prevent its rise.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 2-1-1921

92. *SPEECH ON CREED RESOLUTION AT PLENARY SESSION OF CONGRESS*

December 28, 1920

The Resolution means that the aim of the National Congress is to achieve swaraj, and that by just, pure and peaceful means. The Congress believes that we should secure swaraj as early as possible, this very day if we can have it.

In this Resolution, the Congress also indicates what we should do to achieve swaraj. It says that we do not want to secure it by the power of the sword. We do not want it through falsehood or by sacrificing truth. On the contrary, our means should be as pure as our aim. The Resolution, therefore, means that we pledge ourselves to secure swaraj and to adopt just, truthful and peaceful methods for the purpose.

I consider it my good fortune that I have an opportunity of moving such an important resolution in this Congress. Let me remind you that till now the aim of the Congress was to secure what they call "Responsible Colonial Government" within the Empire, such as what the other colonies enjoy, and to do this by means consonant with law. Law here means the law of the British Empire. We should respect the law of this Government, even though it refuses to offer a satisfactory solution of the Khilafat problem and, on the Punjab issue does not even admit its error, let alone doing justice. We may not seek to end the Government, if we wish to remain in the Congress—this was what the [Congress] constitution meant till this day. It is impossible for Hindus and Muslims to submit any longer to a Government which has perpetrated such naked injustice and refuses to repair it. We, therefore, declare through this Resolution that we want swaraj. It is only when we have swaraj that we shall have justice in the matter of the Punjab and the Khilafat wrongs.

But I do not want that we should adopt the methods of the West for securing swaraj. I know that Hindus and Muslims have

not renounced for all time the use of force for securing swaraj, but everyone realizes that today we cannot succeed in our aim by using force and hence it is that we have resorted to non-co-operation. We cannot save anything, ourselves or our dharma or the Empire, by using force. If you agree with me in this, let none of you oppose this Resolution.

I know that there are two parties among our thinking men, and to one of them belongs the Hon'ble Pandit Malaviyaji, who is like an elder brother to me. He has got a cold today and is running a temperature and hence could not come here to express his views. I shall, therefore, tell you what he thinks. There are not many who serve their country as well as he does and you know this. Even if we cannot agree with a man like him, we should listen to him patiently and respectfully. He argues that we talk of bringing down the British Empire, but that it is beyond our power. How can India, unarmed and weak, bring down such a mighty Empire? He says that we should not mislead the people by talking to them about what is beyond their strength, that anyone who leads them to attempt such a thing is a fool. If, as he says, it were really beyond the people's strength to bring down this Empire, I would certainly accept his advice. On this point, however, I differ from him. I believe that every man or woman has in him or her the necessary strength for winning swaraj. While we have the assurance in our heart that this body is inhabited by an *atman*, so long, I believe, we have it in us to win swaraj. The 33 crores of Hindus and Muslims are staunch in their faith, have God ever on their lips and would welcome death in His name. For one cow slaughtered, a thousand Hindus are ready to shed blood, others' and their own. For any Muslim humiliated, large numbers of others are ready to shed their blood, and to take others'. While India has such Hindus and Muslims, I shall never say that it is impossible for the country to win swaraj and I shall never permit this goal of ours, winning swaraj, to be relegated to some distant future.

This Empire has been guilty of so many crimes that living under its flag is tantamount to being disloyal to God. It is, therefore, my humble prayer to you all to give your approval to this Resolution.

Those among us who feel that we are much too weak, that with the strength we have we cannot win swaraj, even to them this goal should be acceptable since we wish to secure it peacefully and without sacrificing truth. That being so, we may place the highest ideal before us.

Those who feel that the Empire may yet come round, that an Empire of this character will sooner or later be persuaded to do justice, that we shall succeed, after entering the Councils, in bringing it to see reason, even such persons will have a place in the Congress in virtue of this Resolution.

We have no desire to punish the Empire. The Resolution does not say that we should necessarily end our connection with it in order to have swaraj. If this same Empire agrees to do justice and grant us our rights, we are ready to stay in it. I claim that this path is the path of justice and that, following it, we can come to no harm.

Therefore, if you accept this Resolution, if you agree that we must win swaraj and that in the manner suggested in this Resolution, I would ask you to pledge yourselves solemnly to that effect. Your task will not be over when you have passed the Resolution. If you take a solemn pledge, you will most assuredly win swaraj and succeed in getting the Punjab wrongs and the Khilafat injustice redressed.

You will also have speakers tell you [from this platform] that we should be free to employ any means to achieve our aim. I shall give my reply at the right time. At the moment, I shall merely say that, in defining the aim of the Congress, we should take the existing circumstances into account. For me, personally, it is a matter of dharma not to seek swaraj through violence even if it could be won in that manner, not to seek even *moksha*, if it were possible to attain it through violence. If I could perform an act of *bhakti* to God, I would not have such *bhakti* [through violence]. For us, the means, non-violence and truth, as suggested in this Resolution are the only right ones. Through them alone will you succeed in securing redress for the injustices inflicted on you.

I do not wish to tell you anything more than this. Knowing the great awakening in the country, I believe there is no need to tell you more.

Before concluding my remarks, I wish to tell you of an incident which was in the nature of an object-lesson [to us]. There was a minor scuffle in the Bengali camp yesterday. I was grieved to hear about it. I went to the spot to explain to the people how we should behave if we wanted to win swaraj. I told the friends very respectfully, what I wished to. I told them I could not say which party was in the right and which in the wrong, but I appealed to them, if they wanted to see their strained relations repaired, if they wanted swaraj for India and wished to wash their hearts clean and pure, to forget all that had happened and bury

the entire quarrel at that spot before leaving it. Both the parties saw the reason of this. If we want swaraj, we should not appeal to the Government when a brother has injured us, has even broken our head. Why should we approach the President either? If anyone assaults me with a stick, I would bow to him in return. The occasion is the right opportunity to win him over. If we do not behave in this manner, we can achieve nothing. If you are firm, if you are brave, if you are determined to win swaraj and if you really wish to change the Congress creed, you will have to conquer your anger. If any sense of wrong is gnawing at your hearts, you will have to repress it and forget everything about the matter. And so I ask this favour of my friends from Bengal and all others who are attending this great assembly with an earnest determination, that they will not spend their efforts on anything except the task of making their country strong, will not be concerned over anything except advancing their own rights and will not think of anything except upholding the self-respect of their country. I commend to you all the example of those who were agitated yesterday and felt that their heads had been broken. Before the great fight on which we embarked at the special session of the Congress is over, we shall, perhaps, have to cross a sea of blood. I know this full well. But we should see that none of us is charged with having shed others' blood. Let it be said by future generations that we did not take others' lives, but gave our own. I, therefore, feel no hesitation in saying that I do not want to show much sympathy for those whose heads were broken and who are said to have been in danger of their lives. What does it matter if it was so? Death at the hands of one's countrymen is to be welcomed. For what and on whom should we seek revenge? Even if a detective or a Government official assaults me, I would not complain to the Government against him; I would complain to God. Till we learn to co-operate among ourselves to the utmost, we shall not be free. My Bengali friends fell out among themselves, but they recovered their balance the moment they realized what they had done. I shall say nothing to those who approve of violence, but I can certainly urge my views on those who describe themselves as non-co-operators. The friends from Bengal have promised not to lose their temper. I congratulate the Bengal delegates on this. If you all do what they have done, I have not the slightest doubt that you will get swaraj. If you forgive a man, do not do so out of weakness. I would not, out of cowardice, submit to an assault; there is courage, however, in forgiving out of compassion for the man, even a person who has in-

flicted a cruel outrage on me. In placing this Resolution before you, I present this object-lesson to you.

Simultaneously, I expect from you such faith and determination as nothing in the world can shake. I know that you are determined to get swaraj as early as possible and that you wish to secure it with legitimate, honourable, non-violent and peaceful means only. We cannot match the Government's armed strength, but we can pit against it what I have called soul-force. No person, whether a sannyasi or a so-called Mahatma, has a monopoly of this force. All human beings, men and women, have it in them to employ it. I ask those who wish to accept this Resolution to do so with determination and believe that it will have been accepted at an auspicious moment such as I described earlier. May God move you to vote for it unanimously and inspire in you courage and strength to see its aim fulfilled within a year.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 2-1-1921

93. INTERVIEW TO "THE TIMES OF INDIA"[1]

[Before *December 29, 1920*]

Asked by the representative as to his impressions formed as a result of his activities during the last three months, Mr. Gandhi said:

My own impression of these three months' extensive experience is that this movement of non-co-operation has come to stay, and it is most decidedly a purifying movement, in spite of isolated instances of rowdyism, as for instance at Mrs. Besant's meeting in Bombay, at some places in Delhi, Bengal and even in Gujarat. The people are assimilating day after day the spirit of non-violence, not necessarily as a creed, but as an inevitable policy. I expect most startling results, more startling than, say, from the discoveries of Sir J. C. Bose, from the acceptance by the people of non-violence. If the Government could be assured beyond any possibility of doubt that no violence would ever be offered by us, the Government would from that moment alter its character unconsciously and involuntarily, but none the less surely, on that account.

[INTERVIEWER:] Alter its character—in what directions?

[1] An account of this interview, given at Nagpur, was published in *Young India*, 29-12-1920, under the title "Swaraj in Nine Months", and also in *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, 5-1-1921.

[GANDHIJI:] Certainly in the direction in which we ask it should move—that being in the direction of Government becoming responsive to every call of the nation.

Will you kindly explain further?

By that I mean, people will be able, by asserting themselves, through fixed determination and self-sacrifice to gain the redress of the Khilafat wrong, the Punjab wrong, and attain the swaraj of their choice.

But what is your swaraj, and where does the Government come in there—the Government which you say will alter its character unconsciously?

My swaraj is the parliamentary government of India in the modern sense of the term for the time being, and that government would be secured to us either through the friendly offices of the British people or without them.

What do you mean by the phrase 'without them'?

This movement is an endeavour to purge the present Government of the selfishness and greed which determine almost everyone of their activities. Suppose that we have made it impossible by dissociation from them to feed their greed. They might not wish to remain in India, as happened in the case of Somaliland, where, the moment its administration ceased to be a paying proposition they evacuated it.

How do you think, in practice, this will work out?

What I have sketched before you is the final possibility. What I expect is that nothing of that kind will happen. In so far as I understand the British people, I think that they will bow to the inevitable. They will recognize the force of public opinion when it has become real and potent. Then, and only then, will they realize the hideous injustice which in their name the Imperial Ministers and their representatives in India have perpetrated. They will, therefore, remedy the two wrongs in accordance with the wishes of the people, and they will also offer a constitution exactly in accordance with the wishes of the people of India as represented by their chosen leaders.

Supposing that the British Government wishes to retire because India is not a paying concern, what do you think will then be the position of India?

At that stage, surely, it is easy to understand that India will then have evolved either an outstanding spiritual height or the ability to offer violence against violence. She will have evolved

an organizing ability of a high order, and will, therefore, be in every way able to cope with any emergency that might arise.

In other words you expect the moment of the British evacuation, if such a contingency arises, will coincide with the moment of India's preparedness and ability and conditions favourable for India to take over the Indian administration as a going concern and work it for the benefit and advancement of the nation?

My experience during the last months fills me with the hope that within the nine months that remain of the year in which I have expected swaraj for India we shall redress the two wrongs and we shall see swaraj established in accordance with the wishes of the people of India.

Where will the present Government be at the end of the nine months?

The lion will then lie with the lamb.

Young India, 29-12-1920; also *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, 5-1-1921

94. *NOTES*

A Gospel of Hate?

The *Indian Interpreter* has much to say against non-co-operation. I do wish editors will try to understand public questions before dealing with them. The *Indian Interpreter* is a Christian journal and one has a right to expect a fair knowledge of subjects handled in a responsible journal devoted to religious matters.

"India will never," says the *Interpreter*, "attain unity by means of a common hate. That appears, as far as an onlooker can judge, to be the means to which Mr. Gandhi, the idealist, has surrendered himself." Mr. Stokes[1], who has endeavoured to study the movement as an onlooker, says that it is not based on hate. I have said so myself. But prejudices die hard. And in these days of mad rush to which modern journalism is making the largest contribution, people feed their prejudices, unconsciously it may be, by coming to hasty conclusions on insufficient data.

A Common Danger

It is a common danger, a common affliction, that is binding Hindus and Mussulmans. I know no purifier so great as affliction.

[1] Who had adopted India as his home and was interested in non-co-operation; *vide* the following item.

"Adversity makes strange bedfellows": with us it has knit together not strangers but neighbours, sons of the same soil.

British Rule an Evil?

The *Interpreter* is however more to the point in asking:

> Does Mr. Gandhi hold without hesitation or reserve that British rule in India is altogether evil and that the people of India are to be taught so to regard it? He must hold it to be so evil that the wrongs it does outweigh the benefits it confers, for only so is non-co-operation to be justified at the bar of conscience or of Christ.

My answer is emphatically in the affirmative. So long as I believed that the sum total of the energy of the British Empire was good, I clung to it despite what I used to regard as temporary aberrations. I am not sorry for having done so. But having my eyes opened, it would be sin for me to associate myself with the Empire unless it purges itself of its evil character. I write this with sorrow and I should be pleased if I discovered that I was in error and that my present attitude was a reaction. The continuous financial drain, the emasculation of the Punjab and the betrayal of the Muslim sentiment constitute, in my humble opinion, a threefold robbery of India. The blessings of pax Britannica I reckon, therefore, to be a curse. We would have at least remained like the other nations, brave men and women, instead of feeling as we do so utterly helpless, if we had no British Rule imposing on us an armed peace. 'The blessing' of roads and railways is a return no self-respecting nation would accept for its degradation. 'The blessing' of education is proving one of the greatest obstacles in our progress towards freedom.

A Movement of Purification

The fact is that non-co-operation by reason of its non-violence has become a religious and purifying movement. It is daily bringing strength to the nation, showing it its weak spots and the remedy for removing them. It is a movement of self-reliance. It is the mightiest force for revolutionizing opinion and stimulating thought. It is a movement of self-imposed suffering and therefore possesses automatic checks against extravagance or impatience. The capacity of the nation for suffering regulates its advance towards freedom. It isolates the forces of evil by refraining from participation in it, in any shape or form.

A Cry from Fiji

The letter[1] published elsewhere lends powerful support to the movement. My esteemed correspondent analyses the reasons for our countrymen having returned in such large numbers as they have done and are still doing. In Fiji, not even the women were immune from prosecutions and imprisonment. Of course there is no reason why the sex should secure immunity from punishment for a proved crime. But all the accounts received from Fiji go to prove that the prosecutions of Fiji were very like those of the Punjab—a method of terrorism adopted for crushing the spirit of a people struggling to be somewhat free. I fear that we shall bring little comfort to our distressed countrymen in Fiji by sending a Congress deputation. I so thoroughly distrust the Fiji Government. It will afford no facility to the deputation for conducting an inquiry. The deputation may even be stopped by the Indian Government from leaving the Indian shore. For me the Fiji trouble affords more reason for quickening the non-co-operation movement. Meanwhile we must do everything we can to look after those who may return to India.[2] The returning Indians must not be left to shift for themselves, feel disappointed, and then think of going back to Fiji. I am glad therefore that the men who have returned are being looked after by Mr. A. V. Thakkar[3], who has just finished his labours in Puri[4], and Mr. Banarasidas[5] of Shantiniketan who is assisting Mr. Andrews in his humanitarian work.

Young India, 29-12-1920

[1] Not reproduced here

[2] In January 1920, the Government of Fiji cancelled the indentures of Indian labourers and arrangements were made for the early repatriation of such of them as desired to return to India. In consequence, large numbers left Fiji. Many arrived in India comparatively destitute.

[3] Amritlal Vithaldas Thakkar (1869-1951); Gujarati engineer who, as life member of the Servants of India Society, took up full-time social work and later devoted himself to the cause of Harijans and aboriginal tribes.

[4] *Vide* Vol. XVII, pp. 396-8 & 403-5.

[5] Banarasidas Chaturvedi; resigned from Chief's College, Indore, in July 1920, and joined C. F. Andrews at Shantiniketan, after corresponding with him for five years about Indians overseas; co-author of *Charles Freer Andrews*, a biography

95. *'ONE STEP ENOUGH FOR ME'*

Mr. Stokes is a Christian who wants to follow the light that God gives him. He has adopted India as his home. He is watching the non-co-operation movement from the Kotagiri hills where he is living in isolation from the India of the plains, and serving the hillmen. He has contributed three articles on non-co-operation to the columns of the *Servant* of Calcutta and other papers. I had the pleasure of reading them during my Bengal tour. Mr. Stokes approves of non-co-operation but dreads the consequences that may follow complete success, i.e., evacuation of India by the British. He conjures up before his mind a picture of India invaded by the Afghans from the North-West, plundered by the Gurkhas from the hills. For me, I say with Cardinal Newman: "I do not ask to see the distant scene; one step enough for me." The movement is essentially religious. The business of every godfearing man is to dissociate himself from evil in total disregard of consequences. He must have faith in a good deed producing only a good result: that in my opinion is the *Gita* doctrine of work without attachment. God does not permit him to peep into the future. He follows truth although the following of it may endanger his very life. He knows that it is better to die in the way of God than to live in the way of Satan. Therefore, whoever is satisfied that this Government represents the activity of Satan has no choice left to him but to dissociate himself from it.

However, let us consider the worst that can happen to India on a sudden evacuation of India by the British. What does it matter that the Gurkhas and the Pathans attack us? Surely we would be better able to deal with their violence than we are with the continued violence, moral and physical, perpetrated by the present Government. Mr. Stokes does not seem to eschew the use of physical force. Surely the combined labour of the Rajput, the Sikh and the Mussulman warriors in a united India may be trusted to deal with plunderers from any or all the sides. Imagine however the worst: Japan overwhelming us from the Bay of Bengal, the Gurkhas from the hills, and the Pathans from the North-West. If we do not succeed in driving them out we make terms with them and drive them out at the first opportunity. This will be a more manly course than a helpless submission to an admittedly wrongful State.

But I refuse to contemplate the dismal outlook. If the movement succeeds through non-violent non-co-operation, and that is the supposition Mr. Stockes has started with, the English, whether they remain or retire, will do so as friends and under a well-ordered agreement as between partners. I still believe in the goodness of human nature, whether it is English or any other. I therefore do not believe that the English will leave in "a night".

And do I consider the Gurkha and the Afghan as being incorrigible thieves and robbers without the ability to respond to purifying influences? I do not. If India returns to her spirituality, it will react upon the neighbouring tribes; she will interest herself in the welfare of these hardy but poor people, and even support them if necessary, not out of fear but as a matter of neighbourly duty. She will have dealt with Japan simultaneously with the British. Japan will not want to invade India, if India has learnt to consider it a sin to use a single foreign article that she can manufacture within her own borders. She produces enough to eat, and her men and women can without difficulty manufacture enough cloth to cover their nakedness and protect themselves from heat and cold. We become prey to invasion if we excite the greed of foreign nations by dealing with them under a feeling of dependence on them. We must learn to be independent of every-one of them.

Whether therefore we finally succeed through violence or non-violence, in my opinion, the prospect is by no means so gloomy as Mr. Stokes has imagined. Any conceivable prospect is, in my opinion, less black than the present unmanly and helpless condition. And we cannot do better than following out fearlessly and with confidence the open and honourable programme of non-violence and sacrifice that we have mapped for ourselves.

Young India, 29-12-1920

96. CASTE "VERSUS" CLASS

Man being a social being has to devise some method of social organization. We in India have evolved caste: They in Europe have organized class. Neither has the solidarity and naturalness of a family which perhaps is a God-ordained institution. If caste has produced certain evils, class has not been productive of anything less.

If class helps to conserve certain social virtues, caste does the same in equal, if not greater, degree. The beauty of the caste system

is that it does not base itself upon distinctions of wealth-possessions. Money, as history has proved, is the greatest disruptive force in the world. Even the sacredness of family ties is not safe against the pollution of wealth, says Shankaracharya. Caste is but an extension of the principle of the family. Both are governed by blood and heredity. Western scientists are busy trying to prove that heredity is an illusion and that *milieu* is everything. The sole experience of many lands goes against the conclusion of these scientists; but even accepting their doctrine of *milieu*, it is easy to prove that *milieu* can be conserved and developed more through caste than through class. The Anglo-Saxon is temperamentally incapable of appreciating any outlook but his own. One can understand his violent opposition to everything that goes against his grain. But Indians, whether Hindus or Christians, ought to be able to see that the spirit behind caste is not one of arrogant superiority; it is the classification of different systems of self-culture. It is the best possible adjustment of social stability and progress. Just as the spirit of the family is inclusive of those who love each other and are wedded to each other by ties of blood and relation, caste also tries to include families of a particular way of purity of life (not standard of life, meaning by this term, economic standard of life). Only, it does not leave the decision, whether a particular family belongs to a particular type, to the idiosyncracies or interested judgment of a few individuals. It trusts to the principle of heredity, and being only a system of culture does not hold that any injustice is done if an individual or a family has to remain in a particular group in spite of their decision to change their mode of life for the better. As we all know, change comes very slowly in social life, and thus, as a matter of fact, caste has allowed new groupings to suit the changes in lives. But these changes are quiet and easy as a change in the shape of the clouds. It is difficult to imagine a better harmonious human adjustment.

Caste does not connote superiority or inferiority. It simply recognizes different outlooks and corresponding modes of life. But it is no use denying the fact that a sort of hierarchy has been evolved in the caste system, but it cannot be called the creation of the Brahmins. When all castes accept a common goal of life a hierarchy is inevitable, because all castes cannot realize the ideal in equal degree. If all the castes believe that vegetarian diet is superior to animal diet, the vegetarian caste will naturally be looked up to. There are certain sub-castes in India that have ever stood on a par with each other, and yet have not interdined or intermarried. Just as a Hindu or a Mohammedan does not think

himself an inferior of the other because of his differences of faith, or just as a Brahmin or a *Lingayat* in Southern India mutually refuse to interdrink, all castes can confine their food and drink to their own caste. Only by accepting the standard of the Brahmin or the *Vaishnavas* as the best, have the other castes consented to dine at the hands of the 'purer' castes.

Touch, drink, food and marriage are progressively private affairs. But by refusing to touch a man, you practically refuse all intercourse with him. He is thus denied all the fruits of social development. The touchables, for instance, can all attend the *kathas*, the *kirtans* (religious sermons). They can visit temples and thus get the free education of religion, rituals and arts. In the temple, all the touchables exchange their love and service and the fruits of civilization. The 'untouchables' are automatically barred from all that. In many places, being required to live outside the village, they are deprived of even the protection of their life and property. In the social division of labour they do one of the most important duties to society, and they are deprived of the fruits of the great social life which is evolved by the family of castes. Untouchability has made the 'depressed' classes the Cinderella of Hindu society. The question of food and drink has or ought to have no social value. It is merely the satisfaction of physical wants. It is, on the other hand, an opportunity for the control of the senses. Interdining has never been known to promote brotherhood in any special sense. But the restraints about interdining have to a great extent helped the cultivation of will-power and the conservation of certain social virtues.

Young India, 29-12-1920

97. *TO THE LEARNED NARASINHRAO*

I happened, by chance, to read the open letter to me addressed by the renowned scholar of Gujarat, Shri Narasinhrao[1]. I find little time for newspapers and rarely get any when I am touring. It is likely, therefore, that I miss many such writings.

I could ill-afford to miss this letter. Shri Narasinhrao has written it with love and in all sincerity. I can see that my present activities have pained him. Reading his letter, others also may have felt like him. I would be happy if I could satisfy their

[1] 1859-1937; Gujarati poet and man of letters; professor of Gujarati, Elphinstone College, Bombay

doubts and reassure them. I shall, therefore, try to answer his letter.

Shri Narasinhrao's letter, I can see, rests on one belief. He does not see today the same moral and religious fervour which he did in 1915 and after. He thinks that I am lost in the sea of politics and have been overcome by *moha*.

My soul bears witness that I am the same man that I was in 1915. In fact, my concern for dharma and justice has become more urgent.

I am afraid Shri Narasinhrao is ignorant of my past life. I have spent my entire life in politics and do not regard dharma as something apart from politics. I have always believed in Gokhale's principle of "spiritualizing politics"[1] and tried to act upon it to the best of my ability.

During the satyagraha in South Africa, I used the same epithets which I apply to the Government, but I have never thought that my reason was clouded at that time. Some English friends indeed thought so, but afterwards they felt sorry for that. One of them was the late Mr. Escombe, a Natal minister,[2] and, another, General Smuts, the present [Prime] Minister of South Africa.

The sweet music of *Premal Jyoti*[3] still reverberates in my ears. Even today its message is the goal of my striving. Even now I pray every moment of my life for God's grace and inspiration.

Nevertheless, I had even then called on people to turn their back on Western civilization. It was in 1908 that I clearly saw that imitating it would be the ruin of India. I first shared my views with a British peer[4] and, the same year (1908)[5] on my return to South Africa from England I published them in the columns of *Indian Opinion* and later brought them out in book form under the title *Hind Swaraj*.[6] May I request Shri Narasinhrao to read it in the original or in translation? These pages will give him a clear insight into many of my present activities.

[1] *Vide* Vol. XIII, p. 78 and Vol. XIV, p. 201.

[2] *Vide* Vols. III, IV, V & VII.

[3] A verse-translation in Gujarati, by Narasinhrao, of Cardinal Newman's hymn, "Lead Kindly Light"

[4] Presumably Lord Ampthill whom Gandhiji met in England in 1909; *vide* Vol. IX.

[5] This should be 1909. Gandhiji was in England from about the middle of July to November 13 of that year as member of a deputation on behalf of Indians in South Africa.

[6] In January 1910. An English translation, by Gandhiji himself, was published in March of the same year; *vide* Vol. X, pp. 6-68.

But, by rejection of Western civilization I never meant, nor do I mean even today, shunning everything English or hating the British. I revere the Bible. Christ's Sermon on the Mount fills me with bliss even today. Its sweet verses have even today the power to quench my agony of soul. I can still read with love some of the writings of Carlyle and Ruskin. Even now, the tunes and the verses of many English hymns are like *amrit*[1] to me. Even so, I think that we would be well-advised to reject Western civilization, that it is our dharma to do so.

By Western civilization I mean the ideals which people in the West have embraced in modern times and the pursuits based on these ideals. The supremacy of brute force, worshipping money as God, spending most of one's time in seeking worldly happiness, breath-taking risks in pursuit of worldly enjoyments of all kinds, the expenditure of limitless mental energy on efforts to multiply the power of machinery, the expenditure of crores on the invention of means of destruction, the moral righteousness which looks down upon people outside Europe,—this civilization, in my view, deserves to be altogether rejected.

And yet I clung to British rule because, in my ignorance, I attributed to it strength for undertaking the great task of smashing this civilization. But now I see that British rule is perhaps more Satanic than what Germany does. Even if I am mistaken in this comparison, the two are at any rate equal.

All the characteristics of *Ravanarajya* described by Tulsidas are to be found in British rule and that is why I describe it by that name. There is no anger in this, nor "righteous indignation". It is a conclusion which I have reached in all calmness of mind. It is not my intention to suggest that every Englishman or English officer is a devil. Every officer, however, works as part of a Satanic machine and, therefore, whether intentionally or unintentionally, becomes an instrument of injustice, deception and repression. If, holding this belief, I were to conceal it, I would be betraying truth. It is not bad manners to call a thief a thief or a sinner a sinner, nor is it abuse in the manner of an uncultured peasant. On the contrary, if the words have been uttered with sincerity, they can be an expression of love.

If in my life I have tried to practise anything with unswerving devotion it is non-violence, truth and *brahmacharya*. I alone know how difficult it is to practise these. I believe that I have succeeded fairly well in following all the three in action and speech.

[1] Drink of the gods, supposed to confer immortality

To say that I have had no angry thought would be untrue, and I would be sinning if I said that I have never felt the urge of desire. I believe, nonetheless, that keeping the three vows in action, speech and thought has so potent a virtue that, if I had acquired the strength to follow them perfectly, the doubt which has occurred to Shri Narasinhrao would never have occurred to him at all. Having said this, I can say on oath that I do not wish ill to General Dyer in any way, that I have not the least desire to see him punished. Were he to fall ill, I would nurse him with love. But I certainly would not pay him a pension out of my money and so have a share in his sin. I would not gloss over the wickedness of his action. I have no doubt that his action was monstrous. The British people, by describing it as an error of judgment, have taken his sin upon themselves.

When Jesus described his times as a generation of vipers, it was not out of anger. At a time when everyone was afraid of telling the truth, Jesus risked his life, described hypocrisy, pride and lying in plain terms for what they were and so put innocent and simple folk on their guard, and saved them. When the Buddha, with the lamb on his shoulder, went up to the cruel Brahmins who were engaged in an animal-sacrifice, it was in no soft language that he spoke to them; he was, however, all love at heart. Who am I in comparison with these? Even so, I aspire to be their equal in love in this very life. Let the reader not think me presumptuous on this account. The highest ideal I have set before myself is a Mehta[1] of Gujarat, Shri Narasinhrao's namesake. His love was no less than that of the Buddha.

It is quite possible that I am making a mistake, that I am doing injustice to the British, that I have misread history, but it is certainly not true that my present activities are conceived in a spirit of retaliation or that they are less religious in inspiration. I request those friends who would save me from error to know me first. I make an effort to be and to remain pure; I am full of error, but ever ready to correct myself. There is nothing in my life which I wish to conceal. Whatever I think I speak out immediately. But, being one who takes most careful thought before doing anything, I do not easily abandon my views. I should not be surprised to know that my co-workers too think me autocratic. It is my humble belief that I am no autocrat. An autocrat has simply no patience for what others may have to say. So far as my memory goes, I listen even to children and have learnt much

[1] Narasinh Mehta

from them. There is a great deal, indeed, I have learnt from cowherds and peasants.

I have used the term "co-workers" above. Shri Narasinhrao has unwittingly done me an injustice by taking my statement, "I have no followers; there may be persons who follow my ideas", to be a mere play on words. I have not accepted anyone as my dharma-guru[1] and I don't think myself, either, to be worthy of the honour of being such [to anyone else]. So long as I have not acquired the strength to follow the rules of *yama-niyama* perfectly in thought, word and deed, I am liable to commit errors, any number of them. Such a person is not entitled to accept anyone as his disciple. I made the mistake, some years ago, of regarding just one friend as my disciple at his urging, and burnt my fingers in consequence. My role of a guru simply did not work. I had judged wrongly.

I think it very dangerous, in this age, for anyone to accept another as a guru or be another's guru. We attribute perfection to a guru. By accepting an imperfect man as our guru, we are led into no end of error. That is why I have deliberately said that I welcome people being followers of my ideas but I want no one to be my follower. Following ideas requires understanding; in following a person, faith is the chief thing. I do not want to be an object of the devotion which such faith expresses, but I certainly want people to follow my ideas with devotion. They can do this, of course, only if they understand them. I know, however, that at present many persons follow my ideas simply out of blind regard for me. I accept no responsibility for their sin, since I do not look upon them as my followers. Between a person's being my follower and his being a follower of my ideas there is the same difference which there is, according to Gladstone, between calling a man a fool and describing his ideas as foolish.

This is not all. Shri Narasinhrao sees in me another weakness which "gurus" are especially prone to. How is it that I do not offer satyagraha against people touching my feet out of reverence—do not condemn it—but permit the thing? I respectfully submit to my friend that this does not fall within the scope of satyagraha. Touching a man's feet in reverence is not in itself wrong or sinful so that it calls for satyagraha against it. Moreover, is it possible for anyone, all at once, to persuade the multitude of simple-hearted, loving peasants, who are used to the practice of touching a man's feet, to give it up? I assure Shri Narasinh-

[1] Spiritual mentor

rao that I am weary of this touching of my feet and these cries of *jai*[1]. My friend Shaukat Ali tries hard to save me from these assaults on my person which take the form of touching my feet, and numbers of volunteers are busy to the same end, but so far I have not escaped these attentions. I do not have the courage, nor the desire, to offer satyagraha against the practice by going on a fast or refusing to speak to the people. The cries of *jai* vex me so much that often I literally plug my ears with cottonwool. I assure Shri Narasinhrao that I shall not be blinded by adoration and will not forsake my duty, either, because of people's scorn.

Shri Narasinhrao invites me to Bandra Point[2]. My only desire in wanting to go there was to call on that good man, Dayaram Gidumal[3]. I heard of him in Hyderabad through members of his family. It was also my desire to compliment Shri Narasinhrao on the courage he has shown in keeping him as an honoured guest of the family. Owing to my preoccupations, however, I have not been able to fulfil this desire.

I do not believe that Bandra Point will give me peace of mind or that I shall have there a clearer vision of the "Kindly Light". I had an occasion years ago to decide whether I would go and stay in Bandra and I deliberately decided not to go. The Bombay slaughter-house is in Bandra. I feel a stab in the heart whenever I pass it. There may be any number of beautiful spots in that place but to me they all seem dyed with the blood of innocent creatures and, therefore, it hurts my soul to have to go there. Another place where I find it painful to stay is Calcutta. There, countless goats are killed in the name of Hinduism and I find this unbearable. I will, therefore, certainly try to go to Bandra, but only with the first desire as explained above. As for the "Kindly Light", I get a vision of it in the temple of my heart whenever this is radiant with perfect self-control and the vision invariably gives me the experience of transcendent peace.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 29-12-1920

[1] Victory
[2] In Bombay. Narasinhrao lived there at this time.
[3] 1857-1939; social reformer; founder of Seva Sadan, Bombay

98. SPEECH ON FOREIGN PROPAGANDA, NAGPUR[1]

December 29, 1920

The paper costs much more than it is worth. Its influence on English opinion is practically nothing and it is an indifferent vehicle of English opinion for India's enlightenment. Now that we have embarked on non-co-operation and are determined to become self-reliant it would be consistent for us to disestablish the British Committee and stop *India.* I would far concentrate all our attention and all our best workers on India. The harvest is rich and the labourers are few. We can ill spare a single worker for foreign work.

We shall hurt our cause, rather than help our cause. If we are doing anything here, no propaganda will be necessary. I want foreign countries to understand me. They understand only business, they understand only work. Whilst you have given currency to one solid fact our detractors have tried to contradict it by various devices. You will put the British nation on their honour, so that they will understand your act of self-denial in withholding information through agency. We are too few for the work and we must husband our resources. It is best that we consumed Rs. 45,000 for work here.

Mahatma, Vol. II, p. 30; also the Manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary. Courtesy: Narayan Desai

99. DRAFT RESOLUTION ON NON-CO-OPERATION[2]

[Before *December 30, 1920*]

This Congress reaffirms the resolution passed at its last special session[3] advising non-violent progressive non-co-operation with the

[1] The speech was made during the Nagpur Congress session where a resolution was adopted to the effect that the British Congress Committee and its journal, *India,* published from London for the last thirty years, be wound up. While the second paragraph, assigned to December 29, 1920, in the manuscript, of Mahadev Desai's Diary, belongs to this speech, the first, taken from *Mahatma,* Vol. II, but undated, would also appear to be part of the same speech.

[2] The resolution was adopted by the Nagpur session of the Congress on December 30, 1920, as moved by C. R. Das. This unsigned draft in Gandhiji's hand is marked "Draft for private circulation and consultation only". For the resolution as passed, *vide* Appendix I.

[3] Held at Calcutta in September 1920

Government for the purpose of securing the rectification of the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs and attaining swaraj and is of opinion that the time has now arrived for removing the word "gradual" in the clauses regarding withdrawal of students from affiliated or grant-in-aid schools and colleges and suspension by lawyers of their profession in the British courts of law and therefore now resolves that the word "gradual" may be removed.

This Congress congratulates the nation upon the progress made so far in carrying out the programme of non-co-operation and especially with regard to the boycott of Councils elections[1] by the voters and trusts that those who have thought fit to allow themselves to be declared elected in spite of the decided opinion to the contrary expressed by the electors will see their way to resign their seats on the Councils. In the opinion of this Congress the retention of their seats by the Councillors would be a direct negation of the principle of democracy.

If in spite of the declared wish of their respective constituents, their so-called representatives retain their seats, the Congress is of opinion that it is the duty of the electors studiously to refrain from asking or receiving any political service from them.

This Congress lays the greatest stress upon the desirability of immediate stopping of the education received by the youth of the nation under the aegis or influence, direct or indirect, of a Government that has forfeited the confidence of the nation by its utter disregard of the sacred sentiments of the Mussulmans of India and the outraged feelings of the whole of India regarding the wanton atrocities of the Punjab administration during the satyagraha year[2] and therefore advises the parents to withdraw their children from such schools and colleges and the grown-up students of the age sixteen and over to withdraw from such schools and colleges.

In order to continue the education of the youth of the country in a free and untainted atmosphere this Congress advises the owners, trustees and educationists in charge of aided or affiliated institutions to give up grants and affiliation and render them independent of all Government control and influence and advises the monied men and educationists of the country to establish national universities, new schools and colleges so as to render it possible for every child to receive suitable education in accordance with the needs of the nation.

[1] Held in November 1920
[2] 1919

This Congress appeals to the legal profession to recognize the new spirit that has been awakened in the country and to suspend their practice and devote their attention exclusively to the boycott by the litigants of law courts and settlement of their disputes by private arbitration, and to the monied class to make it easy for those practitioners who may stand in need by providing financial assistance for them.

This Congress recognizes the growing friendliness between the police and the soldiery and the people and hopes that the men belonging to the police and the military will, by making common cause with the people, remove the reproach hitherto levelled against them that they are unscrupulous hirelings possessing no regard for the feelings and sentiments of the people.

This Congress appeals to all who may be in Government employ to respond to the call of the nation for self-purification and, whilst remaining faithful to the discharge of the obligations imposed by the terms of their service, help the national cause otherwise by utmost kindness and honesty in their dealings with the people and fearlessly and openly attending, without taking any active part in, all popular gatherings.

This Congress calls upon the capitalists, the merchants and the dealers in the country to assist the national cause by introducing in their respective businesses the spirit of patriotism and to help the movement for boycott of foreign goods by concentrating their attention on stimulating production of cloth sufficient for the national needs by encouraging home-spinning and home-weaving.

This Congress desires to lay special emphasis on non-violence being the integral part of the non-co-operation resolution and invites the attention of the nation to the fact that non-violence in word and deed is as essential between ourselves as it is on the part of the nation in respect of the Government and this Congress is of opinion that the spirit of violence is not only contrary to the free growth of the truly democratic spirit but actually retards the enforcement if necessary of the other three stages in non-co-operation leading to the suspension of taxes.

Finally, in order that the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs may be redressed and swaraj established within one year, this Congress urges upon all public bodies whether affiliated to the Congress or otherwise to devote their exclusive attention to the promotion of non-violence and non-co-operation with the Government [in]asmuch as the movement of non-co-operation can only succeed by complete co-operation among the people themselves, this Congress calls upon these associations to advance Hindu-

Muslim unity, calls upon the leading Hindus to settle all disputes between Brahmins and non-Brahmins wherever they may be existing and to make special efforts to rid Hinduism of the reproach of untouchability and respectfully urges the Shankaracharyas[1] and other Hindu preceptors to help the growing desire to reform Hinduism in the matter of its treatment of the suppressed classes.

From a photostat : G.N. 8230

100. SPEECH ON NON-CO-OPERATION RESOLUTION, NAGPUR[2]

December 30, 1920

I do not wish to detain you for any length of time, but it is necessary for you to understand—those who do not understand a word of Hindi—what has been going on during the last quarter or half an hour. One[3] of the most respected of Muslims that I have had the privilege of knowing during my four or five years' residence in India since 1915 has come forward with an amendment as a matter of conscience. His amendment[4] is that he wants to reject the conscience clause and he wants to reject the clause which says that you may not make personal appeals to boys under sixteen. You will have noticed these two phrases. Maulana Hasrat Mohani, supported by another well-known and respected Moulana[5] from Cawnpore, says that those clauses should go because they consider that they are in violation of the obligations of Islam. I have been endeavouring to point out to my Muslim brethren that there is absolutely no violation of obligation.[6] It is a mis-

[1] Hindu religious heads in the five zones of India

[2] The Non-co-operation Resolution, moved by C. R. Das in the open session of the Congress, was seconded and supported by Gandhiji, Lajpat Rai and others. Hasrat Mohani moved an amendment in reply to which Gandhiji spoke first in Hindi and then made this speech in English. For the Resolution, *vide* Appendix I.

[3] Hasrat Mohani

[4] The amendment wanted deletion of the conscience clause from that part of the Resolution which dealt with students, and immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all students from schools and colleges by deleting the age limit from the original Resolution.

[5] Abul Kalam Azad

[6] Mahomed Ali in fact opposed the amendment moved by Hasrat Mohani.

construction or misconception of the purport of the Resolution. The Congress resolution does not bind a man's conscience. The Congress resolution is never intended to supersede a man's conscience, and I have never made a fetish of the mandate of the Congress. Even now, although I feel that the majority are of the same opinion which I hold, I make bold to say that I shall never be a party to making the Congress itself a fetish or its mandate a fetish. I shall always reserve the right of conscience, wherever my conscience pricks me and tells me that I should resist the mandate of the Congress. Therefore I have been suggesting to our Muslim brethren that that cannot possibly be a matter of conscience. If a single Mohammedan thinks that it cannot even be a matter of conscience with a boy of sixteen years of age, that he has no right to think for himself but must obey his parents—these are the implications—all well for him. Let him say that, and the Congress will not prevent him, but he may not say those words in the name of the Congress. That is all that the Congress Resolution means. Similarly, with reference to boys of 12 years or under 16. This Congress certainly says, you may not address boys under sixteen because they are of tender age and you do not know whether they have a prick of conscience, and so it calls upon you not to address or make personal appeals to such boys but make the appeal to the parents. That was the practice which we have hitherto adopted, and that must be the practice if we want to stand justified before the bar of public conscience and before civilized opinion. So I say that it is only just and proper that we are doing that, and if there is a boy twelve years old who has visitings of conscience, there is no power on earth that can prevent him from doing so. But I am not to quicken that boy's conscience who has his father, for the father has that special prerogative. That is all that this Resolution says. Therefore, I have been urging my Mohammedan friends, and in doing so I have already said that we dare not call all matters that crop up as matters of conscience.[1]

There is a message from Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. He is lying, I am exceedingly sorry to inform you, on the sick-bed, with fever on. He sent me a message yesterday that he wanted to see the Resolution but it could not be sent. He has now seen the Resolution and has sent me a message saying that he is not all in

[1] Hasrat Mohani subsequently withdrew his amendment which, he delcared, was not necessary in the light of the very cogent explanation given by Gandhiji.

favour of the Resolution. If he had been here he would have noted a respectful protest before this Congress. He is not in sympathy with the creed either. He thinks that it is his duty to transmit a message to his countrymen and leave them to judge things for themselves.

Lala Lajpat Rai has addressed you with reference to the police. I accept every word of what he has said in interpretation of that part of the Resolution. I think it is right that we should know that we are not tampering with the obligations of service imposed upon employees of Government, whether civil, military or police. But we are asking them not to kill their conscience, and I want to make that point a little clear. I would have held it a sin if I had been one of those soldiers to receive the command of General Dyer to shoot those innocent men in Jallianwala Bagh. I would have considered it my duty to disregard that command and preferred being shot on the spot. I know the discipline of a soldier. I say that if a soldier receives a command from his officer which he considers to be in conflict with his religion or in conflict with his duties to his country, he may certainly disregard it at the peril of his life. He may not come to you afterwards to lodge a complaint. He has made his choice. Military duty requires that a man who does not obey the command on such a critical occasion shall be shot, and if he chooses to be shot he can certainly disregard the command.

With these words, I ask you to carry this Non-co-operation Resolution with acclamation and with a prayer to God from the deepest recesses of your heart that you are resolved to attain swaraj by the means that have been declared by the Congress in this resolution, and you will also go away forgetting all the differences and acrimony that have guided our public life during the last three months, and you will show no violence in thought, deed or word whether in connection with the Government or whether in connection with ourselves, and I repeat the promise that I made, that, if we can only do that, we do not require one year, we do not even require nine months to attain our goal. (Loud cheers and cries of "*Mahatma Gandhi ki jai*".)[1]

Report of the Thirty-fifth Session of the Indian National Congress

[1] The Resolution was then passed unanimously, all amendments having been withdrawn.

101. SPEECH ON TILAK MEMORIAL SWARAJ FUND[1]

NAGPUR,
December 31, 1920

I have been just saying, with the permission of the President, a few things in connection with that portion of the Non-co-operation Resolution which you have all accepted with acclamation. I refer to the All-India Tilak Memorial Swaraj Fund. I hope that all the delegates will do their utmost in order to contribute to this Fund. They will be thereby serving a double purpose. They will be treasuring and perpetuating the memory of one who has commanded the universal reverence of India and who has laid down his life in the service of his country. I have not the slightest doubt that this great memorial which you have decided to erect in memory of the illustrious deceased will be a magnificent success; but if it is to be a magnificent success it cannot be so except by the joint and united effort of every one of us, brothers and sisters. Those of you who want even to make payments here, that is, after withdrawing from the *pandal*, can do so, but I hope that when you have gone to your homes you will not forget this thing but will consider it a sacred duty to contribute as much as you can, and continue to do so, to this sacred memorial in the hope and full belief that we shall be able to get swaraj within one year. If we cannot contribute whatever we can to this purpose, I hardly think that we can be considered worth getting swaraj. But your *mantra*[2] was that you should get swaraj, and if you see the letters over the picture[3], "Swaraj is my birthright", and if you want to make that hope of his good within one year, you will all make the utmost attempt in order to make this memorial a success. You may send your contributions to the General Secretary. I have much pleasure in announcing a subscription of Rs. 1,001 from our Indian Sandow[4] and two rings from friends whose names I do not know. (Loud cheers.) I have much pleasure to announce to you that

[1] On October 2, 1920, the All-India Congress Committee had resolved to raise the Tilak Memorial Fund but the resolution was not enforced till December 1920, when the annual session of the Congress adopted it.

[2] Literally, a sacred formula

[3] Of Tilak, which was displayed prominently in the Congress *pandal*

[4] Professor Rammurty who had offered the subscription at this stage of the speech

Seth Jamnalal, who is lying on the sick-bed, and who is the Chairman of the Reception Committee, has sent me a message that he proposes to place at my disposal one lakh of rupees (loud and prolonged cheers) to be treated as part of the public Fund, but to be specially utilized for the maintenance of those lawyers who may suspend their practice and who may be in need of some little assistance and who do not do any work but devote all their time to the national service (cheers.) and he has given me the assurance that he will endeavour to collect more funds also. I know you will consider this a fairly happy augury for the success of this Memorial Fund. May God help you to make this Memorial Fund the success that it ought to be. (Loud cheers.)[1]

Report of the Thirty-fifth Session of the Indian National Congress

102. PREFACE TO THE GUJARATI TRANSLATION OF CONGRESS REPORT ON THE PUNJAB DISORDERS

[*December 1920*][2]

I hope every Gujarati will read and ponder over this translation.

I think the translation is excellent, but it is not for its simple Gujarati that I commend it. If we realize well enough what happened in the Punjab,[3] we shall readily understand our duty in the present circumstances.

MOHANDAS KARAMCHAND GANDHI

[From Gujarati]

Gujarati Translation of the Congress Report on the Punjab Disorders

[1] At this stage a number of contributions were received from those present in the *pandal*. The following day, a Parsi philanthropist from Bombay, Shavaksha Bamanji, promised a monthly donation of Rs. 10,000 till the attainment of swaraj.

[2] The Gujarati translation of the report has the date line, *Magashar*, *Vikram Samvat* 1976. This is evidently a mistake. The English report was published on March 25, 1920 and the Gujarati translation must have been brought out in the *Magashar* of 1977, which covered the period 11-12-1920 to 9-1-1921.

[3] *Vide* Vol. XVII, pp. 114-292.

103. CONGRESS CONSTITUTION ADOPTED AT NAGPUR SESSION[1]

[*December 1920*]

Article I

The object of the Indian National Congress is the attainment of Swarajya by the people of India by all legitimate and peaceful means.

(Note: This was passed as Resolution No. 1)

SESSIONS OF THE CONGRESS

Article II

(a) The Indian National Congress shall ordinarily meet once every year during Christmas holidays at such place as may have been decided upon at its previous session or such other place as may have been determined by the All-India Congress Committee hereinafter referred to.

(b) An extraordinary session of the Congress may be summoned by the All-India Congress Committee either of its own motion or on the requisition of a majority of the Provincial Congress Committees, wherever it may deem it advisable to hold such a session; and the Articles of this Constitution shall apply with such modifications as the All-India Congress Committee may consider necessary in respect of each such session.

COMPONENT PARTS OF THE CONGRESS

Article III

The Indian National Congress organization shall consist of the following:

(a) The Indian National Congress.
(b) Provincial Congress Committees.
(c) District Congress Committees.
(d) Sub-Divisional, Taluqa or Tahsil, Firka or other Local Congress Committees.
(e) The All-India Congress Committee.
(f) Such other Committees outside India as may from time to time be recognized by the Congress in this behalf.

[1] This new constitution was framed by Gandhiji in consultation through correspondence with other members of the Constitution Committee; *vide An Autobiography*, Part V, Ch. XXXVIII and Vol. XVIII, pp. 3-4,288-90 & 428-31.

(g) Bodies formed or organized periodically by the Provincial, District, Taluqa or Tahsil, or other Local Congress Committees such as the Reception Committee of the Congress and the Provincial, District, Taluqa or Tahsil, or other local Conferences.

Article IV

No person shall be eligible to be a member of any of the organizations referred to in the foregoing Article, unless he or she has attained the age of 21 and expresses in writing his or her acceptance of the object and the methods as laid down in Article 1 of this Constitution and of the Rules of the Congress.

PROVINCIAL CONGRESS COMMITTEE

Article V

The following shall be the Provinces with headquarters mentioned against them and where no headquarters are mentioned and in every case the respective Provincial Congress Committees shall have the power to fix or alter them from time to time.

1.	Madras	Tamil	Headquarters	Madras
2.	Andhra	Telugu		
3.	Karnatak	Kannada	,,	Gadag
4.	Kerala	Malayalam	,,	Calicut
5.	City of Bombay	Marathi and Gujarati	,,	Bombay
6.	Maharashtra	Marathi	,,	Poona
7.	Gujarat	Gujarati	,,	Ahmedabad
8.	Sind	Sindhi		
9.	United Provinces	Hindustani	,,	Allahabad
10.	Punjab	Punjabi	,,	Lahore
11.	N.W. Frontier Province	Hindustani	,,	Peshawar
12.	Delhi	Hindustani	,,	Delhi
13.	Ajmer, Merwara and Rajputana	Hindustani	,,	Ajmer
14.	Central Provinces	Hindustani	,,	Jubbulpore
15.	Central Provinces	Marathi	,,	Nagpur
16.	Berar	Marathi	,,	Amraoti
17.	Bihar	Hindustani	,,	Patna
18.	Utkal (Orissa)	Oriya		
19.	Bengal and Surma Valley	Bengali	,,	Calcutta
20.	Assam	Assamese	,,	Gauhati
21.	Burma	Burmese	,,	Rangoon

Provided that the All-India Congress Committee may from time to time assign particular Indian States to particular Provinces and a Provincial Congress Committee may in its turn allot particular Indian States assigned to it by the All-India Congress Committee to particular Districts within its jurisdiction.

The existing Provincial Congress Committees shall forthwith proceed to reorganize themselves in terms of this Constitution and such reorganization shall be final unless and until it is revised by the All-India Congress Committee.

Article VI

(a) There shall be a Provincial Congress Committee in and for each of the Provinces named in the foregoing Article.

(b) Each Provincial Congress Committee shall organize District and other Committees referred to in Article III and shall have the power to frame rules laying down conditions of membership and for the conduct of business not inconsistent with this Constitution or any rules made by the All-India Congress Committee.

(c) Each Provincial Congress Committee shall consist of representatives elected annually by the members of the District and other Committees in accordance with the rules made by the Provincial Congress Committees.

FRANCHISE

Article VII

Every person not disqualified under Article IV and paying a subscription of 4 annas per year shall be entitled to become a member of any organization controlled by the Provincial Congress Committees.

ELECTORATES AND DELEGATES

Article VIII

Each Provincial Congress Committee shall be responsible for the election of delegates to the Congress.

No one shall be qualified for election who is not of the age of 21 years and who does not subscribe to the Congress creed.

The number of delegates shall be not more than one for every 50 thousand or its fraction of the inhabitants of the Province of its jurisdiction, including the Indian States therein, in accordance with the last census: provided however, that the inclusion of Indian States in the electorate shall not be taken to include any interference by the Congress with the internal affairs of such States.

Each Provincial Congress Committee shall frame rules for the election of delegates, due regard being had to the return of women delegates and representation of minorities, special interrests or classes needing special protection.

The rules shall provide for the organization of electorates and shall prescribe the procedure to be adopted for securing the proportional representation (by a single transferable vote) of every variety of political opinion.

The rules framed by each Provincial Congress Committee shall be sent to the General Secretaries of the Congress not later than the 30th April 1921, which rules shall be published for general information by the Secretaries as soon as possible after the receipt thereof.

Each Provincial Congress Committee shall send to the Reception Committee of the ensuing Session of the Congress an alphabetical list of the delegates so elected containing the full name, occupation, age, sex, religion and address of each of them to reach the Committee not later than the 15th day of December every year, and in the case of an Extraordinary Session not later than ten days before the date advertised for the holding of such Session.

Article IX

(a) Each Provincial Congress Committee shall pay annually such subscription to the All-India Congress Committee as may be fixed by the latter from time to time.

(b) No member of a Congress Committee shall vote at the election of representatives or delegates or be elected as such unless and until he has paid the subscription due by him.

DELEGATES

Article X

Each Committee referred to in Article VIII shall issue certificates to the delegates duly elected in accordance with the form hereto attached marked Appendix A and signed by a Secretary of the Committee.

Article XI

Every delegate on presenting such a certificate and paying a fee of Rs. 10 at the Congress office shall receive ticket entitling him to admission to the Congress.

Article XII

Delegates shall alone have the power of voting at the Congress sittings or otherwise taking part in its deliberations.

RECEPTION COMMITTEE

Article XIII

The Reception Committee shall be formed by the Provincial Congress Committee at least six months before the meeting of the annual session and may include persons who are not members of the Provincial Congress Committee. The members of the Reception Committee shall pay not less than Rs. 25 each.

Article XIV

The Reception Committee shall elect its Chairman and other office-bearers from amongst its own members.

Article XV

It shall be the duty of the Reception Committee to collect funds for the expenses of the Congress Session, to elect the President of the Congress in the manner set forth in the following article and to make all necessary arrangements for the reception and accommodation of delegates and guests and, as far as practicable, of visitors and for the printing and publication of the report of the proceedings and to submit statements of receipts and expenditure to the Provincial Congress Committee within 4 months of the Session of the Congress.

ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

Article XVI

The several Provincial Congress Committees shall, as far as possible by the end of June, suggest to the Reception Committee the names of persons who are in their opinion eligible for the Presidentship of the Congress and the Reception Committee shall, as far as possible in the first week of July, submit to all the Provincial Committees the names as suggested for their final recommendations provided that such final recommendation will be of any one but not more of such names and the Reception Committee shall, as far as possible, meet in the month of August to consider such recommendations. If the person recommended by a majority of the Provincial Congress Committees is adopted by a majority of the members of the Reception Committee present at a special meeting called for the purpose, that person shall be the President of the next Congress. If, however, the Reception Committee is unable to accept the President recommended by the Provincial Congress Committees or in case of emergency by resignation, death or otherwise of the President elected in this manner, the matter shall forthwith be referred by it to the All-India

Congress Committee whose decision shall be arrived at, as far as possible, before the end of September. In either case the election shall be final, provided that in no case shall the person so elected as President belong to the Province in which the Congress is to be held.

The President of a special or extraordinary session shall be elected by the All-India Congress Committee subject to the same proviso.

Congress Funds

Article XVII

(a) The Reception Committee shall, through the Provincial Congress Committee of the Province, remit to the All-India Congress Committee, not later than two weeks after the termination of the Congress Session, ordinary or extraordinary, half the delegation fees.

(b) If the Reception Committee has a balance after defraying all the expenses of the session it shall hand over the same to the Provincial Congress Committee in the Province in which the session was held towards the Provincial Congress fund of that Province.

Audit

Article XVIII

The receipts and expenditure of the Reception Committee shall be audited by an auditor or auditors appointed by the Provincial Congress Committee concerned and the statement of accounts together with the auditor's report shall be sent by the Provincial Congress Committee, not later than six months from the termination of the Congress, to the All-India Congress Committee.

All-India Congress Committee

Article XIX

The All-India Congress Committee shall consist of 350 members exclusive of ex-officio members.

The ex-officio members shall be past Presidents of the Congress and General Secretaries and Treasurers of the Congress.

Each Provincial Congress Committee shall elect the allotted number of members of the All-India Congress Committee from among the members of the Congress Committees within its jurisdiction.

The allotment shall be on the basis of population according to the linguistic redistribution of Provinces or in such other manner as may appear more equitable to the All-India Congress Committee and shall be published by the All-India Congress Committee before the 31st day, January 1921.

The method of election shall be the same as already prescribed for the election of delegates.

Election to the All-India Congress Committee shall ordinarily take place in the month of November.

The first All-India Congress Committee under this Constitution shall be elected on or before the 30th of June, 1921. Till then, the members of the All-India Congress Committee recently elected shall continue in office.

The All-India Congress Committee shall meet as often as may be necessary for the discharge of its obligation and every time upon requisition by 15 members thereof who shall state in their requisition the definite purpose for which they desire a meeting of the All-India Congress Committee.

The All-India Congress Committee shall hold office till the election of the new All-India Congress Committee.

Article XX

The Secretaries of the respective Provincial Congress Committees shall issue certificates of membership of the All-India Committee to the persons so elected.

Article XXI

The All-India Congress Committee shall be the Committee of the Congress to carry out the programme of work laid down by the Congress from year to year and deal with all new matters that may arise during the year and may not be provided for by the Congress itself. For this purpose the All-India Congress Committee shall have the power to frame its own rules within this Constitution.

Article XXII

The President of the Congress shall be the Chairman of the All-India Congress Committee for the year following.

GENERAL SECRETARIES

Article XXIII

The Indian National Congress shall have three General Secretaries, who shall be annually elected by the Congress. They shall prepare the report of the work of the All-India Congress

Committee during the year and submit it, with a full account of the funds which may come into their hands, to the All-India Congress Committee at a meeting to be held at the place and about the time of the session of the Congress for the year, and copies of such account and report shall then be presented to the Congress and sent to the Congress Committees.

WORKING COMMITTEE

Article XXIV

The All-India Congress Committee shall at its first meeting appoint a Working Committee consisting of the President, the General Secretaries, the Treasurers and 9 other members, which shall perform such functions as may be delegated to it from time to time by the All-India Congress Committee.

SUBJECTS COMMITTEE

Article XXV

The members of the All-India Congress Committee shall constitute the Subjects Committee for the ordinary or extraordinary session following.

Article XXVI

The Subjects Committee shall meet at least two days before the meeting of the Congress in open session. At this meeting, the President-elect shall preside and the outgoing Secretaries shall submit the draft programme of the work for the ensuing sessions of the Congress, including resolutions recommended by the different Provincial Congress Committees for adoption.

Article XXVII

The Subjects Committee shall proceed to discuss the said programme and shall frame resolutions to be submitted to the open session.

Article XXVIII

The Subjects Committee shall also meet from time to time as the occasion may require during the pendency of the Congress Session.

CONTENTIOUS SUBJECTS AND INTERESTS OF MINORITIES

Article XXIX

No subject shall be passed for discussion by the Subjects Committee or allowed to be discussed at any Congress by the President thereof, to the introduction of which the Hindu or Mohammedan Delegates, as a body, object by a majority of ¾ths of their

number, and if, after the discussion of any subject which has been admitted for discussion, it shall appear that the Hindu or Mohammedan Delegates, as a body, are, by a majority of $\frac{3}{4}$ths of their number, opposed to the resolution which it is proposed to pass thereon such resolution shall be dropped.

Article XXX

The All-India Congress Committee shall have the power to frame rules in respect of all matters not covered by the Constitution and not inconsistent with its Articles.

Article XXXI

The Articles and the Creed of the Constitution now in force are hereby repealed without prejudice to all acts done thereunder.

Report of the Thirty-fifth Session of the Indian National Congress

104. THE CONGRESS

The largest[1] and the most important Congress ever held has come and gone. It was the biggest demonstration ever held against the present system of Government. The President[2] uttered the whole truth when he said that it was a Congress in which, instead of the President and the leaders driving the people, the people drove him and the latter. It was clear to everyone on the platform that the people had taken the reins in their own hands. The platform would gladly have moved at a slower pace.

The Congress gave one day to a full discussion of the creed[3] and voted solidly for it with but two dissentients after two nights' sleep over the discussion. It gave one day to a discussion of the Non-co-operation Resolution and voted for it with unparalleled enthusiasm. It gave the last day to listening to the whole of the remaining thirty-two Articles of the Constitution which were read and translated word for word by Maulana Mahomed Ali in a loud and clear voice. It showed that it was intelligently following the reading of it, for there was dissent when Article Eight was reached. It referred to non-interference by the Congress in the internal affairs of the Native States. The Congress would not have passed

[1] The Congress session of December 1920 was attended by 14,582 delegates—the largest attendance till then at any Congress session.

[2] C. Vijayaraghavachariar

[3] Article I of the new Constitution stating the object of the Congress; *vide* the preceding item.

the proviso if it had meant that it could not even voice the feelings of the people residing in the territories ruled by the princes. Happily, a resolution suggesting the advisability of establishing Responsible Government in their territories enabled me to illustrate to the audience that the proviso did not preclude the Congress from ventilating the grievances and aspirations of the subjects of these states, whilst it clearly prevented the Congress from taking any executive action in connection with them; as, for instance, holding a hostile demonstration in the Native States against any action of theirs. The Congress claims to dictate to the Government but it cannot do so by the very nature of its constitution in respect of the Native States.

Thus the Congress has taken three important steps after the greatest deliberation. It has expressed its determination in the clearest possible terms to attain complete self-government, if possible still in association with the British people, but even without, if necessary. It proposes to do so only by means that are honourable and non-violent. It has introduced fundamental changes in the constitution regulating its activities and has performed an act of self-denial in voluntarily restricting the number of delegates to one for every fifty thousand of the population of India and has insisted upon the delegates being the real representatives of those who want to take any part in the political life of the country. And with a view to ensuring the representation of all political parties it has accepted the principle of the "single transferable vote". It has reaffirmed the Non-co-operation Resolution of the Special Session[1] and amplified it in every respect.[2] It has emphasized the necessity of non-violence and laid down that the attainment of swaraj is conditional upon the complete harmony between the component parts of India, and has therefore inculcated Hindu-Muslim unity. The Hindu delegates have called upon their leaders to settle disputes between Brahmins and non-Brahmins and have urged upon the religious heads the necessity of getting rid of the poison of untouchability. The Congress has told the parents of school-going children and the lawyers that they have not responded sufficiently to the call of the nation and that they must make greater effort in doing so. It therefore follows that the lawyers who do not respond quickly to the call for suspension and the parents who persist in keeping their children in Government and

[1] Held at Calcutta in September 1920

[2] For the Non-co-operation Resolution as passed at Nagpur, *vide* Appendix I.

aided institutions must find themselves dropping out from the public life of the country. The country calls upon every man and woman in India to do their full share. But of the details of the Non-co-operation Resolution I must write later.

Young India, 5-1-1921

105. MORAL VALUES

There is an extract from the letter of an English friend. It is a pleasure to me to receive letters from English friends. I know that there are many honest Englishmen who are following the movement of non-co-operation with sympathetic attention, and would gladly help if they are clear about the moralities of non-co-operation. The letter is a typical instance.

> I understand that you are striving to establish swaraj in India by appealing to moral force to attain which you rely upon selflessness. Permit me to observe that the idea is simply *excellent*. But, is there no fear that the means—non-co-operation—which you are adopting will fail you in the end, if applied before *every* unit acts from a purely selfless motive? When moral success is aimed at, surely the means *must* be of the same trend?
>
> I also earnestly look forward to the day when, not only India, but also the whole race of man will enjoy swaraj on the following lines:
>
> The human species exists at the junction of the animal and the moral kingdoms of creation, blessed with free will by the Creator, wherewith to adjudicate between the demands of a material frame (the human animal body) and a moral form (character), and thereby to express the image of the first Great Cause in finite form (in the latter). When every unit of the species learns to appreciate moral values in *every* thought, word and deed, by always giving preference to moral demands because they hail from a higher Kingdom of creation—and to do otherwise will be to defy Omnipotence—selflessness must obviously follow. The results will be that every human being will love the other automatically and true swaraj knit the whole family together.
>
> Does it not seem likely, on the other hand, that, to begin with non-co-operation will lead to the subordination of your moral goal to ulterior and inferior material desires; and, therefore, even if you do succeed, that you will have lost the very cream of your efforts unintentionally, by making fellow men greater animals than they already are? The co-operation of selfless representatives of a selfless nation will sooner make a selfless government than non-co-operation of a nation which strives to follow a selfless leader before waiting *first* to learn how to conquer self!

> Kindly pause to consider these facts; whatever you do should be for the good of the whole brotherhood of man; and moral values must *on no account* take a second place, even in an ostensibly trivial instance; otherwise, the cure may be worse than the disease.

I have given the letter in full omitting an introductory sentence. I have refrained from publishing the name because I am not sure of the writer's intention regarding the publication of his name. His moral difficulty is entitled to careful consideration. In my opinion there is confusion of thought in this statement of the case. It ever has been my purpose to show that dishonourable means cannot bring about an honouarble end. What the writer may challenge and in fact does challenge is the motive of the non-co-operators in general. I confess that the motive of all non-co-operators is not love but a meaningless hatred. I call it meaningless, for the hatred of so many of the non-co-operators has no meaning in the plan of non-co-operation. A man does not sacrifice himself out of hatred. He helplessly tries to inflict an injury on his supposed enemy. In non-co-operation the result to be achieved is not infliction of punishment but the attainment of justice. The end of hatred is never justice: it is retaliation: it is blind fury. The hatred of the mob at Amritsar resulted in the cruel murder of innocent men.[1] But the hatred of a non-co-operator turning upon himself loses its points, purifies him, and makes it possible for the object of his hatred to reform and retrace his steps. Thus a non-co-operator starting as an enemy ends by becoming a friend. What does it matter with what motive a man does the right thing. A right act is right whether done for policy or for its own sake. I recognize the danger of a thing done from policy being abandoned, if it does not produce the desired result. But the existence of such danger is not an argument against the morality of the act itself.

The writer has suggested an impossible solution. He wants non-co-operators to be perfect beings. But he forgets that if we were perfect there would be no occasion for non-co-operation. For there would have been non-co-operation with evil. Non-co-operation is an attempt to purify or perfect oneself. And the majority follow the path of purification from faith, not from knowledge. In other words selfish non-co-operationists following a selfless leader will have done well at the end, for they will realize the virtue of non-co-operation as a doctrine of selflessness.

[1] *Vide* Vol. XVII, pp. 164-7.

The difficulty of Englishmen lies really in believing that their rule is wholly an evil for India, i.e., it has made India the worse for English rule in everything that counts. India is poorer in wealth, in manliness, in godliness and in her sons' power to defend themselves. It is sinful to coquet with evil. There is no meeting ground between good and evil—God and Satan. The writer asks me to pause and consider. I have done so for thirty years and have been driven to the final conclusion that English Rule in its present form has proved a curse to India. Let Englishmen pause and consider what is happening before their eyes. Let them turn the searchlight inward. May they ask me to co-operate with a Government that has betrayed the Mussulmans of India and stabbed humanity in the Punjab? Let them not call the massacre of Jallianwala an error of judgment. Let them not believe the Prime Minister if and when he says that he has not committed a breach of the solemn promise given to the Mussulmans of India.[1] The cause is just: the means are equally just. The motive is mixed The struggle is being prolonged only because the motive is not as unmixed as the means and the end.

Young India, 5-1-1921

106. SPEECH AT CHHINDWARA[2]

January 6, 1921

BROTHERS AND SISTERS,

For three years I have been trying to pay a visit to your city. The Ali Brothers were among the first Muslims with whom I came to be acquainted after my return to India. All the time, since they were put under surveillance[3], I had been trying to get permission to meet them. I did not get it.

The Ali Brothers have great love for Chhindwara. It was our agreement, first, that from Bombay I would go to Ahmedabad for some rest, but they have brought me to Chhindwara, for which they feel so much, which they have served and which in turn has also served them a lot, and from which they have great expectations.

[1] *Vide* Vol. XVII, pp. 412-3 & 456-60.

[2] In the then Central Provinces

[3] At Chhindwara, under the Defence of India Act of 1915

The prestige of the Central Provinces has certainly risen by the very fact of the Congress session[1], but it has been doubly increased by the resolution passed there. Fortunately for India and the Central Provinces, at Nagpur we took one step forward, and not backward, from where we stood at Calcutta[2]. If we wish to wipe out our humiliation over the Khilafat issue and undo the injustice to the Punjab, if we wish to win freedom, the Nagpur Congress has shown us what our duty is. We have told the Government title-holders what we had to tell them. The Congress has left to them the responsibility of retaining the titles or relinquishing them and, therefore, the resolution[3] passed this time does not even mention them. We shall not come across even a child now who stands in awe of these title-holders or has any respect for their titles.

The Congress has urged the lawyers to make every effort to give up practice and to devote all their time to the service of the country. The Congress may certainly meet the needs of those lawyers who do not have enough savings even for their livelihood. The energy and time which the lawyers spend today in courts are badly needed for national work.

The Congress has also indicated the duty of students and of their parents towards them. At the moment, instead of going into arguments about all this, I just want to place before you the Congress directive. It is your duty, while withdrawing your children from schools, to engage them at the same time in some other tasks. If education can be provided, arrange for it. If this is not possible just now, engage them in some work for the country. I do not believe that there is any youngster who, after understanding what happened in the Punjab and about the Khilafat, will not say, 'I want this Empire to be destroyed and no trace left of it.' If there is any such, I shall say to him that he is welcome to remain in his school. The Congress has advised students above 16 years of age to leave all schools and colleges having any connection with the Government.

In the same way, the Congress has asked soldiers to play their role. Loyalty to the Government is subordinate to loyalty to the people and so, when the two conflict, it becomes one's duty to sacrifice service-loyalty and to accept loyalty to the poeple. If some tyrannical officer like Dyer gives a perverse order, you should

[1] Held at Nagpur in December 1920

[2] Where the special session of the Congress was held in September 1920

[3] Gandhiji presumably refers to the Non-co-operation Resolution.

instead of obeying his order, prefer to face his bullets bravely and embrace death. It is better to be shot dead than to shoot and kill innocent people like those who had assembled in Jallianwala [Bagh]. Have some feeling for your own countrymen. Be their real protectors, regard them as your own, instead of oppressing them by abusing your office. Nobody can stop you from gifting to any national cause the money you earn. Give openly whatever you save. You can attend public meetings without any fear. It is true that you cannot make a speech, but the Government cannot dismiss you if you go to meetings in order to acquaint yourselves with what is going on in the country. In addition to all this, the Congress has placed special emphasis on swadeshi. The foundation of India's freedom will have been laid only when the import of Lancashire cloth has stopped. Again, do not believe that you will succeed in your aim by giving to Japan the place occupied by Lancashire. Our freedom will be won through the spinning-wheel. It is necessary to introduce it in every home. If every person in the country—man, woman and child—takes a vow today to give some little time of his to spinning, within a very short time we may cease to depend on others for clothing our people and save sixty crores of rupees for the country.

The unity of Hindus and Muslims is also of equal importance. We do not wish to kill Englishmen. Likewise, we do not want to kill one another. We want to live like brothers. Satan always takes advantage of weak points. It is our duty, therefore, to overcome them.

Just as it is necessary for Hindus and Muslims to live in harmony, it is also important for the Hindus to be rid of the disgraceful practice of untouchability and to wipe out this blot on Hindu religion. The Congress has earnestly requested all Hindus to give up this evil practice. Take it from me, just as the Government does not fail to take advantage of the disunity between Hindus and Muslims, it will also not fail to take full advantage of the heart-burning within the Hindu fold caused by this practice. While there are such shortcomings in us, it should not be wondered at if our efforts for freedom fail.

This, in brief, is the resolution unanimously passed by the Nagpur Congress. In implementing it, we shall be put to the test. We have set out to win our freedom within a year; if the Government is willing to give up its Satanism and stay on submitting to our wishes and ruling us to give us contentment, we are willing to let it remain. If, however, it clings to its Satanism and wants to hold us down, then I would say that it is our duty to end it. If it

is possible to do this today, I do not want to wait even till tomorrow. I pray God that He may give us the strength to make all necessary sacrifices in this great battle.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 20-1-1921

107. LETTER TO KASTURI RANGA AIYENGAR

[NAGPUR,]
January 8, 1921

DEAR MR. KASTURI RANGA AIYENGAR[1],

I was glad when you assured me that you were entirely satisfied with the Non-co-operation Resolution and that you would no longer oppose the detailed programme after it had been twice affirmed by the Congress. I hope that you would give it your whole-hearted support in your paper[2]. If we are to achieve swaraj inside of one year, we need all the strength that can be given to the movement.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. G.

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary. Courtesy: Narayan Desai

108. LETTER TO LAJPAT RAI

January 8/9[3], 1921

I hope you are looking into P[andit] Gangaram's matter.[4] The letters received by me are most damaging to him. But I am going to defer publishing anything about them till I have heard from you.

[1] Journalist and Congress leader of Madras who worked on the Civil Disobedience Inquiry Committee and several other sub-committees appointed by the All-India Congress Committee

[2] *The Hindu*

[3] From the source, it is not clear on which of these two dates this letter was written.

[4] Gangaram had started national schools in the Punjab, and certain charges had been made against him by the public; *vide* "Letter to Gangaram Sharma", February 21, 1921.

May we look to you for organizing [the] Punjab in respect of non-co-operation? I know that your difficulty is the greatest with Lala Harkishen Lal ranged against the movement. But so long as the masses continue to respond, there is a clear duty before those who are convinced of the necessity and the virtue of non-co-operation. I cannot help feeling that both Malaviyaji and Lala H. being true and brave will come round when [they] perceive the inherent weakness and the untruth of their position. I trust you will be in Bombay on the 20th instant for the meeting of the Working Committee[1].

I am anxious to convince you that we are wrong in spending anything in foreign propaganda outside India. Curiously I have a letter from a friend in America which strengthens my position. I plead for saving every penny during this year of trial. We need all the men and all the money we can get for organizing ourselves here. But of this more when we meet.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary. Courtesy: Narayan Desai

109. NAGPUR CONGRESS

What has the Congress done? What should we do? What should Ahmedabad do?[2] These three questions should occur to every person. The Congress gave us a new constitution[3] and unanimously passed the resolution advocating non-violent non-co-operation. Such a huge session of the Congress has never been held, and never before has it deliberated with such seriousness of purpose. Important changes have been made in the constitution. There was a long discussion on the objects of the Congress and, ultimately, after considering the matter for two nights and one day, votes were taken province-wise and the proposed changes were almost unanimously approved.

The new aim is the achievement of swaraj in the form of our choice, that is, swaraj with the British connection kept up, if possible, or severed if it is not to our liking. If this connection is to continue, it can do so only in such form as will permit the aim of the Congress

[1] Of the Indian National Congress

[2] The next session of the Congress was to be held at Ahmedabad in December 1921.

[3] *Vide* pp. 190-8.

to be fully realized. That is to say, the British should give up behaving as our superiors. The British connection ought to be intolerable to us so long as we feel that a handful of Englishmen are ruling over us. The Congress has also suggested the means for achieving such swaraj. It has decided that we are to win it by peaceful and pure means. There is no room here for falsehood, trickery, hypocrisy, make-believe, etc. We should follow the right path and, in doing so, lay down our life rather than kill others. We have to learn the secret of "living by dying". The world exists by obeying this law. The corn grows only when the seed dies. The child lives only because the mother suffers for it even to the point of death. We eat stolen property if we eat without offering sacrifice. Swaraj can be won only through sacrifice and that sacrifice, that martyrdom, can be acceptable to God only if it is pure.

The other important change is that, while in the past any person and any number of persons could be delegates at a Congress session, this will not be possible now; there will be only two delegates for every hundred thousand of the population in the country. That is to say, from the whole country there will not be more than six thousand delegates. According to me, even this number is too large. This is sure to lead to one undesirable result; the whole quota from the place where the Congress is held will be able to attend, but it will be difficult for far-off provinces to send many delegates. Even then, the fact that some limit has been fixed is an improvement. A change has also been made in the method of election. Henceforth the delegates will be elected only through the choice of millions and it has also been made obligatory to take necessary measures to induce the participation of Muslims, women, the untouchables and others who have not so far been taking part. Every person wishing to join a unit of the Congress is given the right to do so by paying the fee of four annas and signing the Congress creed. In order that persons representing all points of view can enter the Congress, it has been decided to introduce a system of voting whereunder only one vote can be given and, if that vote is not needed by the candidate in question, it can be transferred to another. The division into provinces has also been made on the basis of language. If work is carried on in each province along the lines indicated in the constitution that itself will enable us to make great progress, for, as soon as we have developed team spirit and the power of organization, we shall have won swaraj. Towards that end, it is necessary above all to create national consciousness in every section of the public.

The resolution on non-violent non-co-operation has confirmed the resolution of the special session of the Congress at Calcutta with certain additions.[1] Those who have accepted that resolution are obliged to do the following:

1. Title-holders to relinquish their titles.

2. Parents to withdraw their children from Government-controlled schools and make some arrangements for them in their homes or through a national school.

3. Any student over sixteen years who is convinced that it is a sin to learn under the shadow of a Government which the people have decided either to reform or to end should occupy himself in some other way.

4. Lawyers should give up practice as soon as possible and devote themselves to the service of the people.

5. Business men should give up trade in foreign goods, sever foreign connections as soon as possible and encourage hand-spinning and hand-weaving.

6. Those members of Councils who have got themselves elected[2] despite voters' opposition should resign and those who, in defiance of public opinion, refuse to resign should not be approached by the voters for any political work.

7. Policemen and other Government servants should be polite, kind and truthful in their dealings with the people; they should attend political meetings but should not make any speeches there and should openly contribute money for the freedom movement.

8. Policemen should not regard service as greater than their religion or country and should, by their good behaviour, falsify the charge that they are mercenaries with no feeling for their own community.

9. Every man and woman should make as much sacrifice as possible.

10. All should understand that our victory lies in preserving peace, and that not only in dealing with the Government but also amongst ourselves. Preserving peace means not only avoiding physical violence but eschewing abuse as well.

11. All should try to strengthen Hindu-Muslim unity and, likewise, end the bitterness prevailing among the various sections

[1] *Vide* Vol. XVIII, pp. 232-3.

[2] In November 1920

in the country. The quarrels between Brahmins and non-Brahmins should be ended and the sin of untouchability eradicated.

If we can do this in a year, we shall have swaraj within that period; and if we delay doing it, then freedom will also be delayed.

Our duty is clear. Each of us must forthwith sacrifice what we can and, to see that others do the same, hold meetings in conformity with the new policy. At the time of the next Congress, there should not be a single delegate whose children continue to go to a Government school or who is himself still practising as a lawyer or who has not conformed to any condition which is applicable to him. Hence every delegate—whether man or woman—must have only hand-spun and hand-woven cloth on his or her body. It is not difficult to imagine what our condition will be when we have six thousand such delegates and other workers.

Ahmedabad has extended an invitation for the next Congress to be held there and it may therefore be said to have pledged itself to make a success of the new constitution. While Ahmedabad has made a bid for great honour, it has also incurred a great responsibility. Honour for Ahmedabad is honour for Gujarat, and honour for Gujarat is honour for India. Only if we start our preparations from today shall we be able to complete them in time. We shall consider hereafter what will need to be done.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 9-1-1921

110. NOTES

LOKAMANYA TILAK NATIONAL FUND FOR SWARAJ

Along with a resolution on non-co-operation, a resolution for raising a swaraj fund in memory of the Lokamanya has also been passed. Some contributions were also received during the last session of the Congress. There is no doubt at all that it is everyone's duty to contribute to this fund to the best of his means. It would be more fitting if many people gave a little each and a good fund was raised than if a few persons donated large amounts; in this way alone can the title of 'Lokamanya' conferred on the departed leader be justified. One business man giving a crore of rupees is no proof of Tilak's being 'Lokamanya'; it would be far more important to collect one crore from crores of people and it would be taken as a convincing proof of the late Lokamanya's popularity. It is in our own interest to collect this fund since the money

is to be spent for our own good. Swaraj was the one sacred aim to which the Lokamanya's whole life was dedicated. For us, it is the door leading to our *moksha*[1], the key to our happiness, the solution to the hunger of the poor, the means for clothing the poor and the weapon with which sin may be fought and destroyed. Thus in honouring the Lokamanya we serve our own interests. There should be no delay and no hesitation on our part in taking up collections for this fund. Since collections have to be made from countless people, there will be a great many persons to go round collecting. They must start the work with a pledge to remain honest. During this year, there should be only one collection, this one in the name of the Lokamanya, as it can be used to support any worthy cause. We should also see to it that the collection does not fall short of the target of one crore. With the money, we can open schools wherever necessary and start similar activities.

For collecting this fund, we should go to every village, should carry the message of swaraj to the people of every street in each city. I hope that the work will be taken up without delay.

DUKE OF CONNAUGHT

H. R. H. the Duke of Connaught will soon be in the country. We have no quarrel with him. He is a good man, but he is ruled by the British Government. On this occasion, he will be an emissary of the Emperor. His aim is to strengthen the Empire. His visit will result in emphasizing the prestige of the present rulers. To extend a welcome to him would amount to welcoming our slavery. If we want to humble the arrogance of this rule, it is our duty to do nothing which may add to that arrogance. If we are convinced that we shall gain nothing through the new Councils, we cannot welcome a person who has come to confer dignity on them. Hence, at every place visited by H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught, the people should confine themselves to their homes and refrain from going out to watch illuminations; nor should they participate in any functions which may be held. This is the easiest way of expressing our dislike of this Government.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 9-1-1921

[1] Deliverance from phenomenal existence as the supreme end in life

111. IN MEMORIAM

Full many a gem of purest ray serene
The dark unfathomed caves of ocean bear,
Full many a flower is born to blush unseen
And waste its sweetness on the desert air.

I am reminded of these memorable lines of Gray's elegy when I think of a dear friend and co-worker who died on the 4th instant at Nagpur, unwept by any but his closest relations and friends. Yadwarkar Patwardhan of Amraoti was unknown to fame, but was no less devoted a servant of the nation than many who work in the limelight of public gaze and command the plaudits of overgenerous and often even unthinking crowds. Patwardhan was a graduate in law of Bombay University but never practised the profession. I had the privilege of first knowing him in 1915. He was constantly at the Ashram. I was struck by the beauty of his character, his simplicity, his self-effacingness, his utter humility, his constancy and his devotion to the work entrusted to him. He laboured for *Young India* for over a year without any honorarium as Sub-Editor. He attended the Congress[1] and was preparing to go to Sholapur and work there for non-co-operation. But God had willed otherwise. He was ailing for some time; but we had all hoped that he would soon recover. He had a sudden relapse however during the Congress week and never left his bed. He died with the last verses of the second chapter of the *Bhagavad Gita* on his lips. Thus die many a Hampden, the real dumb makers of a nation. I knew Patwardhan to be 'a gem of purest ray serene'. His friends knew his worth. May God grant peace to the noble soul!

Young India, 12-1-1921

[1] The 35th session of the Congress held at Nagpur in December 1920

112. NOTES

'UNGRATEFULEST OF MEN'

Mr. Edward Foy's letter[1] reproduced elsewhere is a type of many I receive from Englishmen. I have no doubt that my correspondent believes what he writes. The pity of it is that the average Englishman's outlook upon English rule is totally different from mine and, I believe, an average Indian's. I do not think I am of a particularly ungrateful temperament. On the contrary a little act of kindness makes me feel grateful. I am slow to find fault. And yet I can see nothing in the British rule to be grateful for. I do not think that the Germans would have occupied India if the British had not fought them. I am not inclined to believe that if it was a matter of choice between two evils, the German rule would be the worse of the two. Britain did not go to war with Germany for the sake of India. I do believe that British rule has undermined the religious instinct in us and the British people have deliberately undermined the influence of Islam. The British Government has favoured the Christian Church. Personally I would not quarrel with the favouritism if it was not indulged in at the expense of the Indian tax-payer. I would gladly help the Reforms, and co-operate if I could secure the redress of the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs and hasten the advent of swaraj. On the contrary I firmly believe that the reforms can do no substantial good to India. They cannot lead to real swaraj and it is impossible for me or any Indian to forget the Khilafat or the Punjab. Lastly, I assure Englishmen like Mr. Foy that non-co-operation is not failing and that not only am I, or any co-worker, not countenancing violence to cover failure but we are doing our best to prevent violence. We know that our success lies in our holding English life as sacred as

[1] Not reproduced here. The following, however, are some extracts from it: "I am sorry . . . that you are the ungratefulest of men . . . Where would you have been today but for the British Government which saved India from the iron grip of Germany? . . . you have misrepresented the Government in saying that it seeks to destroy both the Hindu and Mohammedan religions, which is grossly false . . . You talk glibly of non-violence while you are just as sure of the opposite . . . you are trying at the present stage to bring it about in order to cover the failure of non-co-operation. . . you are a peace breaker . . Be advised even at this eleventh hour and withdraw from all agitation . . . and co-operate with the Government in making the Reforms a success in which is . . . the promise of earliest swaraj." *Young India*, 12-1-1921.

our own. We are engaged in a fight between good and evil. We have no quarrel with individual Englishmen. We seek to mend or end a system which compels even the best of Englishmen to lend their assistance to evil, corruption, robbery, and humiliation of a whole nation.

'The Wicked Romans'

Of another type is Mr. Pennington's letter. He always leaves a sting in the tail. His self-assurance is really amazing. He wishes me to realize that the British are not likely to leave India to anarchy, as the wicked Romans left Britain. I wish the British would be as wicked as the Romans were or as indifferent as I, a son of the soil, am about anarchy. For I do really believe that anarchy will be preferable to a continuance of the orderly humiliation and emasculation of a whole nation. I feel better able to evolve order out of anarchy than I am to destroy a Government whose one aim is to hold India under bondage for the sake of exploiting her resources. I do not believe in the philanthropic character of British rule. And now Mr. Pennington will follow me when I assure him that if I retain the British connection, it is not for the humiliating protection it can afford but because, believing as I do in the ultimate goodness of human nature, I would not mind a partnership based on perfect equality both in theory and practice. That same belief makes me reject the fear that, immediately the British withdraw, other nations will be ready to pounce upon India. And if they will be ready, India will respond either by using the same matchless weapon of non-co-operation or will, when the paralysing aim of Britain is removed, produce a nationalist Pratap[1] or a nationalist Akbar who would make effective use of disciplined brute force. Mr. Pennington further forgets that, if not the goodness of other powers, their mutual jealousies will keep this unhappy land free from the foreigner's lust once the British have withdrawn. As for my belief in the efficacy of non-violence, it is an evergreen. I warn my correspondent against believing the interested accounts that he may see published in the British Press. Everybody knows that hitherto the movement has remained singularly free from violence. There has been rowdiness in isolated cases among ourselves. Every effort is being made to purge the movement even of rowdyism. Rather than point out the weaknesses of the movement the more[2] profitable course for Mr. Pennington would be so to

[1] Maharana Pratap, ruler of Mewar who did not submit to the Moghul Emperor Akbar

[2] The source has "moral".

work as to compel the Government to retrace its steps to undo the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs and to summon a conference to establish swaraj in India.

INTOLERANCE

I turn from letters from English friends to those from Indian friends. One such letter is from four Mussulmans of Bengal. One of the signatories is a pleader. These correspondents do not doubt the efficacy of the movement or the justice of the cause. They fear that violence in deed is likely to follow violence of language. They refer me to the intolerance said to have been shown to Messrs B. C. Pal and Fazlul Haq[1]. I agree with the writers that intolerance can do us no good and may harm the movement if it becomes violent. I have already suggested that when a speaker offends or irritates us, we have the undoubted right to withdraw; but nobody has any right to make a noisy demonstration against a speaker. We may not replace an intolerant Government by an intolerant democracy. Non-co-operation is an attempt to demonstrate the superiority of the force of public opinion over brute force.

PUBLIC WASTE

The same writers say:

> We painfully bring to your kind notice that many people suspect that the public fund, to which even the beggars contribute their mite, is very often mis-spent in first-class dinners, first-class travelling, unnecessary taxi hire and in several other ways by the leaders.

No names are mentioned. But I am inclined to think that this is meant to be a reflection on the Ali Brothers. I must plead guilty myself to travelling second-class of late since my illness. I know that it is practically a physical impossibility for Maulana Shaukat Ali to travel 3rd class. He is certainly over-indulgent to the workers who need not always travel 2nd class. But that is due to his generous nature. I am sure that he is at least as careful about public funds as he would be about his own. I have never known him to spend money on first-class dinners. He certainly does not *waste* money on taxi hire. As a rule he makes friends pay for whatever luxuries he allows himself or his companions. But I welcome this letter. Having watched him closely and travelled with him for nearly a year, I am able to say that the thousands who trust him

[1] Nationalist Muslim leader; Chief Minister of Bengal during World War II

have no reason to doubt his honesty. They have in him and his brother, public servants of integrity, ability and courage of a high order.

Village Propaganda

The writers have covered a variety of subjects. They ask how village propaganda is to be carried on. The answer is now simple. Every villager—man or woman—should belong to a Congress organization and the latter should establish in every village a school and introduce in every home a spinning-wheel. There is hardly a village that has neither temple nor mosque. National schools should be established in the compounds of these temples or mosques and simple instruction given to the boys and girls. If I had my way, I would make spinning compulsory in the schools. The cost of conducting village schools cannot be beyond the resources of a single village. These schools would be institutions for infecting our children with courage and confidence. Spinning and weaving could make every village self-supporting. A peaceful organization of the life of India on a national basis must synchronize with the establishment of swaraj. No power on earth can possibly stop the progress of the nation towards its goal if it is in earnest. Every honest and brave college-boy can undertake this great work. It requires little previous training. It does require the two qualities I have mentioned.

More Critics and Criticism

My correspondents will forgive me if I do not publish or notice all they write. It is physically impossible for me to do so. There are two pamphlets lying beside me also claiming notice. One is by Mr. Chatterji of Calcutta with a glowing introduction by Mr. Shastriar[1]. I have not had the time to read it. The other is from the pen of Prof. Raju of Nagpur. I have just been able to glance at Prof. Raju's effort to destroy the case for non-co-operation. I had to read it because I was looking forward to meeting him at Nagpur together with Principal Cheshire. But the administration had willed it otherwise and I was unable to meet these gentlemen. I have not the time to notice Prof. Raju's pamphlet at length. I am sorry to have to say that he has but superficially studied the movement and equally superficially considered

[1] V. S. Srinivasa Sastri (1869-1946); educationist and orator; president, Servants of India Society, 1915-27; member, Imperial Legislative Council and Council of State; Agent-General of the Indian Government in South Africa

my means. He betrays ignorance of some of the fundamental views held by me. He attributes to me ideas I have never held. He has presented to the readers a caricature of my views. Those alone who have never studied the movement or my views are likely to be misled by the pamphlet. I must content myself with noticing only one glaringly absurd conclusion he has arrived at. He says:

> We must conclude that Mr. Gandhi's present non-co-operation movement, far from being non-violent in character as he claims, is itself intended and calculated to do undeniable violence.

The readers of *Young India* hardly need any assurance as to the true nature of the movement. He comes to this conclusion by a gratuitous assumption of wrong premises. He will forgive me if I do not notice his pamphlet at any length. I must ask him and those who are impressed by his arguments to read the file of *Young India*, and I promise that they will find an answer to almost every argument advanced by Prof. Raju.

"Gandhi Cigarettes"!

Of all the abuses to which my name has been put, I know nothing so humiliating to me as the deliberate association of my name with cigarettes. A friend has sent me a label purporting to bear my portrait. The cigarettes are called "Mahatma Gandhi cigarettes". Now, I have a horror of smoking as I have of wines. Smoking I consider to be a vice. It deadens one's conscience and is often worse than drink in that it acts imperceptibly. It is a habit which is difficult to get rid of when once it seizes hold of a person. It is an expensive vice. It fouls the breath, discolours the teeth and sometimes even causes cancer. It is an unclean habit. No man has received my permission to associate my name with cigarettes. I should feel thankful if the unknown firm were to withdraw the labels from the market or if the public would refuse to buy packets bearing such labels.

True Worth

Information has also been brought to my notice to the effect that a girl has been travelling through the land claiming to be my daughter. She was reported to be in Dwarka, Chhapra and even in Nepal. I may state at once that I do not possess the good fortune of having a daughter and that no girl has my authority to use my name in connection with any propaganda. All my sister workers are well known and they do not need to use my name in order to forward the cause they may handle. The best

way out of the difficulties is to discount the word of those who claim kinship with me or, for that matter, any public worker. When we must have thousands of workers, everyone must stand or fall by his or her own intrinsic merit and be judged apart from his or her connections.

Young India, 12-1-1921

113. DRAFT MODEL RULES FOR PROVINCIAL CONGRESS COMMITTEES

1. The old Provincial Congress Committee or the old District Congress Committee of a newly created Province[1] shall form the Provincial Congress Committee under the new constitution.[2]

2. The existing members who accept the new creed shall forthwith proceed to divide the Province into districts, the existing political districts being retained wherever possible.

3. Each such district shall divide itself into talukas or tahsils, the existing divisions being retained so far as possible.

4. Each taluka shall divide itself into firkas or circles.

5. Each existing District Committee shall enrol, from among the villagers within its jurisdiction, as many members as are eligible under the constitution and these members shall form the electoral roll for the election of delegates to the Congress and representatives for the various district Congress Committees.

6. An alphabetical list of members with the full name and address and occupation of each shall be forwarded to the Provincial Congress Committee every Monday.

7. Each District Committee shall be responsible for the collection of subscription of the members and shall remit half of the proceeds to the Provincial Congress Committee at the same time as the list referred to in rule 6.

8. Each village containing more than five members of a Congress organization formed for it, shall elect its secretary, treasurer, chairman, and two other members who shall form the Village Panchayat or Mahajan.

9. Each such Panchayat shall be responsible for the primary education of every child, male or female, residing in the village, for the introduction of spinning-wheels in every home, for the organization of hygiene and sanitation therein, and for carrying

[1] Under the new constitution Congress circles or provinces were reorganized on linguistic basis.

[2] *Vide* p. 191.

out all the other items of the Non-co-operation Resolution of the Congress in so far as it is applicable to such village.

10. It shall be the duty of every District Committee to supervise and regulate the work of village and other organizations within its jurisdiction.

11. Each District Committee shall consist of ten members elected by the members belonging to the different organizations and shall as far as possible contain Mussulmans in proportion to the Mussulman population of the District and shall contain, so far as possible, at least one member belonging to the female sex and one belonging to the depressed classes.

12. The representatives of a District Committee so elected shall from among themselves elect their chairman, treasurer and secretary.

13. The representatives elected to the District Committees shall elect representatives to the Provincial Congress Committees subject to the same provisions as in rule 11, the number to be ten more than the number attached for the A.I.C.C.

14. The representatives so elected shall elect from among themselves chairman, secretary, treasurer and four other members who shall conduct the affairs of the Province and shall be responsible to the Provincial Committee for the due carrying out of the Congress resolutions from time to time.

15. The election of representatives to the District Congress Committees shall take place on the 21st February, 1921, and shall be on the basis of the roll of members as on the 15th day of February at 5 p.m.

16. Elections shall take place at a convenient place to be appointed by each District Congress Committee in an open manner and at a meeting of the electors convened for the purpose, the secretary of the [outgoing] committee shall be the convener and the election officer.

17. The election of representatives of the Provincial Congress Committee shall take place on the 4th March, 1921, at the headquarters of the Province. The Secretary of the outgoing Provincial Congress Committee shall be the convener and the election officer.

18. Electors of the Provincial Congress Committee may register their vote by post.

19. Results of all elections shall be sent to the Press for publication by the secretary.

20. The secretaries of the Provincial Congress Committees and the District Congress Committees should, so far as possible,

be whole-time workers, and may, if necessary, be paid out of the Provincial or District funds.

21. Election of delegates to the Congress shall take place on the 15th November, 1921.

22. The Provincial Congress Committee shall assign, as far as possible in proportion of the population of each taluka, the number of delegates to be elected by it. And the elections shall take place in such taluka at a central place to be selected by the District Committee and shall be supervised by agents affiliated by the District Committee.

23. The result of elections shall be forwarded by the respective District Committees not later than the 1st December, 1921.

24. The Provincial Congress Committee shall meet at least once every month and consider reports from District organizations and adopt measures for the furtherance of the resolutions passed by the Congress.

25. These rules shall be in force for one year ending 31st December, 1921, and till such time as they are revised by the new Provincial Congress Committee or altered or amended from time to time.

* * *

For the purpose of facilitating the work of the Provincial Congress Committees, I have ventured to frame the foregoing draft rules which they will naturally alter as they please or reject *in toto.* They are merely designed to serve for guidance. There is no time to lose if we are to set the whole of the new machinery in motion by the end of June, as we are bound to, under the new constitution. If we can bring into being the new organization in an orderly and efficient manner and succeed in enrolling hundreds of thousands of men and women as active workers, determined to carry out the Non-co-operation Resolution, he who runs may see that we shall have accomplished a peaceful and bloodless revolution within one year. The whole of the scheme of non-co-operation is based upon the supposition that the British control is dependent upon the voluntary association with it of the people. It is true that it is unconscious; it is true, too true, that it is due to fear; it is true that it is due to a variety of tempting inducements held out to a few of us. The present movement then is an attempt to show that the moment we cease to give our voluntary association, to fear and be tempted, that moment we become a free people. I hold that this process is not so difficult as many imagine. The current year will show whether my opinion is justified. The thousands who

gathered under the Congress *pandal*[1] have shared my belief. It is now for them to translate their belief into action.

Young India, 12-1-1921

114. THE NEED FOR HUMILITY

The spirit of non-violence necessarily leads to humility. Non-violence means reliance on God, the Rock of ages. If we would seek His aid, we must approach Him with a humble and a contrite heart. Non-co-operationists may not trade upon their amazing success at the Congress. We must act, even as the mango tree which droops as it bears fruit. Its grandeur lies in its majestic lowliness. But one hears of non-co-operationists being insolent and intolerant in their behaviour towards those who differ from them. I know that they will lose all their majesty and glory if they betray any inflation. Whilst we may not be dissatisfied with the progress made so far, we have little to our credit to make us feel proud. We have to sacrifice much more than we have done to justify pride, much less elation. Thousands who flocked to the Congress *pandal* have undoubtedly given their intellectual assent to the doctrine but few have followed it out in practice. Leaving aside the pleaders, how many parents have withdrawn their children from schools? How many of those who registered their vote in favour of non-co-operation have taken to hand-spinning or discarded the use of all foreign cloth?

Non-co-operation is not a movement of brag, bluster, or bluff. It is a test of our sincerity. It requires solid and silent self-sacrifice. It challenges our honesty and our capacity for national work. It is a movement that aims at translating ideas into action. And the more we do, the more we find that much more must be done than we had expected. And this thought of our imperfection must make us humble.

A non-co-operationist strives to compel attention and to set an example not by his violence but by his unobtrusive humility. He allows his solid action to speak for his creed. His strength lies in his reliance upon the correctness of his position. And the conviction of it grows most in his opponent when he least interposes his speech between his action and his opponent. Speech, especially when it is haughty, betrays want of confidence and it makes one's opponent sceptical about the reality of the act itself. Humi-

[1] At the Nagpur session, in December 1920

lity therefore is the key to quick success. I hope that every non-co-operationist will recognize the necessity of being humble and self-restrained. It is because so little is really required to be done and because all of that little depends entirely upon ourselves that I have ventured the belief that swaraj is attainable in less than one year.

Young India, 12-1-1921

115. HOW TO FINANCE THE MOVEMENT

The Non-co-operation Resolution[1] of the Congress requires a careful study by every lover of the country. Swaraj can be gained inside of one year if the people respond sufficiently by acting in accordance with their vote. It was not merely the delegates who emphasized the necessity of non-co-operation, but the many thousand visitors, too, showed in a variety of ways that they were in full sympathy with the programme.

The days of merely passing resolutions during the Christmas week[2] and sleeping over them till the next Christmas are gone. It will be more and more difficult for those to attend the Congress who do not act up to their profession. Everyone is called upon to withdraw his children from Government-managed or -controlled schools. Everyone is called upon to use as few foreign articles as possible and to use only hand-woven cloth made from hand-spun yarn. Everyone is called upon to subscribe to the Tilak Memorial Swaraj Fund. This movement of non-co-operation is a searching of the heart. Workers must constantly awaken people to a sense of their duty. The whole Congress organization must be utilized for the enforcement of the programme. The new constitution enables workers to organize the nation within one year for carrying out the programme in detail and if the vast body of the people of India make a conscious effort, nothing can thwart its legitimate wish for self-determination. If we nationalize schools, boycott law courts and manufacture all the cloth we need, we will have asserted our right to govern ourselves and no army in the world can possibly defeat our purpose. With a few thousand selfless, honest and industrious workers, the three things mentioned by me can be organized without much difficulty.

[1] *Vide* Appendix I.

[2] The annual sessions of the Congress used to be held during the last week of December.

I propose however to devote this article to a consideration of the financial difficulty. The All-India Tilak Memorial Swaraj Fund should be large enough to meet every requirement, not excluding that of national institutions. Welcome as the thousands of monied men must be to us, we must rely upon the pice of the masses. Every pice knowingly given will be a token of the determination of the giver to establish swaraj. I make bold to say that the movement can be financed by the nation abandoning its superfluities, its questionable habits, and its vices.

If the women of India were to surrender their superfluous ornaments, if the wine-bibbers were to give up their drink and hand to the movement half their savings, if the smokers were to suspend their smoke pending attainment of swaraj and give to the cause half their savings, we would get all the money we need for bringing the movement to a successful close. I was agreeably surprised to find that in the Central Provinces there has been a great campaign going on against the drink evil. I understand that the movement has resulted in thousands having given up this cursed habit. It would be a crowning triumph of non-co-operation if an organized effort were made to stamp out the drink evil. And I am sure that those who are weaned from it will gladly and thankfully part with a portion of their savings.

We are a poor people, getting daily poorer; and if we are to make collections from the masses we shall do so only by acts of self-denial. There is certainly always something which we can deny ourselves for the sake of the country. I do not hesitate to suggest to the religiously-minded that they cannot better devote their charity than to the erection of the temple of swaraj. No doubt the Working Committee appointed by the All-India Congress Committee will present a scheme for collection. But I suggest to the volunteer workers that they can supplement the scheme by inculcating among the masses the lesson of self-denial.

There should be a healthy competition among the different ᵖrovinces in this direction.

Young India, 12-1-1921

116. TELEGRAM TO JAIRAMDAS DAULATRAM

January 12, 1921

YOUR WIRE. AM HERE TILL NINETEENTH, THEN BOMBAY[1]. TRY NOT DRAW ME THERE FOR PRESENT.

Bombay Secret Abstracts, 1921, p. 99

117. SPEECH TO STUDENTS OF GUJARAT MAHAVIDYALAYA[2], AHMEDABAD

January 13, 1921

I had hoped that after returning from my tour[3] I would meet you, discuss things with you, talk of experiences, happy and otherwise and share with you some interesting moments of my numerous experiences. I did not know, then, that I would be giving you today the message I have been giving these past few days to all and sundry. The idea I am going to place before you on this occasion is not a new one. It has always been with me. I have thought about it in season and out of season and acted upon it as well. However, it has been my experience all through my life that it is only at a certain moment that I can see a particular thing as clearly as daylight. For instance, during the Rowlatt Act agitation, it suddenly struck me one day[4] in Nadiad that the nation was not yet ready for civil disobedience. I had myself spent some days in Nadiad and it is my belief that I had my biggest achievement working from there.[5] The residents of that very place became as blind as a wall and committed a big mistake.[6] I saw that they

[1] For the meeting of the Congress Working Committee to be held on January 20

[2] A constituent college of Gujarat Vidyapith established on November 15, 1920

[3] Gandhiji was on tour from November 16, 1920, to January 10, 1921.

[4] On April 18, 1919, Gandiji had advised temporary suspension of the movement.

[5] Nadiad was Gandhiji's headquarters during the Kheda satyagraha in the summer of 1918; *vide* Vol. XIV.

[6] During the disturbances on April 10, 11 and 12 of 1919, following news of Gandhiji's arrest; *vide* Vol. XIV.

alone were qualified to offer civil disobedience who had been law-abiding all their lives not out of fear but voluntarily.

I was obliged to lay down my weapon. In this way, a particular idea strikes me only at a particular moment. When I was a student, I could not follow anything in geometry. Up to the time we had reached the thirteenth theorem, I simply could not understand what geometry was about. But then suddenly, as the teacher explained this theorem on the board, light dawned in my mind, and from that time onwards I followed the subject with interest. In the same manner, these last three or four days an idea has got hold of my mind. What should we do if we want non-co-operation to succeed, would like students to join it and wish to secure swaraj within a year? I shall place before you today what I have always believed. I have had unshakable faith in it from the very beginning, but one aspect of my reason for this faith I understand better today than I did before.

I have not come here to tell you anything as your Chancellor. I have come as an elder brother or as a senior in the family to advise you and discuss things with you. I will, of course, press my advice on you most earnestly. I have not presented this idea to you any time before now as forcefully and with as much faith in it as I will do today. If in your view it is committing suicide for students to leave schools and go without education, I would certainly tell you that you should desist from the sin of continuing in your schools and commit suicide. God will forgive you your suicide. Before now, I used to talk to you of all manner of interesting things. Today, I have come here to tell you only this, that, if you wish to see non-co-operation crowned with success, set apart one hour from your time entirely for spinning. This will sound strange to you and may shock you. Those of you who have cherished the ambition of becoming B.A.s and have been assured that this Vidyapith will confer the degree on them—to all such I shall say that spinning for the country is in itself the highest degree that can be obtained today. I go to this length because I want to see you feel as intensely as I do.

If we have lost the country to foreigners, it is because we forsook swadeshi. In India, spinning was not a distinct profession. Every woman of every class of society spun. Some men also spun. The yarn for Dacca muslin was spun by men. But these men I speak of were a small number of professional workers. Ordinarily, spinning was not looked upon as a profession, it was regarded as a duty, as a part of one's dharma. As long as spinning flourished in India, the country was prosperous. History tells us that not

only did the cloth produced in the country meet all the internal demand but there was surplus and it was exported to other countries. The East India Company destroyed the weaving industry, by means fair or foul; to ensure profits of crores, they waged wars, acquired control of ports, monopolized trade and finally established their rule. So long as we do not feel penitent, do not atone for the oppression our forefathers had to endure, how can we hope to win swaraj? We certainly shall not win it by seeking to punish anyone. We should turn our back on that method. We should try to end British rule not by visiting them with punishment but by acquiring strength through self-purification. If you believe that they have been ruling over us, that they are able to maintain their hold, entirely because of our demoralization, if you want to win swaraj only through pure means, what should you do? You should make amends for the past, should take to spinning again. You will perhaps say that this is women's work, that you don't mind asking them to take it up. My reply is that that will not be enough. We had the misfortune to see women in the Punjab dishonoured; we, men, should take up spinning at any rate by way of amends for this dishonour, should take it up not as a substitute for some other work but in our spare time and raise the country through it. Our atonement will be complete only when all of us, men, women and children, have taken to spinning. Those who advocate boycott of British goods do so with the intention of ruining Lancashire, but personally I think it is better that we should talk of saving ourselves from being ruined by anyone than of ruining others. If we wish to stop the opening to Japanese, British and American goods, we should produce all our requirements of cloth. Until we produce the yarn, we cannot get the required quantity of cloth woven. In the view of some experienced business men, it would take us fifty years to set up the required number of new mills if we want the mills to meet all our needs of cloth. What, then, is the way to gain our end in nine months? You will never succeed, with the help of mills, in bringing prosperity to millions, in covering the men and women who at present go about unclothed. No country can live on agriculture alone. Along with agriculture, there must be a subsidiary occupation. Spinning and weaving is the only possible one. So long as we do not revive it, do not learn it ourselves, all our other education will be in vain.

By saying all this I want to show what, if it is true—and the National Congress has admitted its truth publicly by passing a resolution—we should do. If we want to win swaraj within nine

months, the only education for students is that they should work to end the cloth famine in India. There is such a famine in the country today. The scarcity of food grains is not on the same scale. Sixty crores of rupees are being sent away annually to foreign countries on account of this cloth. The country imports at present 40 crore pounds of yarn. We should spin all this yarn in our homes. There is no dearth of weavers, but there is a dearth of spinners today. I have not yet been able to get the precise figure of weavers but I think it is about 50 lakhs or more. If we would save all that money, we must immediately start spinning. Just consider how many people would get employment if this trade of 60 crores were within the country itself. We should use cloth as carefully as we use ghee. We are not in such a condition that we may use as much of it as we may choose. If we can make do with just a shirt, we should have nothing else. If a short dhoti will serve the purpose, we should not have a long one. If we want to save sixty crores of rupees, our sacrifice should be equally great.

If students devote themselves exclusively to this work throughout the year, they can help win swaraj within a year, as resolved upon by the Congress. This will, however, require a determined effort. Provided certain conditions are fulfilled, we can achieve this aim. Let students stop their studies and turn themselves into labourers for the sake of the country. You will deserve thanks if you ask no payment for your labour, but those who need it are welcome to ask for it.

If I am qualified to advise you, I would ask you to leave your college. If you want to make your full contribution in the struggle for swaraj, spin and produce as much yarn as you can for the country. Spend six hours daily in spinning, or, if that is not possible, at least four. I do not insist upon your giving up studies altogether. Even if you do, I don't think your capacity for thinking will suffer. It never does so long as one's mind has not been corrupted. My own experience has been that when I was in jail and could not get any book to read, I could think better. Our brains have grown dull with too much reading. That is why I asked you to spend six hours in spinning and to study during the rest of the time. I go to the length of putting it to you that, if you become experts in spinning, you may even go into villages. In case you do not have sufficient confidence for this, you may remain in the College. But of this I am convinced, that unless all of us give four to six hours daily to spinning, we shall not get swaraj. You can pick up spinning in a month's time or, at the most, in three months' time, and so be equipped to go into villages and

spread it there. We cannot take the country forward in any other way as well as we shall by ending the shortage of yarn. Moreover, according to the Congress constitution, we have to form electorates; how can we do this if we do not take up this work? What message at the present time should I give for the villages of Gujarat? Shall I teach them to abuse the British? Or supply swords and guns to them? If not, what should I tell them? My message today is to the effect that everyone should start spinning. I feel very unhappy that anyone in a village should come to Ahmedabad to buy cloth here. The swadeshi dharma which I propagate means that every village should produce its own requirements. If we can revive this old way, no one dare cast a greedy eye on India. I entreat the Principal and the professors to accept this line for a year and so train the students that they can be sent into villages.

By way of your educational programme during the year, this will suffice; improve your Gujarati, eschew English, learn Hindustani, learn the Urdu script and learn to work on the spinning-wheel. If you do this, you will be fresh for the next year. Personally, I wish that you should go on working along this line till we have swaraj. In any case, do so for a year. This is my message at the present time.

Don't hesitate to bring up any doubts which you may feel. I do not wish that a single student should accept this new idea if he has no faith in it. Accept what I have said only if it appeals to your reason and your heart.

Q. Parents may tell us that they had sent us to the Mahavidyalaya to study, not to ply the spinning-wheel.

Tell them that plying the spinning-wheel is also a kind of education.

Q. They may not permit us to go into villages but may ask us to stay at home and do nothing.

The best way in that case would be to stay at home and spin. If they forbid even spinning, you may reason with them respectfully. If the son spends the whole day spinning, the parents will be angry and object one or two days or four days at the most. After that, they are certain to come round. I have even seen parents who tell the son that he may tell lies. They get angry if the son does not; but they do this for a few days and then stop of themselves. You will certainly need to have this measure of firmness and I do expect a college student to have it.

Q. How will the spinning-wheel help the non-co-operation fight?

It will help us to achieve the economic freedom of the country. Until we have won this, we shall not truly enjoy swaraj. We can go without soap, or needles, or pins, but not without cloth. At present, we are not able to export as much as we import. This leads to increased economic loss every year. There is the heavy military expenditure which we must bear, whether we choose or not. We part with 60 crores for cloth, besides what is thrown away on inessential articles. If this is true, we must achieve economic freedom. Let us save the 60 crores which we are in a position to save. If we can save this amount, we shall by and by find it possible to save other amounts, too, or will then be able to afford the imports of those other items. If we do not have in the country a factory for pins or watches, it will not be reduced to utter helplessness; without cloth, however, India's condition is much like a widow's.

Q. The introduction of the spinning-wheel will again disturb the students.

Students grow through being disturbed. It is our duty, mine and of the professors, to disturb them. At present the students are slumbering, though their eyes are open. When there is a conflict with parents, with the world and with one's friends, it is likely that some of them will wake up; this is not going back.

Q. Why do you not tell others who are not students to spin? Why do you ask the students to give up studies?

Our first mistake is to believe that spinning is not education, and the second that self-sacrifice is not education. If tomorrow all young men make up their minds to serve the country by sacrificing their studies, I would know that very moment that my task for the year was accomplished.

Q. How will it be possible to make a living with the help of the spinning-wheel?

A man who uses his intelligence can also earn a living. At present, however, I place the spinning-wheel before you as an emergency duty. If all the young men in the country took a pledge to spin four hours daily, in a month's time the price of yarn would come down.

Q. Will not the non-co-operation movement receive a set-back through the introduction of this change in schools?

No. Those who leave Government schools should do so with the conviction that the education provided by the Government is tainted with evil. If any of them would leave their institutions because they are attracted by this Vidyalaya, they had

better remain in their colleges. Those who wish to impart an exclusively literary education may by all means open a college for the purpose. If we feel that our duty is this, that it will help the country if we do this work for a year, that by doing it we shall be instrumental in bringing swaraj,—if we feel thus, we ought to do this work.

Q. Do you believe that the atmosphere in the country is ready for your new idea? You are pushing the people all at once towards the last room, the Turkish bath-room, of the struggle.

I know the atmosphere is ripe and that is why I am talking about the thing. The country has advanced a good deal during the last three months. The tempo is rising not with the speed of a train but with geometrical speed in the manner of falling snow. When I stated in print eight years ago that India would have to take this path, I did not know that on the 13th of January in 1921 I would be talking to you about this idea.

Q. Before trying to serve the country, should we not serve the family?

Certainly. But there can be no conflict between service of the family and service of society. First service of self, then of the family, then of the village and finally of the country—I believe in this order. But no service should be in disregard of human welfare. At this time of want in the country, we may not spend Rs. 20,000 on the marriage of a sister.

Q. We shall need a police force for maintaining order in the country. Instead of asking us to learn spinning, why do you not teach us drill and train us for that work?

How can I teach you the policeman's work? You must first acquire the strength to rush up to a place where there may be danger. Do you mean to say that you will work for swaraj at leisure after you have had your higher education?

Q. What do we mean by swaraj?

Swaraj means the control of the military in our hands, our control over income and expenditure, over land revenue and over courts. When we have such swaraj, we shall be able to prevent all misdeeds. Apart from the other things, economic freedom can be ours this very day. We can achieve it with the help of the spinning-wheel. The country may not, of course, take up the idea today.

Q. You constantly talk of a state of war. Do you think we can do anything without raising a *volunteer army*? Students must have military training

too. Is it not, then, necessary to lay more stress on this than on the spinning-wheel?

Military training can be given in a short time. Moreover, what does military training signify? Courage. Is this to be acquired by exercises with dummy swords? Should riots break out again in the city and people start setting fire to houses, anyone who runs up to the scene and, standing between the rioters and their object, tells them that they would have to kill him before they could burn the house—such a one is a brave man. In situations of this sort, do you expect orders to be issued? Should you wait to hear 'March', 'Quick March', and so on? You should forget even your drill at such a time. In such a contingency, all I can tell the man is to run as fast as he can and reach the spot. If I were faced with such a situation, I would simply run without taking anything with me—not stopping, even, till I had put on my shoes if I was in the act of doing so at the moment—and perish in the flames in the attempt. You may say that Gandhi used to talk big things but it was all empty talk.

Q. If the Government conceded all our demands except that relating to the Khilafat, should we continue the fight even then?

Certainly. I have often said that in defending Islam I am training myself to defend Hinduism. We can ensure cow-protection only by defending Islam, and while a single cow is being killed in the country, my very flesh and muscles and blood turn into water. I am going through the necessary training for protecting the cow, doing *tapashcharya* and acquiring spiritual potency to do a great many things, and I shall die with the holy message of cow-protection on my lips.

Q. Do you not believe that, by devoting ourselves exclusively to the spinning-wheel, we shall forget what we have been learning?

Having won our freedom through spinning, we shall become really qualified for literary education. Thus, spinning will have added life to the education we receive at present.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 20-1-1921

118. TELEGRAM TO ABDUL BARI[1]

January 15, 1921

SHAUKAT ALI REDIRECTED YOUR WIRE. YOU SHOULD CERTAINLY INTERVENE FOR SECURING PEACE.

Bombay Secret Abstracts, 1921, p. 72

119. YADVARKAR PATWARDHAN

I have lost two co-workers within only a few months. Both of them were devotees of God. Both were servants of the people. Their service was invisible. One was Vrajlal Bhimji[2]. He went down into a well to take out a pitcher which some children had thrown into it. He got exhausted while climbing up with the help of the rope, slipped and so died.

The other friend, Patwardhan, was running a temperature. He used to work[3] on *Young India*, living on his own money. In the meantime he fell ill. He went to his brother's place at Amraoti for recovery. Believing he had recovered, he came to Nagpur at the time of the Congress and had a relapse. This time the fever proved fatal. No one was present by his side except his close relatives and two or three friends. Thus Patwardhan passed away on the last *Ekadashi*[4] day.

I have seen very few workers like him or Vrajlal. It was not their wont to make speeches or thrust themselves forward to offer their services. But it is through workers like them that the people progress. Patwardhan's truthfulness, humility and single-minded devotion were incomparable. He was a B.A., LL.B. of the Bombay University, but he never practised as a lawyer. He joined the Ashram in 1916 and trained himself to do silently whatever work fell to his lot. He had been thinking of going to the Sholapur district after the Congress was over and working there for non-co-operation. Describing his last moments, a friend writes:

[1] Abdul Bari (1838-1926); Nationalist Muslim divine of Lucknow who took an active part in the Khilafat movement and urged his followers to refrain from cow-slaughter

[2] One of the inmates of the Ashram; *vide* Vol. XVII, pp. 512-3.

[3] As sub-editor

[4] The eleventh day of the bright or the dark half of the lunar month. This particular *Ekadashi* was on January 4.

When we arrived, he was at his last gasp and had not much consciousness. But, after a while, i.e., at about nine or nine-thirty, seeing him speak a little, I said: "Sircar (Patwardhan's pet name), be absolutely peaceful." To this he replied quite distinctly: "I am all peace." After a few moments, he said : "Nothing else is real; there is only one Real." He had passed the stage of delirium. Everybody saw plainly that he was thinking on nothing else but *Sat-chit*[1]. A few moments later I asked: "Shall we recite *Sthitaprajna*?"[2] Showing the happiness within, he himself started.

Then follows a description of how Patwardhan and others recited this part of the *Gita* more than once.

There is nothing here which suggests death. All signs point to his having attained immortality. Patwardhan's co-workers may, through selfishness, mourn over his death. His memory should teach them to be more devoted to their work. Patwardhan lives in his death. Though dead, he is serving the cause of freedom.

There must be many such silent workers in India. Who will take note of them? And where is the need to do so either? True saints always serve unknown to others. It cannot be that there have been only five Pandavas[3]. There are in the world other devotees like Arjuna, warriors like Bhima and votaries of truth like Yudhishthira. They do not know what fame is. They do not desire it. May Mother India produce many more workers like Patwardhan!

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 16-1-1921

120. TO YOUNG BENGAL

DEAR YOUNG FRIENDS,

I have just read an account of your response to the nation's call. It does credit to you and to Bengal. I had expected no less: I certainly expect still more. Bengal has great intelligence, it has a greater heart, it has more than its share of the spiritual heritage for which our country is specially noted. You have more imagination, more faith, and more emotion than the rest of India. You have falsified the calumny of cowardice on more occasions than

[1] Reality as Absolute Existence and Consciousness

[2] The description of the steadfast seer in the *Bhagavad Gita*, II, 55-72

[3] Heroes of the *Mahabharata*. They were Yudhishthira, Bhima, Arjuna, Nakula and Sahadeva.

one. There is, therefore, no reason why Bengal should not lead now as it has done before now.

You have taken the step: you will not recede. You had ample time to think. You have paused, you have considered. You held the Congress[1] that delivered to the nation the message of non-co-operation, i.e., of self-purification, self-sacrifice, courage and hope. The Nagpur Congress ratified, clarified and, amplified the first declaration. It was delivered in the midst of strife, doubt and disunion. It was re-delivered in the midst of joy, acclamation and practically perfect unanimity. It was open to you to refuse or to hesitate to respond. You have chosen the better, though, from a worldly-wise standpoint, less cautious way. You dare not go back without hurting yourselves and the cause.

But for the evil spell that the existing system of Government and, most of all, this Western education has cast upon us, the question will not be considered as open to argument. Can the brave Arabs retain their independence and yet be schooled under the aegis of those who would hold them under bondage? They will laugh at a person who dared to ask them to go to schools that may be established by their invaders. Is the case different, or, if it is different, is it not stronger in our case when we are called upon to give up schools conducted under the aegis of a Government which, rightly or wrongly, we seek to bend to our will or destroy?

We cannot get swaraj if not [even] one class in the country is prepared to work and sacrifice for it. The Government will yield not to the logic of words. It knows no logic but that of brave and true deeds.

Bravery of the sword they know. And they have made themselves proof against its use by us. Many of them will welcome violence on our part. They are unconquerable in the art of meeting and suppressing violence. We propose, therefore, to sterilize their power of inflicting violence by our non-violence. Violence dies when it ceases to evoke response from its object. Non-violence is the corner-stone of the edifice of non-co-operation. You will, therefore, not be hasty or overzealous in your dealings with those who may not see eye to eye with you. Intolerance is a species of violence and therefore against our creed. Non-violent non-co-operation is an object-lesson in democracy. The moment we are able to ensure non-violence, even under circumstances the most provoking, that moment we have achieved our end; because that is the moment when we can offer complete non-co-operation.

[1] The special session of the Congress held at Calcutta in September 1920

I ask you not to be frightened at the proposition just stated. People do not move in arithmetical progression, not even in geometrical progression. They have been known to perish in a day: they have been known to rise in a day. Is it such a difficult thing for India to realize that thirty crores of human beings have but to feel their strength and they can be free without having to use it? As we had not regained national consciousness, the rulers have hitherto played us against one another. We have to refuse to do so, and we are masters: not they.

Non-co-operation deals first with those sensitive classes upon whom the Government has acted so successfully and who have been lured into the trap consciously or unconsciouly as the school-going youths have been.

When we come to think about it, the sacrifice required is infinitesimal for individuals, because the whole is distributed among so many of us. For what is your sacrifice? To suspend your literary studies for one year or till swaraj is estabished. If I could 'infect' the whole of the student world with my faith, I know that the suspension of studies need not extend even to a year.

And in the place of your suspended studies I would urge you to study the methods of bringing about swaraj as quietly as possible even within the year of grace. I present you with the SPINNING-WHEEL and suggest to you that on it depends India's economic salvation.

But you are at liberty to reject it if you wish and go to the college that has been promised to you by Mr. Das.[1] Most of your fellow-students in the National College in Gujarat[2] have undertaken to give at least four hours to spinning everyday. It is no sacrifice to learn a beautiful art and to be able to clothe the naked at the same time.

You have done your duty by withdrawing from Government colleges. I have only showed you the easiest and the most profitable way of devoting the time at your disposal.

May God give you strength and courage to sustain you in your determination.

Your well-wisher,
M. K. GANDHI

Young India, 19-1-1921

[1] C. R. Das proposed to start a National College at Calcutta.
[2] At Ahmedabad

121. NOTES

LORD READING[1]

The long expected announcement[2] about the new Viceroy has come. But two years ago, the name of the Lord Chief Justice as the Viceroy-designate would have excited wonder and even admiration. Today the public is rightly indifferent. A military dictator might have answered just as well if not better. At the same time the appointment of Lord Reading probably is a silent recognition of the fact that ours is a non-violent battle and that therefore a diplomat with a judicial training is the best representative of the Sovereign. Lord Reading has declared his intention to do the right. I have no doubt that he means it. But the system which he is coming to administer will not permit him to do what is right. That is India's experience. If he succeeds in doing the right, I promise he will also succeed in destroying the system or radically reforming it. Either he will swallow the system or the system will swallow him.

"INDIA" AND THE BRITISH COMMITTEE

The *Chronicle*, I observe, calls the decision[3] to end the British Committee and *India* an unfortunate decision. The argument advanced in support of the view is that the Constitution Committee had not advised abolition of the British Committee and *India* and that both were doing good work. It is true that the Constitution Committee had not recommended abolition. But it should be remembered that the Committee was appointed at the Amritsar Congress and its report was conceived before the Non-co-operation Resolution of the Special Congress.[4] Much has happened since then to revolutionize the country's ideas about foreign propaganda and the British Committee. The abolition was a matter of principle. It was felt that a non-co-operation Congress could not keep a foreign agency for helping its work. The Congress has deliberately

[1] Rufus Daniel Isaacs (1860-1935); 1st Marquis of Reading; British statesman; Lord Chief Justice of England, 1913-21; Viceroy and Governor-General of India, 1921-26; Foreign Secretary in the first National Government of England, 1931

[2] Made on January 9, 1921

[3] *Vide* "Speech on Foreign Propaganda, Nagpur", December 29, 1920.

[4] Held at Calcutta in September 1920

burnt its boats. It has decided to become self-reliant. The question of efficiency of the Committee as constituted becomes irrelevant. It is hardly dignified for the Congress in the altered situation to subsidize a foreign agency for doing propaganda work. No amount of misrepresentation about it could possibly blot out effective action by the nation.

* * *

Whether you advertise the fact or not, a body not receiving the food it needs dies. Whether we advertise the fact or not, the moment we cease to support the Government, it dies a natural death. Personally I dislike even the resolution voting the money to be used at the discretion of the All-India Congress Committee in foreign propaganda. We want all the money we need in this country. I would far rather invest Rs. 45,000 in spinning-wheels or establishing primary schools than in wasting it in advertising our work. Every good deed is its own advertisement. And I shall certainly hope that the money will still be saved for a better purpose. So far as the newspaper *India* is concerned, we are certainly better without it. It raised in us false hopes. The British people are as much on their honour and trial as we are. If they choose to be misinformed by interested or dishonest journals, we cannot help them. Have we not published the Congress Punjab report[1]? Who believes it? Mr. Montagu[2] discredits it and the British public echoes his opinion. In the art of advertising bogus things, the British journalists are to be beaten only by the Americans. I would not enter into the unequal competition and court defeat.

We must adopt new methods for combating the evils of sensational and untruthful journalism and public life. The Congress has given the lead by abolishing the Committee and its organ, *India*.

TAINTED MONEY

An esteemed friend from Sind asks several questions. The letter being personal I refrain from giving the name. His first question is thus put:

> One item in the first stage of the non-co-operation programme is the withdrawal of students from the Government and aided institutions. The reason that you have been assigning is that the money with which

[1] The Congress Report on the Punjab Disorders published in March 1920; *vide* Vol. XVII, pp. 114-292.

[2] Secretary of State for India

> such institutions are financed is tainted because it comes from the hands of the present Government, though the money is really ours as it has been paid by us. At the same time there is no item in the first stage of the programme for refusal to accept money from the same Government for municipal purposes which include education, sanitation, waterworks, etc. Can the money be tainted simply for education given by authorities other than municipal and not for other purposes whether municipal or otherwise?

The money received for other purposes is undoubtedly equally tainted but our non-co-operation at the present moment is confined, among other things, to scholastic institutions for the reason that the power of the Government is consolidated through these institutions in a special manner. It should be remembered that we are boycotting all scholastic institutions, whether aided or merely affiliated. We are resisting the corrupting influence of the Government through these institutions. The *corrupting influence* is the *deciding* reason.

Municipal Co-operation

The friend proceeds:

> I am an elected Municipal Councillor. From experience I find that at every stage of our work, we have to co-operate with the Government. If the Government is wicked and unjust, as we believe, is it consistent and logical that we shall refuse to co-operate with it in Legislative Councils, courts, etc., but should continue to co-operate with it in municipalities?

This is a very pertinent question. But the doubt will probably be resolved by remembering that the municipalities do not consolidate the power of the Government as do the Councils. Once we admit the wickedness of the government system, we must admit the necessity of doing nothing that would strengthen that system. I will not dispute the necessity even of dissociating ourselves from municipalities. And any Councillor or any municipality is free to retire, or court disbandment, if they feel that they are helping the present system. The Congress resolution is an indication of how far the nation as a whole should or could go. But there can be no limit put upon individual renunciation.

Conscience or Expedience

> "But," adds the able correspondent, "our conduct would be quite consistent if we did not take our stand on religion or conscience but simply declared that we wanted to render this Government impotent and would employ such means (provided they are peaceful and not immoral)

as would help us to achieve our object. Then there would be no question of the money coming from the Government being tainted or otherwise, though withdrawal of students from Government or aided institutions may even then be undertaken if we thought we would thus help to render the Government impotent. Such withdrawal will then be based not on any principle of religion or conscience but simply on the principle of expediency."

I have a horror of the word 'expediency' because of its bad odour. As a rule, expediency is often opposed to morality and does not exclude the use of violence. But the writer has removed the sting from the word by using it in its root meaning. For he insists upon being moral and peaceful. I would therefore not quarrel with the admirable presentation of the argument. I have presented non-co-operation in terms of religion because I enter politics only in so far as it develops the religious faculty in me. My correspondent has presented the case in terms of politics. I submit that my presentation is freer from pitfalls than his. There certainly is room for stages in a religious as in a political programme. The fundamental distinction is that a programme conceived in a religious spirit admits of no tactics or compromise with things that matter. Our present non-co-operation refers not so much to the paralysis of a wicked Government as to our being proof against wickedness. It aims therefore not at destruction but at construction. It deals with causes rather than with symptoms. My meaning will become perhaps clearer in the following paragraph.

"Passive Resistance"

A correspondent from Satur writes:

"A Passive resister shuns boycott, he never embarrasses a Government." But a non-co-operator paralyses the Government and his whole business rests upon boycott (of Councils, aided schools etc.). Could a passive resister be a non-co-operator simultaneously? The quotation is yours.

The Satur correspondent has quoted me correctly. Only he has torn the sentence from its context. The word boycott has been used in its technical sense meaning boycott, by way of punishment, of British goods as distinguished from foreign goods. I hope everyone recognizes the futility of boycott of British goods. But boycott, by way of purification, of evil is not only right but obligatory. Therefore boycott of Councils, etc., being symbols of an evil power, is a virtue. The term "passive resistance" is a misnomer. I have never seen it defined. I have attempted a definition.

But for the purpose of the correspondent it is enough for me to say that non-co-operation is part passive resistance. Neither embarrasses the Government. But embarrassment may result from either activity. The goal in each case is inward purification and growth. Does a man who closes his gate against an intruder embarrass the latter? Or does a drunkard who patronizes a drink shop embarrass the keeper when he withdraws his custom and turns teetotaller?

Young India, 19-1-1921

122. *THE SECRET OF SWARAJ*

The Congress resolution has rightly emphasized the importance of swadeshi and thereanent of greater sacrifice by merchants.

India cannot be free so long as India voluntarily encourages or tolerates the economic drain which has been going on for the past century and a half. Boycott of foreign goods means no more and no less than boycott of foreign cloth. Foreign cloth constitutes the largest drain voluntarily permitted by us. It means sixty crores of rupees annually paid by us for piece-goods. If India could make a successful effort to stop that drain, she can gain swaraj by that one act.

India was enslaved for satisfying the greed of the foreign cloth manufacturer. When the East India Company came in, we were able to manufacture all the cloth we needed, and more for export. By processes that need not be described here, India has become practically wholly dependent upon foreign manufacture for her clothing.

But we ought not to be dependent. India has the ability to manufacture all her cloth if her children will work for it. Fortunately India has yet enough weavers to supplement the out-turn of her mills. The mills do not and cannot immediately manufacture all the cloth we want. The reader may not know that, even at the present moment, the weavers weave more cloth than the mills. But the latter weave five crore yards of fine foreign counts, equal to forty crore yards of coarser counts. The way to carry out a successful boycott of foreign cloth is to increase the output of yarn. And this can only be done by hand-spinning.

To bring about such a boycott, it is necessary for our merchants to stop all foreign importation, and to sell out, even at a loss, all foreign cloth already stocked in India, preferably to

foreign buyers. They must cease to speculate in cotton, and keep all the cotton required for home use. They must stop purchasing all foreign cotton.

The mill-owners should work their mills not for their profits but as a national trust and therefore cease to spin finer counts, and weave only for the home market.

The householder has to revise his or her ideas of fashion and, at least for the time being, suspend the use of fine garments which are not always worn to cover the body. He should train himself to see art and beauty in the spotlessly white khaddar and to appreciate its soft unevenness. The householder must learn to use cloth as a miser uses his hoard.

And even when the householders have revised their tastes about dress, somebody will have to spin yarn for the weavers. This can only be done by everyone spinning during spare hours either for love or money.

We are engaged in a spiritual war. We are not living in normal times. Normal activities are always suspended in abnormal times. And if we are out to gain swaraj in a year's time, it means that we must concentrate upon our goal to the exclusion of everything else. I therefore venture to suggest to the students all over India to suspend their normal studies for one year and devote their time to the manufacture of yarn by hand-spinning. It will be their greatest act of service to the motherland, and their most natural contribution to the attainment of swaraj. During the late War our rulers attempted to turn every factory into an arsenal for turning out bullets of lead. During this war of ours, I suggset every national school and college being turned into a factory for preparing cones of yarns for the nation. The students will lose nothing by the occupation: they will gain a kingdom here and hereafter. There is a famine of cloth in India. To assist in removing this dearth is surely an act of merit. If it is sinful to use foreign yarn, it is a virtue to manufacture more swadeshi yarn in order to enable us to cope with the want that would be created by the disuse of foreign yarn.

The obvious question asked would be, 'If it is so necessary to manufacture yarn, why not pay every poor person to do so?' The answer is that hand-spinning is not, and never was, a calling like weaving, carpentry, etc. Under the pre-British economy of India, spinning was an honourable and leisurely occupation for the women of India. It is difficult to revive the art among the women in the time at our disposal. But it is incredibly simple and easy for the school-goers to respond to the nation's call. Let no

one decry the work as being derogatory to the dignity of man or of students. It was an art confined to the women of India because the latter had more leisure. And being graceful, musical, and as it did not involve any great exertion, it had become the monopoly of women. But it is certainly as graceful for either sex as is music, for instance. In hand-spinning is hidden the protection of women's virtue, the insurance against famine, and the cheapening of prices. In it is hidden the secret of swaraj. The revival of hand-spinning is the least penance we must do for the sin of our forefathers in having succumbed to Satanic influences of the foreign manufacturer.

The school-goers will restore hand-spinning to its respectable status. They will hasten the process of making khaddar fashionable. For no mother, or father, worth the name will refuse to wear cloth made out of yarn spun by their children. And the scholars' practical recognition of art will compel the attention of the weavers of India. If we are to wean the Punjabi from the calling not of a soldier but of the murderer of innocent and free people of other lands, we must give back to him the occupation of weaving. The race of the peaceful *julahis*[1] of the Punjab is all but extinct. It is for the scholars of the Punjab to make it possible for the Punjabi weaver to return to his innocent calling.

I hope to show in a future issue how easy it is to introduce this change in the schools and how quickly, on these terms, we can nationalize our schools and colleges. Everywhere the students have asked me what new things I would introduce into our nationalized schools. I have invariably told them I would certainly introduce spinning. I feel, so much more clearly than ever before, that, during the transition period, we must devote exclusive attention to spinning and certain other things of immediate national use, so as to make up for past neglect. And the students will be better able and equipped to enter upon the new course of studies.

Do I want to put back the hand of the clock of progress? Do I want to replace the mills by hand-spinning and hand-weaving? Do I want to replace the railway by the country cart? Do I want to destroy machinery altogether? These questions have been asked by some journalists and public men. My answer is: I would not weep over the disappearance of machinery or consider it a calamity. But I have no design upon machinery as such. What I want to do at the present moment is to supplement the production of yarn and cloth through our mills, save the millions we send out

[1] Weavers

of India, and distribute them in our cottages. This I cannot do unless and until the nation is prepared to devote its leisure hours to hand-spinning. To that end we must adopt the methods I have ventured to suggest for popularizing spinning as a duty rather than as a means of livelihood.

Young India, 19-1-1921

123. THE SIN OF UNTOUCHABILITY

It is worthy of note that the Subjects Committee[1] accepted without any opposition the clause regarding the sin of untouchability. It is well that the National assembly passed the resolution stating that the removal of this blot on Hinduism was necessary for the attainment of swaraj. The devil succeeds only by receiving help from his fellows. He always takes advantage of the weakest spots in our natures in order to gain mastery over us. Even so does the Government retain its control over us through our weaknesses or vices. And if we would render ourselves proof against its machinations we must remove our weaknesses. It is for that reason that I have called non-co-operation a process of purification. As soon as that process is completed, this Government must fall to pieces for want of the necessary environment, just as mosquitoes cease to haunt a place whose cesspools are filled up and dried.

Has not a just Nemesis overtaken us for the crime of untouchability? Have we not reaped as we have sown? Have we not practised Dyerism and O'Dwyerism on our own kith and kin? We have segregated the 'pariah' and we are in turn segregated in the British Colonies. We deny him the use of public wells; we throw the leavings of our plates at him. His very shadow pollutes us. Indeed there is no charge that the 'pariah' cannot fling in our faces and which we do not fling in the faces of Englishmen.

How is this blot on Hinduism to be removed? 'Do unto others as you would that others should do unto you.' I have often told English officials that, if they are friends and servants of India, they should come down from their pedestal, cease to be patrons, demonstrate by their loving deeds that they are in every respect our friends, and believe us to be equals in the same sense they believe fellow-Englishmen to be their equals. After the experiences of the Punjab and the Khilafat, I have gone a step further and asked

[1] Of the 35th session of the Congress held at Nagpur

them to repent and to change their hearts. Even so it is necessary for us Hindus to repent of the wrong we have done, to alter our behaviour towards those whom we have 'suppressed' by a system as devilish as we believe the English system of the Government of India to be. We must not throw a few miserable schools at them: we must not adopt the air of superiority towards them. We must treat them as our blood-brothers as they are in fact. We must return to them the inheritance of which we have robbed them. And this must not be the act of a few English-knowing reformers merely, but it must be a conscious voluntary effort on the part of the masses. We may not wait till eternity for this much belated reformation. We must aim at bringing it about within this year of grace, probation, preparation, and *tapasya*. It is a reform not to follow swaraj but to precede it.

Untouchability is not a sanction of religion, it is a device of Satan. The devil has always quoted scriptures. But scriptures cannot transcend reason and truth. They are intended to purify reason and illuminate truth. I am not going to burn a spotless horse because the Vedas are reported to have advised, tolerated, or sanctioned the sacrifice.[1] For me the Vedas are divine and unwritten. 'The letter killeth.' It is the spirit that giveth the light. And the spirit of the Vedas is purity, truth, innocence, chastity, humility, simplicity, forgiveness, godliness, and all that makes a man or woman noble and brave. There is neither nobility nor bravery in treating the great and uncomplaining scavengers of the nation as worse than dogs to be despised and spat upon. Would that God gave us the strength and the wisdom to become voluntary scavengers of the nation as the 'suppressed' classes are forced to be. There are Augean stables enough and to spare for us to clean.

Young India, 19-1-1921

124. DID JESUS CO-OPERATE?

DEAR MR. GANDHI,

Mr. Lyle[2] has been here and he told me that you had been enquiring kindly about me. I thank you for your kind inquiries. Of course I have been following your activities with the greatest interest, but it grieves me to have to say that I do not and cannot approve of your non-

[1] Gandhiji here refers to the practice of horse-sacrifice performed by kings in the Vedic Age.

[2] A white Christian missionary at Ahmedabad who used to teach English to the students in Sabarmati Ashram

co-operation movement. I have been praying that God may show you your mistake and that He may use you—and us all—for the glory of His Holy Name, and for the real enduring welfare of the whole of India. From your many articles and speeches I have gathered that you attempt to justify your movement on the ground that if, in spite of argument and dissuasion, one's nearest and dearest even be seen pursuing a wrong course of action, one is bound to dissociate oneself from him or her lest one be charged with being an accomplice in the wrongdoing.

But surely, one fundamental doctrine of both the Christian and Hindu Scriptures points to quite a different course of conduct. Both tell us of Divine Incarnations, and though these differ in some respects, yet in each case the underlying idea is that when God, who is Himself infinitely holy, saw the sin-begotten misery of men, He did not hold aloof from them but graciously stooped down and came to them to render help and to save their sin and its effects. Jesus Christ, the Holy and Undefiled One, did not refuse to work along with sinful men, but, on the contrary, while loathing all evil and scathingly denouncing it even in the great ones of his time, He freely and closely associated with all men, from the Pharisee down to the hated tax-gatherer of an alien government and the notorious sinner; and endeavoured, both by wise precept and loving example, to wean them from their wickedness and to win them to righteousness.

From this I gather that it is the obvious duty of all true patriots at the present time not to hold themselves aloof from a Government unfairly denounced as "devilish" and "Satanic", but to take every possible step, e.g., the encouraging of the new Councils, to keep in touch with it and endeavour to bring it round to what they consider a more righteous course of conduct. I am hoping and praying that as you were led to acknowledge your mistake of last year in the matter of satyagraha, so God may open your eyes before it is too late and lead you from non-co-operation to co-operation.

You are at liberty to use these few words in any way you like. With kind regards,

I am,
Yours sincerely,
G. GILLESPIE

RAJKOT,
20-11-20

I print this letter without a word of alteration. I print it specially because it shows that in spite of ceaseless denunciation by me of the existing system of Government, I have the good fortune to retain the warm friendship of Britishers like the Rev. Gillespie. I know that he honestly believes what he says. He gives

me credit for honesty of belief and purpose, yet we differ as poles asunder even in our interpretation of the Christian and Hindu scriptures. Of the latter I can write with confidence, and I make bold to assert that it is the *duty* of a Hindu to dissociate himself from the evil-doer, i.e., to refrain from participating in or countenancing the evil in him. Prahlad dissociated himself from the evil done by his father. The divine Sita rejected the services tendered to her by Ravan. Bharat denounced the deeds of Kaikeyi, his mother, and rejected the throne wickedly secured for him by her. I can write of the Bible only with diffidence. But my reading of it has clearly confirmed the opinion derived from a reading of the Hindu scriptures. Jesus mixed with the publicans and the sinners neither as a dependent nor as a patron. He mixed with them to serve and to convert them to a life of truthfulness and purity. But he wiped the dust off his feet of those places which did not listen to his word. I hold it to be my duty not to countenance a son who disgraces himself by a life of shame and vice. *Enlightened non-co-operation is the expression of anguished love.* My esteemed correspondent mixes up dissociation from evil with dissociation from persons for service. Would Jesus have accepted gifts from the money-changers, taken from them scholarships for his friends, and advanced loans to them to ply their nefarious traffic? Was His denunciation of hypocrites, Pharisees, and seducers merely in word? Or did He not actually invite the people to beware of them and shun them? But Mr. Gillespie thinks that I unfairly describe the Government to be Satanic. Perhaps that alters our viewpoints. I consider that I would be less than truthful if I did not describe as Satanic a Government which has been guilty of fraud, murder, and wanton cruelty: which still remains unrepentant and resorts to untruth to cover its guilt. I really believe I am performing the office of a friend by denouncing in precise language the pretentions of a Government which has nothing to commend itself to the people under its charge.

Young India, 19-1-1921

125. LETTER TO C. F. ANDREWS

ON THE TRAIN,
January 19 [1921][1]

MY DEAREST CHARLIE,

I have just read your letter written on Xmas eve and the other regarding Lalchand[2]. I agree with you that Lalchand is much too inexperienced to go to Mombasa. He is not worth Rs. 600 to them. I have not yet read the East African dispatch. But I have read the article you refer to. I do not like Lalchand's style at all. If I had seen it, I would have stopped its publication.

I hope you are keeping well.

Pearson's[3] letter I count as a rich gift. Baro Dada[4] has given me another letter. He is very good. I esteem his blessings.

I am leaving Bombay for Calcutta on the 21st instant.

With love,

Yours,
MOHAN

From a photostat: G.N. 957

126. SPEECH TO STUDENTS OF NATIONAL SCHOOL, NADIAD[5]

January 19, 1921

Everybody who calls himself an Indian, including yourself and myself, has only one duty today, namely, to take effective steps and make necessary sacrifices to win swaraj within a year, as we wish to do. I do not want you to regard swaraj as being a political matter. Every child should know the meaning of swaraj, that to have swaraj is part of everyone's dharma. Every child should have the strength to keep his dharma inviolate, should be

[1] Para 1 of "Letter to Lalchand", January 29, 1921, suggests this letter was written in 1921.

[2] Who worked on the editorial staff of *Young India*

[3] William Winstanley Pearson; a missionary who collaborated with C. F. Andrews in Y.M.C.A. work; taught for some time at Santiniketan; in 1914, studied conditions of Indian labour in sugar estates in Natal

[4] Dwijendranath Tagore

[5] Extracted from Mahadev Desai's account of Gandhiji's tour

so strong that nobody can make him do anything against his will by force or threats. Every child should have the courage to declare as wrong that which he considers to be wrong and as right that which it considers to be right. Parents should have taught their children to discriminate between right and wrong. This is the meaning of swaraj. It is the right to say what is in one's mind and act according to it, and the right to refuse to do anything which one considers sinful.

How can we enjoy swaraj as long as we do not exercise freedom in any matters and as long as the foreigner dictates to us what we should eat and drink and what we should think? We depend upon others for our cloth. In consequence we have to depend upon others in respect of food also. Our friend Shri Amritlal Thakkar has just returned from Orissa where he had gone to render service. I mention this matter because Gujarat made some contribution to help in relieving the distress there. The immediate cause of the famine may have been excessive or insufficient rains; but the fact remains that the people of Orissa had no money and hence they could not buy food. They are poor because they have no work. I have, therefore, been insisting that, if we expect national service even from children, we should train their hands and feet as much as we should teach them to read and write and chant the name of God. This alone will provide education of the heart, the mind and the body. The spinning-wheel today provides the most useful training for the hand. Besides, it will enable us to win freedom, for it will teach us to save 60 crores of rupees.

I want that all you children should realize that it is as much your duty to ply the spinning-wheel for a few hours, two or four or six, for the sake of India, as it is your duty to practise truthfulness and other virtues. I want every child to ply the spinning-wheel for six hours daily for this one year. I pray to God that He may make this easy and light work for us, for through it we shall win religious and economic freedom.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 23-1-1921

127. SPEECH AT TEACHERS' MEETING, NADIAD[1]

January 19, 1921

Till now, we were afraid of the Government. We thought that we would not be able to carry on without Government help. Therefore we did everything under fear. We could not even speak out our thoughts because of fear. Today we know that we can carry on without Government help, and that the Government can do us no harm. We have come out of the habit of saying what we do not mean. We can speak what we feel. We should tell the Government that the school belongs to us. How will it, then, try to influence us? Can it punish or arrest everybody? This, however, is but the first result. The golden effect is yet to come. To produce it the co-operation of teachers is required. You should get ready to play your part and make sacrifices in the battle for freedom. When freedom is won, your pensions will also be resumed. The secret of this battle lies in everybody seeing clearly that we are fighting for our own rights and acting with courage to win them. I should like you all to become teachers of swaraj and help the Municipality.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 23-1-1921

128. SPEECH AT MERCHANTS' MEETING, NADIAD[2]

January 19, 1921

Nadiad has done quite a lot till now and I wish it will continue to do as much and more in the future. If merchants get ready, even the lawyers will not be needed. We can secure justice on the Punjab and the Khilafat issues with the help of merchants. We can win freedom right today if seven crore Muslims and 23 crore Hindus are imbued with the spirit of swadeshi. The first step in this is to produce cloth. If we can get the capacity to do this, we shall

[1] This item is extracted from Mahadev Desai's account of Gandhiji's tour. The Municipality having resolved not to accept grants from the Government, teachers of the municipal school had to decide whether they should remain in its service and forgo their right to pension.

[2] Extracted from Mahadev Desai's account of Gandhiji's tour

be able to produce other things as well. Hindu and Muslim merchants are equally responsible for having lost this capacity. They cannot overcome their greed. You can get both swaraj and justice even today if merchants overcome their greed. You may throw away all foreign cloth; I shall not be sorry even if you burn it. If you wish, you may export it to other countries and dispose of it there but do not sell it in your country. Start producing indigenous cloth. I consider it odd that Nadiad should depend on Ahmedabad for cloth. It is difficult to call this swadeshi. As long as everybody, young or old, does not spin, swaraj is far away. If all of us spin, we get the yarn free. And then everyone can get it woven, just as everybody can get wheat milled for his own requirement. In this way we can make up the shortfall in mill-cloth. If you stop buying and selling foreign cloth, you can secure swaraj for the country.

Secondly, you can donate funds. Spending your money for swaraj, you can prove that you are made of gold and not of base metal. Your money will go back to you. It will be spent in your own town. You will not get interest at the rate of eight annas[1] or twelve annas[2] on this money, but you will get education and you will get freedom in return for it. You will be able to produce your own cloth. I earnestly request you to add glory to Nadiad by implementing these two programmes. In doing so, you will bring glory to the whole of Gujarat and India.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 23-1-1921

129. *SPEECH AT PUBLIC MEETING, VADTAL*[3]

January 19, 1921

BROTHERS AND SISTERS,

I request all of you to excuse me for my inability to stand while speaking. It is due to my physical weakness. The fact is as my body has gone weak, so has my voice also. I however wish that my voice should reach as many people as possible. All of

[1] & [2] On one hundred rupees per mensem

[3] A village in Kheda District of Gujarat; a place of pilgrimage for the Hindus of the Swaminarayan sect. The item is extracted from the account of Gandhiji's tour published in *Navajivan*.

you should therefore remain silent. If silence prevails, many brothers and sisters will be able to hear and understand what I wish to say.

I am glad to come to this holy place. From 1915 I have nursed a wish to undertake a pilgrimage to this holy place. I look upon it as God's grace that I have got this opportunity today and I am also thankful to you for the same.

I am very glad that so many sadhus have come to this meeting; because my message is not intended only for ordinary men and women, it is meant for all—and more so for the sadhus. When sadhus understand the meaning of non-co-operation and the reason why the people of the country have undertaken it, they will see that they cannot live as sadhus, cannot preserve the virtues of a sadhu unless they chant the *mantra* of non-co-operation. Non-co-operation is not a new idea for our religion. It is only that because of some misfortunes we have forgotten it or that its principles have gone out of our minds and so we are slow to put it into practice, doubts arise and in consequence the establishment of swaraj is delayed. I know, however, that this idea is not new and that is why I say that, if the people respond properly, we can establish swaraj within a year. Four months have gone by since I said this, but I repeat it even now because of my abiding faith in the people.

When some friends who are interested only in politics express a doubt and say that non-co-operation is not a political movement, that it is a movement nobody knows of what kind, rather that it is a religious movement, I admit that it is undoubtedly a religious movement. I have not made a secret of this. Difficulties arise so long as sadhus do not understand the principles of religion and do not use them to solve political problems. As long as sadhus do not lend a hand in solving these problems they cannot have the virtues of a sadhu.

Non-co-operation means refusing to associate ourselves with or be a party to the tyranny of the Government and to render any support, direct or indirect, to such tyranny. All scriptures advise us to keep away from Satanic activities. When such things are being perpetrated, we become partners in the sin of those responsible for them if we take help from them or give help to them. Tulsidas has said that it is sinful to associate with wicked persons. The *Gita* has also said that we shall be demons if we follow the demon's ways.

If you run away because of this little shower, you will not even understand the meaning of non-co-operation.

We have learnt a lesson during this interval, which will make us realize why there is delay in our getting swaraj. *Kaliyuga*[1] in this world is like a shower of rain out of season. As this latter brings us no happiness, so also in *Kaliyuga* we do not get happiness easily. If we wish to spend our time in devotion to God and to live as we would in *Satyayuga*[2], we ought to give up the fear of *Kaliyuga*.

See how much time we have wasted because of our fear of a shower. The large number of people here with sticks, umbrellas and *dharias*[3] in their hands started the confusion, umbrellas were opened up and the women started quarrelling for no reason whatsoever. This shows that we are not yet fit for swaraj. In swaraj, the first virtue everyone should have is fearlessness. He who gives up dharma for fear of suffering cannot win swaraj. A timid man can never be happy. A thief or robber can compel such a one to do anything by threatening him with force and, therefore, he cannot follow dharma.

It is the duty of every man and woman to maintain quiet in a meeting. If someone gets mad and starts hitting out, others should bear with him, not hit him back nor start cursing and shouting. Those who stand outside should not try to rush in. They should listen to the speech attentively, should ponder over it, act upon those ideas with which they agree and reject the rest. We are not yet capable of following this practical rule. If we cannot remain quiet when there are a few drops of rain, we would also run away if some one from among all these people carrying sticks and *dharias* should turn mad and become violent. This would not help us to protect our womenfolk or to preserve our honour. We should have faith in man. Nobody is likely to attack us with a *dharia* or stick. In case, however, some mad man does attack us with one, as so often illnesses come upon us, it is the duty of the sane among us to keep patience. The Kshatriya's dharma is not to strike back if somebody abuses him or strikes him with a stick or *dharia*, but to put up with the abuse or bear the blow. His dharma is not to run away. It is not his dharma to kill; his dharma is rather to die and live by dying. I tell you my conviction that nobody who kills someone does so in order to protect another; the man gets ready to lay down his life but, not having sufficient strength to die, he kills before he dies. He is so much the less of a Kshatriya for unsheathing his sword.

[1] Age of strife

[2] Age of truth

[3] Scythes fixed to ends of long staves

If only the Kshatriya has faith, death is but a crown of glory. Why fear it? He is a brave man who runs up where there is the greatest danger to life. A man is not considered brave because he has the strength to hit. We do not call the potter brave for beating his ass so often. In the same way, we correctly describe the aggressive Kshatriya as a potter. A weak man beats his wife; we do not call him brave, but fittingly describe him as unmanly. As long as we have not developed the virtue of the Kshatriya, it is difficult for us to win swaraj. That virtue is fortitude. The twelve-year-old Prahlad, Sudhanva[1] and Sita had this virtue. Ravana offered tempting things to Sita, tried to frighten her, but she did not yield ever so little. That is why we regard her as a pure Kshatriya woman, a goddess—a mother. As long as our sisters do not develop the virtues of Sita, we shall remain unfit to employ non-co-operation or to get swaraj. The sweets offered by Ravana and spurned by Sita were not bitter to the taste; but they had been offered by unworthy hands and so she threw them away. The ornaments which Ravana offered her were extremely good, the like of which you would never have seen. The pearls and jewels embedded in them were far more lustrous than any we see today. But knowing that they had been issued by unworthy hands, she rejected them; it was in this way that she could guard her chastity.

It is necessary also for the country to understand the essentials of non-co-operation. If we wish to preserve our manliness, to protect our religion and the cow, if we wish to preserve our existence, it is imperative for us to offer non-co-operation.

The Government has robbed us of our self-respect. It had all along been robbing us of money. As long as it did only that I tolerated it. I adopted the same standard towards it as I do in the Ashram. There I do not punish a thief; in the same spirit I tolerated the Government too. When, however, the Government struck at the self-respect of my country, I woke up and realized that it was an incarnation of Ravana and must be destroyed. It does not mean that I claim to be the incarnation of Rama. We regard Rama to be an incarnation of God Himself. I am no God; neither are you. But all of us are heirs of Rama. It is our dharma to practise *tapashcharya* and undergo sufferings like his. We should non-co-operate in the same manner in which he non-co-operated with Ravana. Since we are not Rama, we can seek nothing by killing Ravana physically. We believe that this Ravana, thanks

[1] Son of King Hansdhwaj of Champavati, in the *Mahabharata*

to his evil desires, assumes ever new bodies. We should, however, act upon the counsel of Valmiki and Tulsidas and dissociate ourselves from [the modern] Ravana and try to destroy his wickedness.

The message of Zarathustra, the Koran, the Bible and of Swaminarayan[1] teaches us this same thing: not to associate with the wicked, not to help him nor to seek help from him. The Government has revealed itself to be a Ravana by attacking Islam and betraying the Muslims. Today it is the turn of Islam, tomorrow it will be that of Hinduism. In fact, it attacked Hinduism long ago but in our ignorance, we gave up our culture and did nothing against the Government. If the Hindus had not abandoned their dharma, how would they salute those who openly slaughter cows? We are not talking about one man killing a cow. It would be a different matter if we tolerated that. But how can we be loyal to people who kill cows though supposed to be our protectors, our rulers and to bless us with food?

You may ask whether I realized this only a year ago. No; but then I was under an illusion. I believed that I could reform the Government. I believed that I could influence it even if I had to sacrifice my life in the process. I have lost my faith in it because of its calculated betrayal of Islam. I woke up and told myself: "My dear man, if you are a Hindu, you should know that it is time for you to run away, otherwise you will sacrifice your dharma." Since then I have been preaching non-co-operation among Hindus for the protection of their religion. If you wish to live as Hindus, I declare in this holy place that the first and the last lesson you should learn is that of non-co-operation.

You may, however, wonder why I am talking about friendship with Muslims. They too kill cows. I would say that they do so in the name of and as a part of their religion. I shall be able to explain to them that an orthodox and devoted Hindu fought along with them with the faith that, if he fell fighting for the protection of their religion, Khuda will call upon them to protect the cow. I do not make this a condition with them, but I believe that Khuda will certainly give them this call.

I do not always say this. I make no conditions, but, in the vicinity of a temple and in the presence of sadhus, however, I cannot refrain from saying this. It would be shameful of me if I did not say it.

[1] Swami Sahajanand (1781-1830); founder of the Swaminarayana sect

You cannot save the cow by killing Muslims or Englishmen; you can save her only by offering your own dear neck. If you offer your neck in saving the cow, *Yamaraj*[1] will not call you to account for doing so but will offer you a seat on his own throne. If, on the other hand, you kill another person for saving a cow, he will positively ask you to justify your action, for you are a man and so was the other one [whom you killed]. We are not God so that we may kill another person in order to save a cow. Hinduism, however, imposes an obligation on me to offer my neck for the sake of the cow. How many Hindus have acted thus? How many of them have offered their lives unconditionally for the sake of Muslims? The cow cannot be protected with the calculating virtues of a *Vanik*[2]. The noble tradition of Hinduism requires you to take no thought of your life. As soon as the Muslims realize that for their sake the Hindus are ready to lay down their lives, they will desist from cow-slaughter. The Ali brothers have given up beef; it is not even admitted in their kitchen, for they know and do their duty by a neighbour. The Koran does not insist that Muslims must eat beef. It has not prohibited beef, that is all. They will, therefore, understand the duty to a neighbour and will stop cow-slaughter. I am associating with the Muslims only with this faith and I tell all the sadhus that, if they sacrifice their all for the sake of the Khilafat, they will have done a great thing for the protection of Hinduism. Today the duty of every Hindu is to save Islam from danger. If you do this, God Himself will inspire them to look upon Hindus as friends and Hindus will also look upon Muslims as friends. All this time, the Muslims regarded it as their duty to harass the Hindus and Hindus have believed that they should kill Muslims to protect the cow. Taking advantage of this conflict, the third party, namely, the British, went on with cow-slaughter, and they got the blessings of both. In this manner, we have committed a great sin.

This Government has betrayed Islam and humiliated the Punjab. The Punjab is our crown, the land where saints and sages lived. The Government whipped the people of this Punjab, made them crawl on their stomachs, snatched the veils of their womenfolk; painted the robes of the sadhus white and murdered one thousand persons by shooting them from behind. This Government now asks us to forget all this. It is not the death of a thousand men which has pained me. What inflicts a deadly wound

[1] God of Death
[2] Trader

is that the Government should, over and above all this, proclaim that India alone was to blame for all this. Though the blame was its own, it blames the country. It has done nothing; there was only a little error of judgment on the part of General Dyer; that is what the Government says. It neither regrets nor apologizes for what has happened. As long as the Punjab does not get justice, it is the duty of Hindus, Muslims, Christians and all others to non-co-operate with the Government. The religion of Muslims also teaches this same thing. They call it *tarke mawalat*.

This non-co-operation is peaceful. There is no scope in it for the use of sticks and *dharias* for head-hunting; there is scope only for offering one's own head. Its way is that of non-violence towards the British and among ourselves.

You are not *Dharalas*, but *Thakardas*[1]—no, you are *Thakores*. If you want to call yourself *Thakores*, you cannot act like petty thieves. *Patidars*[2] also call themselves Kshatriyas, but they are not Kshatriyas because they share in stolen goods, receive stolen property. They have neglected the heritage of the Kshatriya. You, however, look very much like the Kshatriyas, carrying weapons so that you may look so. I say to you, you are Kshatriyas not for harassing the people but for protecting them. It is not your dharma to drink, to oppress the people, to cast evil glances at women and rob people. If you do such things, you will be men of loose morals. Such persons cannot be called Kshatriyas. I have come here to meet *Dharalas*. Since I look upon them as my brethren, I call upon you to boycott any *Patidar* who takes to immoral ways. I am one of you, and so also one of *Patidars*. I came to stay with them, thinking that they were Kshatriyas. When I learnt that these *Patidars* accept stolen goods, I began to doubt their manliness. If you wish, in co-operation with the *Patidar* community, to contribute your share in the winning of freedom, you should give up these ways of yours.

Dharalas can become *Thakores* only by being prepared to defend the country. Only that person is a sadhu who moves freely among them and, though not living in too close association with them, seeks to enlighten them while remaining unattached like the

[1] An economically and socially backward community in Gujarat, claiming descent from Kshatriyas

[2] A community in Gujarat whose members were mostly landholders and cultivators

lotus leaf[1]. I do not claim to be a sadhu; but though a householder, I tell you, had I not taken up this work, I would have gone and stayed with *Bhils*[2] and other tribal people, exhorted them to become pure, kind, brave, virtuous and truthful and seen to it that they protected other people.

A good many sadhus live here. I earnestly request them, just as I am calling upon students to become volunteers, that while they find people terrorized in this way, they should use their authority and address themselves to this task. It is your duty to reform cheats, burglars and dissolute people. As long as you do not do this, you have no right to call yourselves sadhus. If you want swaraj—i.e., *Ramarajya* or *Satyayuga*—if you wish to convert India into a land of dharma—a land of gods, it is your duty to defend your neighbour if he is being oppressed. You possess divine weapons like *yama-niyamas*. With just a little practice, you can make these weapons effective.

We have taken a vow that we shall not beg for justice at the hands of the Government. If Ravana assaults me, do I go to Ravana and ask for justice? I must cultivate courage to stand up to him. How do I get courage? I should learn kindness, imbibe knowledge. All this the people can learn from you. Everybody, be he Hindu, Muslim or Pathan, recognizes and honours a sincere man of religion. You should bring home to the *Dharalas* that it is not right of them to indulge in burglary or robbery.

To the *Dharalas* I would say: do not bother the sadhus. To the *Patidars* I would submit that they should not encourage [such things]. You may fight with sticks. If they cannot follow the way befitting Brahmins, they may beat back the raiders.

If these two communities lose sight of their duty, I ask the sadhus to protect them, reform them and purify them of their evils. If you do this, the rule of dharma will be re-established, and only when this has happened shall we speak of India as *karma-bhumi*[3].

I shall be going away; but you should take up this work. I would suggest that a committee of some sadhus, *Patidars* and *Dharalas* be appointed right today and be asked to start this work—

[1] Which remains dry even when it is drenched in water. This is the ideal of the *karmayogi*, who seeks liberation through action; *vide Bhagavad Gita*, V, 10.

[2] A tribe in Central India and Gujarat

[3] The land of *karma*, action as duty, as contrasted with *bhoga-bhumi*, land of enjoyment

make people take solemn vows. If you do this, swaraj will positively be secured within a year. I pray to God that He may grant you love, courage, kindness, truthfulness and the strength to make sacrifices.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 27-1-1921

130. SPEECH AT MEETING OF SADHUS, VADTAL[1]

January 19, 1921

I am always eager to meet sadhus. When I visited the *Kumbhmela*[2] in Hardwar, I tried to go into all *akhadas*[3] of sadhus in search of a sadhu who would gladden my heart. I met every sadhu who had acquired some reputation but I must say I was disappointed. I am convinced that sadhus are an ornament to India and that, if the country lives, it will be thanks to them. But I see very little of the goodness of sadhus today. On the last day in Hardwar, I spent the whole night thinking what I could do so that sadhus in the country would be real sadhus. Finally, I took a hard vow[4]. I shall not say what it is, but many believe that it is a difficult one to keep. By God's grace, I have still kept it inviolate.

Some friends suggested to me that I should become a sannyasi. However, I have not become one. My conscience did not approve of such a step then and does not do so today. I am sure you will not believe that the reason for my not doing so is love of enjoyments. I am struggling to the best of my ability to conquer the desire for them. But in the very process of struggling, I see that I am not worthy of the ochre robe. I cannot say I always practise truth, non-violence and *brahmacharya* in action, speech and thought. Whether I want or no, I feel attachments and aversions, feel disturbed by desire; I try to control them with an effort of mind and succeed in repressing their physical manifestation. If I could practise them to perfection, I would be in possession today of all the supernatural powers they speak of; humble myself, the world would be at my feet and no one would ever want to laugh me out or treat me with contempt.

[1] Extracted from K. G. Mashruvala's account of Gandhiji's tour

[2] A religious fair held once every twelve years; Gandhiji visited it in 1915 and joined a volunteer corps for the service of the pilgrims.

[3] Centres for sadhus of particular sects

[4] To have only five articles of food, *vide* Vol. XIII, p. 164.

But I have not come here to persuade you to give up your dress. I would have failed in my duty if, in gratitude for the straightforwardness which I have found in the Swaminarayana sect and the love with which you have invited me here, I did not tell you what I feel. I submit to you, therefore, that you should bring credit to your outward garb of sadhus through the virtues of sadhus, and thus shine in lustre yourselves and shed lustre on the Swaminarayana sect.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 23-1-1921

131. DUTY OF SPINNING

I have already discussed the contents of the resolution[1] on non-co-operation passed by the Congress. All the parts are important. But, of all of them, one is so important that, if the nation acts on it, I am convinced that swaraj will follow immediately. This part relates to the duty of spinning.

I am being asked everywhere whether, if we get swaraj, food will become cheaper and the prices of cloth will come down. This is a pertinent question. Whether we get swaraj or something else in its place, so long as we depend on foreign countries for the cloth we need, its price, and that of food, will certainly not come down. They will not come down because, as long as we send out sixty crores of rupees for our cloth, hunger will not disappear from among us; so long will crores of people remain more or less unemployed and will not get the food and the clothes they need.

We are thus faced with the problem of producing enough cloth to meet our needs. If we produce only that and no more, we shall save sixty crores of rupees and, what is more, the money will be earned by the poor. This can be brought about in one way only, by spreading the spinning-wheel movement. India imports five crore pounds of yarn. All this is yarn of 80 counts and higher. This means that, had the yarn been coarser, the imports would have amounted to forty crore pounds. As long as we are not producing this quantity of yarn, we should not talk about winning freedom for the country. What should we do to produce this yarn?

Our mills cannot produce it. Only the spinning-wheel can do it, and the easiest method of increasing the output of yarn is to get

[1] *Vide* Appendix I.

school pupils to take up this work. Accordingly, the senate of the Vidyapith[1] has recommended that the schools affiliated to it should introduce spinning and help produce the required yarn. I have always thought of this, and said as much, as a deficiency in our educational programme. I hope all teachers and students will welcome this suggestion. We shall take it up for detailed consideration some other time.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 20-1-1921

132. SPEECH AT STUDENTS' MEETING, BOMBAY[2]

January 20, 1921

Mr Gandhi, who spoke in Hindi, said that if they wanted swaraj, the students must leave their colleges and schools. What was their duty, as students, and what were they to do for their country? The Congress had given them a definite lead, and laid down the practical step they were to take, and that was non-violent non-co-operation. It was their duty to leave all schools and colleges aided or conducted by the Government and do practical work for their motherland. By leaving their colleges they would be shaking the moral prestige of the Government and, if they succeeded in doing so, Indians would be successful in attaining swaraj. That was the only way of gaining their object, which hey all had in view and for which they had to sacrifice. Even if they remained for a year or so without attending any educational institution, they would not lose anything. What was required was courage and sacrifice to do the thing which could be acquired both in their homes and schools.

Two of the most important things required of them in order to attain their goal were : first the uplift of their country in an economic sense. Everyone of them should learn the art of spinning and weaving; they should do this in order to free their country from the economic thraldom of foreign countries, and if they did it they would be able to render an immense amount of service to their country, by stopping all imports of foreign cloth. The next point he wanted to emphasize was that they should have a uniform language; all Indians should have one common language so that wherever they went in India they could make themselves understood. Mr. Gandhi suggested that for this purpose they should either adopt Hindi or Urdu. He asked the audience

[1] The Gujarat Vidyapith

[2] The meeting was held under the joint auspices of the Swarajya Sabha and the National Union, with Gandhiji presiding.

to spread this gospel of hand-loom weaving to every village in the country, so that they could uplift their country in the economic scale of nations.

Referring to the action of Calcutta students in leaving their colleges, Mr. Gandhi spoke in eloquent terms of it, and exhorted the students of Bombay to follow their inspiring example. He was leaving for Calcutta[1] and he wanted to take their message to the students of Bengal that they in Bombay were with their brethren of Bengal. Were they prepared to give him such a message? Were they prepared to make that sacrifice for their mother country? He wished to have their reply that very day before he left Bombay. Concluding, he prayed to God that the students might be granted wisdom enough to leave their colleges and schools.

The Bombay Chronicle, 22-1-1921

133. MESSAGE ON LIQUOR PROHIBITION[2]

[*January 23, 1921*]

It gives me pleasure to hear that the movement to refrain from liquor is in progress. If this vice is abandoned it will give purity to our non-co-operation movement: it will help towards obtaining swaraj. Notices will come out shortly for the sale of liquor shops. Nobody should attend the auction nor take out a licence. If anybody takes out a licence, none should visit his shop to buy liquor. By this means the wicked vice will be everywhere destroyed.

Yours, etc.,
M. K. GANDHI

Bombay Secret Abstracts, 1921, p. 125

134. ROBBERY AND THEFT

Some men and women from Jotana[3] told me tales of the terror of robbery prevailing there. I also heard that a similar situation obtains in a number of villages in Kheda. This was the reason of my visit to Vadtal. I met the *Dharalas* and *Thakores* there and after hearing more about the matter, I could see that this was an impor-

[1] Gandhiji reached Calcutta on January 23 and stayed there up to February 4.

[2] The message was published in *Sundesh*, 23-1-1921.

[3] A village near Ahmedabad in Gujarat

tant question. It is not a new one. Incidents of robbery, big or small, have always been there from time to time. This also is an epidemic. Sometimes it breaks out in a virulent form and at other times it remains mild. Till today, people have believed that it is the Government's duty to prevent such robbery. A Government certainly has the duty of protecting its subjects. But a country in which the people depend entirely upon the Government in such matters cannot become free. If, at this time of non-co-operation, the people go to the Government for protection they will have simply committed suicide.

It has always been argued from the Government's side that the people are not ready to protect themselves, that they do not at all have the strength to defend themselves against external attacks. But a little thought should reveal that this is not true. Even when this Government was not there, India had sufficient strength to maintain its existence. If the people of the country did not have the strength to defend themselves, they would have been destroyed long ago. The truth of the matter is that the people of India, however degraded their state, have survived to this day with their civilization, while Rome, Egypt, Greece, Persia, etc., have perished. Ancient Egypt was not the same as modern Egypt. Ancient India was the same, for the most part, as what India is even today. Still, assuming for the sake of argument that India was powerless to protect itself at the time British rule came, then today it is even more powerless than it was in those days. And the main cause of its being so is the Government itself. The Government has not discharged its primary duty. It was its duty to train us gradually for self-defence. Instead, our present condition is that we seem to be incapable of fighting such dangers, whether of external attack or internal disorders.

I said that we seem to be incapable. As a matter of fact, the Government has deliberately tried to keep us weak and to make us more so. Even then, we have not become altogether powerless to protect ourselves. I shall not here go into the subject of defence against external attacks. I have said something about it before. I shall dwell on the subject further as occasion arises. Just now, we will confine ourselves to the troubles I have mentioned above.

The remedy can be found only when the cause of the disease is known. Let us examine the causes of these troubles. In Jotana, we heard that the trouble came from the *Makranis*[1] and the *Baluchis*[2]

[1 & 2] Descendants of tribes which had entered India from Makran in Persia and from Baluchistan, respectively

there, and in Kheda, from *Dharalas*. The reason given for the trouble in Jotana is that the *Makranis* and *Baluchis* no longer fear the Government and, thinking that there is no one to punish them, they have gone back to their profession of robbery. The explanation given for the *Dharalas* engaging themselves in robbery is that some *Patidars*, with the object of earning money for themselves, incite the former and get them to commit robberies and some others, again, exploit the *Dharalas*' evil propensities to satisfy their enmities against one another.

The simple and straight way is to regard the *Makranis*, the *Baluchis* and the *Dharalas* as our brethren and plead with them to reform themselves. If they are driven to robberies by starvation we should see that they do not have to starve, help them to get education and arouse their good instincts. What would we do if we were enjoying swaraj? If our swaraj were well managed, we would certainly try to reform them.

This work of reforming people should be attended to by sadhus. In the past also, it was the sadhus who used to preach to such people. Swaminarayana himself influenced the ordinary classes of the community to good effect and made them give up their evil habits. It is the duty of sadhus and fakirs in every sect fearlessly to go among such communities and, even risking their lives, try to turn them away from their unworthy profession. If the sadhus attend to this essential work of theirs, in a very short time they can influence communities like the ones I have mentioned.

If the charge against the *Patidars* is true, they should rid themselves of their mutual jealousies, and likewise should consider it a sin to amass money by purchasing stolen property. *Patidars* are known to be a brave and intelligent community. During the Kheda agitation,[1] they had shown to the whole of India their virtues of bravery, shrewdness, unity, understanding, etc. It certainly does not behove such a community to harbour jealousies among themselves and to go on making money by improper means.

The *Dharalas* have some educated and thoughtful leaders among them. They should constantly exert themselves to improve the condition of the community.

All these efforts will supplement one another. But assuming that they all fail, I would certainly advise that we must acquire the strength to resist such robbers, thieves and their like. It is possible to have such strength even though we no longer have arms. If a few men in every village can have the strength to risk their

[1] In the summer of 1918. *Vide* Vol. XIV.

lives, they should constitute themselves protectors of their village and guard it. When any robbers come to raid a village, if all men remain alert, shed fear and get prepared to fight, the robbers will certainly take to their heels. I have heard that these plunderers possess guns, etc. What does it matter? Certainly a brave man can fight even against a person carrying a gun. I have even heard of many who have vanquished a man armed with a gun. This is nothing impossible. Even a man who has a gun at his service does not always keep his weapon with him, but he may sometimes be obliged to oppose an armed man. He does not turn his back, but fights. The test of bravery lies in the strength to face death and, therefore, even a physically weak person can be brave. Everyone should be so brave as to try to defend himself and should take the requisite training. That training is to be had not by exercise in swordsmanship but by strengthening of will-power and by casting off the fear of death. Exercises in the use of sticks, etc., are certainly helpful in acquiring such strength and those who are not wholly permeated with the spirit of non-violence have not learnt to be indifferent to death and who would defend themselves even by killing others should certainly acquire the ability for self-defence even by taking training in swordsmanship.

The sad thing is that we have taken it for granted that we lack the strength to protect ourselves or our neighbours. Though physically strong, some of us have permitted a single robber, who came to steal, to do his work while we lay in bed. We recognize no duty to our neighbour, let alone discharging any. We must at once get out of this state. In every village, the bravest among the population must volunteer and take upon themselves the responsibility of protecting the people. When thieves and others realize that the villagers will protect themselves, they will be afraid to commit thefts. The best way is the one which I indicated first. We should teach thieves to become honest men. The worst method is that of punishing thieves. To hide through fear of thieves is not the way to protect oneself, but is plain cowardice. In practice we should employ all these means in order to meet the present situation.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 23-1-1921

135. IN MEMORY OF SIRCAR[1]

What need for a Sircar to be conscious of its power? The British Sircar may die or improve its ways, the Indian Sircar is immortal. Patwardhan was a Sircar indeed because he was a servant. I never observed that he wanted honour or importance for himself. A friend's worth is known after his death. Patwardhan is immortal, for we are in duty bound to imbibe all his qualities of character and become so many Patwardhans. While he lived, he was only one; dying, he has called upon us to be like him.

MOHANDAS

[From Gujarati]

Madhpudo I, vi, *Posh Sud* 14, *Samvat* 1977 [January 23, 1921]

136. SPEECH AT MIRZAPUR PARK, CALCUTTA[2]

January 23, 1921

MR. CHAIRMAN AND FRIENDS,

Let me congratulate the students of Bengal on the very magnificent response they have returned to the call of the country. I knew that the students of Calcutta were waiting for my friend, Mr. C. R. Das, to give them the lead. I congratulate him upon his having given you the lead and I congratulate you, the students of Bengal, upon having followed that lead. But you know as well as I do that the task for him and for you has only just commenced. We are in the throes of a new birth and we are experiencing all the difficulties and all the pains that attend a new birth. It is not enough for him, it is not enough for India, that you have emptied the colleges. It is absolutely necessary that you must not return to the colleges and schools that you have abandoned, and it is necessary for him to find out for you the work that you should do during this period of probation, during this period of purification.

It has now become necessary for Mr. C. R. Das and for you to put your heads together and devise means whereby you may

1. A pet name of Yadwarkar Patwardhan

2 This meeting was held under the presidentship of C. R. Das. While *Young India*, 2-2-1921, describes it as "a monster meeting of students", *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, 25-1-1921, and *The Hindu*, 24-1-1921, report that it was a public meeting chiefly composed of students.

complete the work that you have begun. Anyway, you, the students who have withdrawn from the Government and Government-aided schools have completed your work. But in order that that work may be sustained, that that work may be continued, and in order that your services may be harnessed for the attainment of swaraj, it is necessary to find out the ways and means. And I cannot describe to you how much it grieves me to find that, whilst the student world has responded so nobly, the professors and educationists and the trustees of the great educational institutions of Bengal are not giving the lead they should have.[1] In drawing your attention and their attention to this fact, I do not wish to be understood as casting any reflection upon them, or their love for the country. I know, I am convinced, they believe that you have erred. I know that they believe that Mr. Das has erred in asking you not to seek shelter behind your conscience but to respond to the call of of the nation. They believe that I am grievously in error in having presented non-co-operation to the country, and they sincerely believe that I am still more grievously in error in having advised the students to boycott Government educational institutions.

But in spite of all the experience that I have gone through, in spite of all that I have heard and read, and in spite of all the reverence that I tender[2] to our elders and our leaders, I am here to confess before you that I am more than ever convinced of the correctness of the step that I have suggested to the country. I am more than ever convinced that if we desire to establish the swaraj of our choice, if we want to retrieve the lost honour of India, if we want to retrieve the honour of Islam which is trembling in the balance, it is absolutely necessary for us to tell this Government that it shall not receive any help from us, nor will we receive any help from a Government which has forfeited all confidence. I know those of you who are sceptics will tell me or tell yourselves that you have heard this kind of talk many a time from such platforms: it is true. But Max Muller has told us—he has paraphrased a Sanskrit proverb—that a truth always bears repetition until it has gone home, and I propose to reiterate this truth in the ears of my countrymen—to reiterate this truth before our leaders[3] till it goes home: till they respond to it. I am here to repeat what I have said from so many platforms that India will not regain her lost

[1] In the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* report, this sentence ends thus : "are not responding in a manner in which they might have."

[2] "that I claim I am capable of tendering" in *Amrita Bazar Patrika*

[3] *Amrita Bazar Patrika* has "elders" here.

honour—her lost freedom—until India has responded to the call of non-co-operation. It is not possible for Indians, constituted as we are, to give battle to this great Government on any other terms.

Non-co-operation is bred in the very marrow of every Indian, and if you want to know why the crores and millions of the masses have responded to the call of non-co-operation as they have never responded to any other call, it is not because I gave voice to that call. Non-co-operation is born, is bred in them—it is part of every religion—it is part of Hinduism—it is part of Islam, and it is for that reason that, fallen though we are, helpless though we feel ourselves to be, non-co-operation has awakened us from this long sleep. Non-co-operation has given us faith, has given us courage, has given us hope, and strength.

And if our educated leaders have not yet responded to the call of non-co-operation, let me say with all the humility that I can command that they are sceptics, they have not the religious fire of the people and the masses. They are saturated in modern civilization, or as we call it, "Western civilization". I have used the term "Western civilization"[1]. But I want you and myself this evening to distinguish between the two. I want to make it clear that I am no hater of the West. I am thankful to the West for many a thing I have learnt from Western literature. But I am here to confess to you that I am thankful to modern civilization for teaching me that, if I want India to rise to its fullest height, I must tell my countrymen frankly that, after years and years of experience of modern civilization, I have learnt one lesson from it, and that is, that we must shun it at all costs. What is that modern civilization? It is the worship of the material, it is the worship of the brute in us—it is unadulterated materialism, and *modern* civilization is nothing if it does not think at every step of the triumph of *material* civilization.

And if I did not know my country, if I did not know the mass mind, I would also have erred, and I would also have been misled, even as I contend that educated India has been misled. You, my countrymen, know that I have lived for 20 years in the midst of modern activity—I have lived in a country which has copied everything that is modern. I have lived in a country which is pulsating with new life. South Africa contains some of the bravest of men on the face of the earth and I have seen modern civilization worked by that nation at its best; and I am here to tell you,

[1] Here *Amrita Bazar Patrika* adds "as synonymous with modern civilization".

the young men of Bengal, and I am here to tell my educated leaders, that my experience of modern civilization, worked at its best, told me in emphatic terms in the year 1908, 'God save India from that modern curse'. This is a lesson that I have learnt in South Africa though it is the lesson that I have followed up since 1908, and which slowly but surely I have been preaching in season and out of season during my five years' stay in India. And it was my faith in our ancient civilization—it was my faith in our simplicity—it was my faith in the inborn religious instincts of every Indian—be he a Hindu or be he a Mohammedan, Christian, Parsi or a Jew—it is that faith in me which has sustained me throughout all the dark days of scoffing, of scepticism, and of opposition.

I know that opposition stares you and stares me in the face even today. We have just broken the ground, but it is true that if we are going to win this great battle that you, the people of Calcutta, commenced in September of last year[1] we shall have to continue as we have begun in full faith. I am not ashamed to repeat before you who seem to be nurtured in modern traditions—who seem to be filled with the writing of modern writers, I am not ashamed to repeat before you that this is a religious battle. I am not ashamed to repeat before you that this is an attempt to revolutionize the political outlook—that this is an attempt to spiritualize our politics. And the more we have of it, I assure you the greater progress we shall make towards our goal. It is because I believe that the mass mind of India is tired of this British rule in its present form that I have made bold to say that swaraj is easily attainable within one year.

Four months of this one year have already gone by, and my faith has never burnt as brightly as it burns tonight, as I am talking to the young men of Bengal. You have given me greater hope, you have given me greater courage—you have given me greater strength. May God grant that Shaukat Ali and Mohamed Ali and I will live to erect this flag of swaraj inside this year! But if it is the will of God that my ashes should be placed in the Ganges water before the eight months of the year are out, I shall die with the conviction that you will see to it that swaraj is secured before this year is out.

This is not as difficult as you may imagine. The difficulty lies with our conviction. The difficulty lies in our believing that we

[1] When a resolution about non-co-operation was passed at the special session of the Congress held in Calcutta

want to have lessons in swaraj in the Council hall. The difficulty lies in our believing that we cannot get swaraj until we have passed through a sixteen years' course of education, and if we believe in all these things I shall be free to confess that we should require a century to get swaraj. But it is because I believe that we need, not these things, but we need faith, courage and strength, and it is because I believe that the masses have got all these things today that I believe that swaraj is attainable within this year.

And what does the appeal of the Congress mean? The Congress appeal means that you and I, that the whole of educated India, the whole of the mercantile community of India—a mere drop in the ocean of the millions of people of India, the artisans and the agriculturists—have a test placed before them. And believe me that the Congress will isolate India and wrest swaraj from insolent hands and establish the flag of freedom, if possible with your assistance, even without your assistance if need be. The whole of India is not concentrated in the educated India of today. India can sustain its hope, even if the whole of educated India were to remain sceptic, were to remain without hope, and faith, and courage, and strength. It is that faith which sustains me. But I am hoping that if the student world and if the students of Bengal remain true to their vow[1], I am hoping that the professors and the trustees and the educationists of Bengal and India will respond to the call and their winter of discontent will be turned by you into the summer of hope.

I ask you, the young men of Bengal, to abide by the decision that you have come to—no matter what happens. I know that Mr. C. R. Das is going to remain true to his promise. He has already received a promise of Rs. 10,000 to be given to him now and [another] ten thousand as annual contribution from a great Bengali[2]. He has received certain promises from the Marwaris—the domiciled Marwaris of Calcutta—and he is going to receive many more promises, so far as the finance is concerned, but finance is the least part of the difficulty. He has to find out a habitation for having the college located. He has to find out better professors. And I ask you students who have non-co-operated not to set before yourselves the old standard, even as this swaraj of our dream is not to be a base copy of what we have today. So will you please

[1] "true to their conviction, true to their vow" in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* report

[2] Gopalchandra Sinh, who had earlier given a lakh of rupees for establishing national schools and colleges

see that what you get in the shape of a new college is not to be a base copy of what you have today? You will not look to brick and mortar. You will not look to benches and chairs for inspiration, you will look to character. You will look to sterling character in your professors and in your teachers for inspiration. You will look to your own determination to give you the necessary impetus and necessary inspiration. And I promise you that you will then not be disappointed; but if you believe that Mr. Das is going to present you with noble buildings, if you believe that he is going to give every ease and luxury to which you have been hitherto used, you will certainly be disappointed.

I have come this evening to present before you a newer gospel, a better gospel. If you are determined to attain swaraj inside of twelve months, if you are determined to help to attain swaraj within one year then I ask you to make the way of those who have dedicated their lives to the attainment of swaraj easier and clearer by accepting the advice that I am about to tender to you. If you believe that swaraj can be attained by continuing your colleges and schools precisely in the same manner as the institutions that you have left are being conducted, you are sadly mistaken. No country in the world has gained its liberty—has seen a new birth—without difficulties, without pain, without sacrifice. And what is sacrifice? The right meaning of sacrifice I learnt in my youth was that it meant making sacred, making holy. Non-co-operation is a process of purification, and if a suspension of our ordinary routine is necessary for the purpose of that purification, that has to be done. I know—if I know Bengal at all—that you will not shirk it and you will respond.

Our education has been the most deficient in two things. Those who formed our education code neglected the training of the body and the soul. You are receiving the education of the soul by the very fact of non-co-operation for non-co-operation is nothing less and nothing more than withdrawing from participation in the evil that this Government is doing and continuing to do. And if we are withdrawing from evil conscientiously, deliberately, it means that we are walking with our face towards God. That completes or begins the soul training. But seeing that our bodily education has been neglected, and seeing that India has become enslaved because India forgot the spinning-wheel, and because India sold herself for a mess of pottage, I am not afraid to place before you, the young men of Bengal, the spinning-wheel for adoption. And let a training in spinning and production of as much yarn as you can ever do constitute your main purpose and your

main training during this year of probation. Let your ordinary education commence after swaraj is established, but let every young man, and every girl, of Bengal consider it to be their sacred duty to devote all their time and energy to spinning. I have drawn attention to the parallel, that presents itself before us, from the War.

Those of you who know anything about what was going on in England will recall those days of the War[1] when every boy and every girl had suspended their education—ordinary education—and were put upon such national work as was necessary for the purpose of the War. They were put upon simple tailoring, upon making badges, and that was done even here. I recall many a home where even little children were put to work and the Government looked upon my activity with sympathy, with attention and approval, when I presented to the youths of Kaira the opportunity of fighting on the battle-field even though their parents might be against it.[2] Times have changed and I am now twitted for asking young men who have got heads on their shoulders and who have conscience in their hearts—I am twitted for asking these young men and girls and for having the audacity to tell them that they should rather obey the voice of their conscience than the voice or commands of even their parents. But I say to the young men and young girls of Bengal that if your voice, the voice of your conscience, tells you that during this year of probation you should devote your energy and attention to the attainment of swaraj, then you will believe me when I tell you that it is impossible to arrive at a complete boycott of foreign cloth or foreign goods until and unless we employ every man, woman and child on spinning yarn. We have spun many a yarn during all these long 35 years on the Congress platform. Let us now spin the truest yarn that India wants, and let me tell you that, if you want to feed the hungry, to clothe the naked, there is no other way out of the difficulty but spinning for the whole of India. And so I ask you, young men of Bengal, to accept the privilege that I place at your feet. And if we can bring about a complete boycott of foreign cloth we sterilize the activity of the fifty-five members of the House of Commons that Lancashire contributes to it, we sterilize the activities of ambitious Japan who has her eyes fixed and set upon India. You will not gain your economic freedom, as the

[1] Of 1914-18

[2] In June 1918 when Gandhiji went on a recruiting campaign in Kheda district to help the British Government during World War I

Congress has told you, until India becomes self-contained so far as her food and clothing are concerned. We can do without all things but we cannot be without food and clothing. A vast country like India, 1,900 miles long and 1,500 miles broad, cannot possibly become self-contained by any other means than the means of old. If you want to do penance for what Bengal did and what the whole of India did during the East India Company's regime, even then you have no other remedy—no other penance open to you but to revive those noble arts and industries and to present India with sufficient yarn, so that the prices of cloth and clothing may both go down and so that India may not have to depend upon foreigners for her special needs.

So, young men of Bengal, if you will work in order to gain swaraj within one year, you will accept the advice of a man who has conducted a series of experiments, to whom this gospel came in the year 1908[1], and who has not yet been ousted from it by a hair's breadth. The more I have studied the economics of India, the more I have listened to the mill-owners of India, the more convinced I have become that until we introduce the spinning-wheel in every home of India, the economic salvation and freedom of India is an impossibility. Go to any mill-owner you like, he will tell you that it will require fifty years if India is to become self-contained, so far as cloth supplies are concerned, if she has to depend upon her mills alone. And let me supplement the information by telling you that today hundreds and thousands of weavers are weaving and are able to weave homespun yarn, but they have to fall back upon foreign yarn because mills cannot supply them. So I ask the young friends of Bengal who have left their colleges to go forward in hope and courage and take up this neglected training of the hand for at least the time that we have not attained swaraj and then think of anything else.

I have suggested another thing. You and I, and every one of us, has neglected the true education that we should have received in our national schools. It is impossible for the young men of Bengal, for the young men of Gujarat, for the young men of the Deccan, to go to the Central Provinces, to go to the United Provinces, to go to the Punjab and all those vast tracts of India which speak nothing but Hindustani, and therefore I ask you to learn Hindustani also in your leisure hours—the hours that you may be able to save after spinning. And if you will learn these things you can learn both spinning and Hindu-

[1] In South Africa

stani in two months. An intelligent, gentle lad, a patriotic and hard-working lad, I promise you, can learn both these in two months' time. And then you are free to go out to your villages—you are free to go to every part of India but Madras, and be able to speak your mind to the masses. Do not consider for one moment that you can possibly make English a common medium of expression between the masses. Twenty-two crores of Indians know Hindustani—they do not know any other language. And if you want to steal into the hearts of 22 crores of Indians, Hindustani is the only language open to you. If you will do but these two things, during this year, during these nine months, believe me, you will have, by the time you have finished, acquired courage and acquired strength which you do not possess today. I know thousands of students—black despair stares them in the face if they are told that they cannot get Government employ. If you are bent upon ending or mending this Government how do you propose to get Government employ? If you do not want to fall back upon Government, what is your English knowledge worth? I do not wish to underrate the literary value of the English language. I do not wish to underrate the vast treasures that are buried in the English books. I do not want to suggest to you that we have overrated the importance of the English language but I do venture to suggest to you that the English language finds very little place in the economy of swaraj.

You do not need to increase the stock of English words in order to gain swaraj and so I have suggested to the young men of Gujarat that they should suspend their literary training in English for these nine or twelve months and devote their time and their leisure to learning spinning and to learning Hindustani and then place themselves at the disposal of India and join the National Service that is going to be formed. You are not going to respond to the great constitution that the Congress has given unless we have got an army of workers penetrating the seven and a half lakhs of villages with which India is studded, if we are going to set up a rival organization in every village of India, if we are going to have a representative of the Congress in every village of India, we cannot do so until and unless the young men of India respond to the Motherland. The privilege to pay is yours. The call today has come to the young men of Bengal and the rest of India. I hope—I have every confidence—that all the young men and all the young girls of India will respond to this sacred call. I promise before the year is out you will not have regretted the day that you set your heart upon these two things, and you will find at the end

of the chapter that what I am saying to you tonight has come true, that you have vindicated the honour of India, you have vindicated the honour of Islam, you have vindicated the honour of the whole nation and established swaraj. May God grant you, the young men and the young girls of Bengal, the necessary courage, the necessary hope, the necessary confidence to go through the sacred period of purification and sacrifice. May God help you.[1]

After this speech, when Gandhiji was asked specially to address a few words to the medical students, he, resuming, said:

There was one thing which I had purposely neglected to mention. I had the thing in my mind, but as I was obliged to take up so much of your time as to the necessity of spinning and the necessity of learning Hindustani and as to what you should do after having given up your colleges, I purposely omitted reference to the difficulty of the medical students. If they will but exercise their splendid faculty and imagination they will deduce from what I have said generally to the student world that the remarks that are applicable to the arts colleges and other colleges are equally applicable to the medical students, if possible even much more to the medical students than to the others. They want to heal the bleeding wounds of India, they want to heal the diseases from which India is suffering—and I know no greater wound than has been inflicted upon the Punjab and I know no greater disease than the disease of helplessness, dependence and servility from which the whole of India is suffering—and if the medical students will be true to their future calling they will have no hesitation in responding to the call. And they will have no hesitation in undertaking the humanitarian work of clothing the naked and of ridding India of her shame, degradation and helplessness. They cannot do any nobler work. For an Indian, no matter how noble, how learned, how powerful and rich he may be, there can be no nobler work than the work of attaining swaraj, than the work of ridding India of the great disease from which we have been suffering for years and years. And so I ask all the medical students and all the boys of the colleges and all the boys, over sixteen years, of the schools without a moment's hesitation, first of all to leave their schools and colleges, to finish that one peremptory duty that devolves upon them. But it will always be open to you either to reject or to accept my advice. It will be open to you to establish new colleges, new schools, new medical colleges or anything you like. But

[1] The *Young India* report ends here. The following paragraphs are from *Amrita Bazar Patrika*.

if you will accept my advice, you will understand that you will not have finished your work as true and brave fellows unless you dedicate all the time at your disposal for the attainment of swaraj and make the task easy all round.

If there is anything that I have left out in connection with the medical college or any other institution and if you want a solution about these things from my lips, I shall be prepared to answer those questions, but I must confess to you that I am tired of answering questions, I am tired of making speeches, I am tired of making appeals. I would far rather wish that I became speechless and left you to your own resources and left you to your own conscience. Only today I have been answering a correspondent who has written to the *Navajivan* asking, "If you say, if you call conscience above all, why do you waste so much of your time in arguing with us? Why do you not leave us to ourselves?" In a way the rebuke was well administered. But I know the fire that is burning within me. I should be untrue to you and to myself if I do not give it to you in the best manner that I can, and so I have been travelling through the length and breadth of India in order to give you the gospel of hope and courage that is within me. But believe me, could I possibly be left alone, you will find me spinning away for all I am worth and poring over the pages of Hindustani books. I know that I can speak Hindustani, but I know my limitations also. And I know what handicap I am labouring under, for I am not so well versed in Hindustani literature as I am in English literature.

And so my young friends, I would ask you to cast all your doubts, all your fear, all your scepticism, into the Bay of Bengal and rise with a new hope that will not be denied.

Young India, 2-2-1921; *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, 25-1-1921

137. SPEECH AT WOMEN'S MEETING, CALCUTTA[1]

January 25, 1921

Mr. Gandhi, in the course of his address, first compared the British Government to the kingdom of Ravana, in which the wicked were happy and the good were unhappy. The present Government was, he continued, a kingdom of sin. As Rama was born to destroy Ravana's kingdom of sin, the present non-co-operation movement might serve the same purpose. The Mahatma suggested that the mothers and daughters of India ought to take away their

[1] Held at the residence of C. R. Das, Gandhiji himself presiding

sons and brothers from the Government schools and colleges where education meant nothing but slave mentality.

Turning to the question of the luxury that was prevalent amongst all sections of the community, Mr. Gandhi asked them to give it up. The clothes that they were wearing were not holy. To worship one's God and Goddess they must wear holy clothes. Similarly when they were engaged in a holy battle for the country's cause they must wear holy clothes, clothes hand-woven and hand-spun.

Continuing, Mr. Gandhi said that there should be a spinning-wheel in every home and he hoped that within two or three months every home in Bengal would have charkhas. He held out to the audience the example of the family of Vidyasagar[1] who were spinning yarn.

Mr. Gandhi then spread his *chaddar*[2] and wanted the ladies to part with what they loved most. He said he did not want money but wanted their sacrifice. At this there was a general whisper amongst the audience, whereupon Mr. Gandhi intervened and said that he did not want anything which they gave after anxious deliberation, but that their gifts must be spontaneous. At this stage there was a shower of gifts which literally filled up the *chaddar*.

Amrita Bazar Patrika, 28-1-1921

138. NOTES

Education or Excise?

In his instructive articles[3] on Primary Education in the Punjab, which we have published from time to time, Mr. D. R. Gupta has shown by facts and figures what a set-back education has received in that province since it passed into British hands. There can be no doubt whatsoever that the civilizing influence there of British satraps and British officials tended to scotch most educational institutions. The schools, the teachers, and the scholars have been shown ruthlessly to have suffered at the hands of the British administrator.

But if the progress of education in the Punjab was gall and wormwood to the official, the advancement of liquor-traffic was

[1] Ishwarchandra Vidyasagar (1820-1901); famous Sanskrit scholar and social reformer of Bengal

[2] Shawl

[3] These articles by Daulat Ram Gupta appeared in the various issues of *Young India* between December 8, 1920, and January 26, 1921.

sweet as honey. The achievement of two aims was set before the young officer: to stifle education and to send up the excise revenue. The Punjab Excise Report for 1919-20 shows an enormous rise in excise revenue. An increase of 25 lakhs in the year brought the total revenue to nearly Rs. 130 lakhs! The excise policy of the Government has brought in its wake many baneful results to the people. We intend in future issues to reveal this policy as well as substantiate from official figures that the excise policy of the Government is directed systematically to increase the drink evil. It will startle our readers to know that in some of the provinces better facilities are provided for the consumption of liquor than for the promulgation of knowledge.

Religious Impartiality

Mr. Sita Ram, in a somewhat angry letter in reply to Mr. Foy,[1] combats his statement on the assumed religious impartiality of the Government and says:

> Educational institutions drawing very handsome Government grants compulsarily teach the Bible. Ecclesiastical establishments all over the country consume enough money out of the taxes paid by Hindus, Mussulmans and Parsis.

All this and much more can be undoubtedly cited to show that Government of India is certainly not above suspicion in its treatment of the different religions.

To My Correspondents

Whilst dealing with Mr. Sita Ram's letter, I am tempted to say a word to my correspondents, both those who write to me in my journalistic capacity and those who write for general advice. The correspondence has grown beyond my capacity to deal with it. I have the privilege of having several helpers but our combined labours are insufficient to cope with the enormous correspondence. If therefore the correspondents do not get replies, they will know that it is no want of will on my part but it is a physical impossibility to send individual replies. At the same time, every effort is being made to send acknowledgments. Needless to say, it is impossible for me to give personal attention to every correspondent. At the same time I would like to add that correspondence which is brief, to the point and clearly written will receive earlier

[1] For Gandhiji's comments on Foy's letter, *vide* "Notes", 12-1-1921.

attention than long-winded letters written in an indecipherable hand.

Young India, 26-1-1921

139. "HIND SWARAJ" OR THE "INDIAN HOME RULE"

It is certainly my good fortune that this booklet[1] of mine is receiving wide attention. The original is in Gujarati. It had a chequered career. It was first published in the columns of the *Indian Opinion* of South Africa. It was written in 1908[2] during my return voyage from London to South Africa in answer to the Indian school of violence, and its prototype in South Africa. I came in contact with every known Indian anarchist in London. Their bravery impressed me, but I feel that their zeal was misguided. I felt that violence was no remedy for India's ills, and that her civilization required the use of a different and higher weapon for self-protection. The satyagraha of South Africa was still an infant hardly two years old. But it had developed sufficiently to permit me to write of it with some degree of confidence. It was so much appreciated that it was published as a booklet. It attracted some attention in India. The Bombay Government prohibited[3] its circulation. I replied by publishing its translation. I thought that it was due to my English friends that they should know its contents. In my opinion it is a book which can be put into the hands of a child. It teaches the gospel of love in the place of that of hate. It replaces violence with self-sacrifice. It pits soul-force against brute force. It has gone through several editions and I commend it to those who would care to read it. I withdraw nothing except one word of it, and that in deference to a lady friend. I have given the reason for the alteration in the preface to the Indian edition.

The booklet is a severe condemnation of 'modern civilization'. It was written in 1908[4]. My conviction is deeper today than ever. I feel that if India would discard 'modern civilization,' she can only gain by doing so.

But I would warn the reader against thinking that I am today aiming at the swaraj described therein. I know that India is not ripe for it. It may seem an impertinence to say so. But such is my conviction. I am individually working for the self-rule pictured

[1] For a translation of *Hind Swaraj*, *vide* Vol. X, pp. 6-68.

[2] & [4] An error for '1909'

[3] In March 1910

therein. But today my corporate activity is undoubtedly devoted to the attainment of parliamentary swaraj in accordance with the wishes of the people of India. I am not aiming at destroying railways or hospitals, though I would certainly welcome their natural destruction. Neither railways nor hospitals are a test of a high and pure civilization. At best they are a necessary evil. Neither adds one inch to the moral stature of a nation. Nor am I aiming at a permanent destruction of law courts, much as I regard it as a 'consummation devoutly to be wished for'. Still less am I trying to destroy all machinery and mills. It requires a higher simplicity and renunciation than the people are today prepared for.

The only part of the programme which is now being carried out in its entirety is that of non-violence. But I regret to have to confess that even that is not being carried out in the spirit of the book. If it were, India would establish swaraj in a day. If India adopted the doctrine of love as an active part of her religion and introduced it in her politics, swaraj would descend upon India from heaven. But I am painfully aware that that event is far off as yet.

I offer these comments because I observe that much is being quoted from the booklet to discredit the present movement.[1] I have even seen writings suggesting that I am playing a deep game, that I am using the present turmoil to foist my fads on India, and am making religious experiments at India's expense. I can only answer that satyagraha is made of sterner stuff. There is nothing reserved and nothing secret in it. A portion of the whole theory of life described in *Hind Swaraj* is undoubtedly being carried into practice. There is no danger attendant upon the whole of it being practised. But it is not right to scare away people by reproducing from my writings passages that are irrelevant to the issues before the country.

Young India, 26-1-1921

[1] For example, the comments of Lord Ronaldshay; *vide* "Notes", 8-12-1920.

140. LETTER TO LEVETUS

148, RUSSA ROAD,
[CALCUTTA,]
January 26, 1921

DEAR MR. LEVETUS,

With reference to your inquiry about the interpretation of the resolution[1] of the Congress regarding the exchange policy of the Government, in my opinion no one is entitled to seek shelter under it for repudiating obligations incurred by him. It undoubtedly advises merchants, etc., that they will be justified for reasons stated in the preamble of the resolution in refusing *to complete contracts at the present rate of exchange*. But this cannot possibly enable those who failed to meet bills at maturity to refuse to discharge them in the usual manner. You said to me that the resolution was a departure from the moral principles underlying the policy of non-co-operation. I have told you that in my opinion there is no moral lapse if the preamble represents a correct statement of facts. You will observe that the Congress has instructed the All-India Congress Committee to appoint a committee to give effect to the resolution. I would advise you to prepare a case for the Committee and I assume that if the preamble can be successfully attacked or the resolution be otherwise proved to be morally wrong, the Committee will give due effect to the argument.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat : S.N. 7442

141. SPEECH AT MERCHANTS' MEETING, CALCUTTA

January 26, 1921

BROTHERS,

You all know that I speak seated on a chair and I feel ashamed on that account. I hope that I may not ever sit on a chair, but I am helpless. As I want to win swaraj in nine months so I do not want these.[2] My brothers give me much trouble when I

[1] Passed in December 1920 at the annual session held in Nagpur

[2] Gandhiji presumably refers to the shouting by the audience.

come through streets.[1] I see that they love me much but I want to dissuade them from that if I can. Outside this hall so many have assembled that no business can go on because of that. I lost half an hour. The reason is that the organization has not been a good one. That ought not to be so. When it is known that many men will gather, provision will have to be made for that also. Work must not suffer and passages ought not to be blocked and tram-cars ought not to be stopped. Our people's time ought not to be wasted. There are a thousand people inside and another thousand outside. Two thousand hours of people's time have here been wasted. I want that Hindi and Urdu papers should also publish that touching the feet is bad and my request is that people should not do it. I am greatly disturbed with noise. I am far from well and cannot tolerate the sound [of] "*Vande Mataram*", "*Mahatma Gandhi ki jai*"—these shouts are of no avail unless they voice forth our true feeling. What I mean to say is that men do not translate into action what they utter. I also have become a Kshatriya giving up my Bania dharma[2]. Had I not been a Kshatriya I would have demonstrated my feeling by weeping. Certainly I am not thirsting after the touching of my feet by you. When I shall want it I will plainly let you know my feelings and that will be when my object will be attained. I consider myself compromised in dignity; otherwise swaraj will be attained in nine months. Let all of you combine and lend a helping hand. There is no necessity for shouting "*Vande Mataram*", "*Hindu Mussulman ki jai*", "*Alla-ho-Akbar*". What I propose to do I shall accomplish certainly. I must attain swaraj. If thirty crores of people say that they are not with me, yet I shall do my work and win swaraj but I do not like shouting. In the matter of shouts and noise I am like a weak lamb. Also, prostration at the feet is not good. Bow to all with your hands folded. No one is worthy of being touched at the feet, especially in this *Kaliyuga*. The times are changed. If you wish to accomplish the work of 30 crores of men, then come out with your money. Try to have money and ask me to give an account for the same. Appoint some one treasurer. If you know that you yourselves cannot attain swaraj, then help me with money.

[1] The crowd in front of the house in which the meeting was held was so great that Gandhiji could only enter through a back-door nearly three quarters of an hour after his arrival.

[2] Traditional duties of a Bania

If you do not help with money, swaraj will be difficult but not impossible to attain. If the students of India do not help me, it does not matter. If the pleaders do not help, it does not matter. If moneyed men do not help with money, that also does not matter. The attainment of swaraj depends on the workers and the agriculturists. I belong to the same profession as yourselves by birth and was a merchant myself by profession. I was a lawyer and earned money thereby. I am a student also and I think that I am a good student too. If you have power, if you have strength in you, if you want to govern India, then make sacrifices. Sacrifice yourselves, your children and your parents, everything in your life. Swaraj depends upon the agriculturists. If they do not help, then swaraj cannot be attained. If they co-operate with the Government, then all your virtues will not help in winning swaraj. If 25 crores of people turn out to be undutiful, swaraj cannot be attained. Now as to our Marwari brothers, the President has just said that the rich have not turned up for today's meeting. This pains me much. But there is reason for it. They have been brought up under this Government and they have made their piles under its protection. They have earned their money with their co-operation. So they are afraid of it. The English people make money through the co-operation of Indians. This truth is not realized by my Marwari brethren. I do not ask you to give up trade, but I ask you to carry on honest business and not indulge in untruth. You may say that if you do not resort to untruth, then you will become fakirs. I think it is better to be fakirs and in that case I do not want any money from you. You should not give up trade of foreign goods and as to your trade of foreign cloths, that should certainly be shunned. Those who fear God, they cannot but do the work of God. God has given you riches and these riches help you to decorate your bodies. With these riches you wear *malmal*[1] puggrees. I ask you to be fearless and wear khaddar puggrees, and give up all connection with mills even in the matter of agencies. I asked my son to give up this business as it is not swadeshi work and to deal in khaddar. He answered: "Father, khaddar business does not go on. Much of it is lying in stock." Khaddar, *garha*, khadi—whatever you call it, such beautiful stuff cannot be found. My brothers and sisters all use it and the labourers who are my brothers prepare it. The exploitations which the mill-owners are making are very unjust. When the price of cotton is Rs. 9, how is it that the price of the yarn is Rs. 34? I know that there is very little profit

[1] Muslin

in khaddar business. The cause of this is the mill-owners who increase the price of the yarn. We have to clothe the shoemakers and the sweepers. If there be any *Vaishnava* in the meeting, he will say that the remnants of his dish and dirty, worn-out clothes will suffice. But I remember them in the morning and consider to be equal to me. If you wear khaddar after leaving mill cloth, then its price will go up.

If you go to Janakpuri, Orissa, you will see the condition of the poor very very miserable. *Satu* may be had for food, but not ghee. When I was travelling third class—as you of course do not—then I used to see in dharmsalas that one man took out a handful of *satu* from his baggage, a little of salt and red pepper—and with these mixed with water, he had his meal. I have turned a Kshatriya and not a drop of water came to my eyes. In this country of Annapurna[1], ghee is not available. In Champaran, people are dying of starvation. There is one remedy for all these and that is the charkha. If all women and girls spin yarn, then they will be able to feed themselves as the price of khaddar will look up then. If swaraj is attained then *malmal* also will be manufactured. I myself am a good workman and I can work it but I say that you have got to make thread from No. 7 to 20 and that will be used in making saris and *pathis*[2]. No. 80 thread has been used in making your puggrees. It is foreign and it is irreligion. The Marwaris have given up their religion. Give up your foreign trade, not all immediately, but of piece-goods only, clear your house of foreign cloths and ask your mothers and wives to throw them out and not to wear them again. This will not cause you any loss. Send all these to South Africa and sell them there. They will be in demand there, as there are no spinning machines there. India rested on the dharma of faithful wives. Mussulman women do much work on charkhas.

If you wish to save cows, then save Khilafat. Millionaires speak of stopping cow-killing but co-operate with the English. Oppressive Englishmen drink the blood of cows. Agency of English goods is irreligious. It is said against the Mussulmans that they kill cows. But I say that what is slaughtered in Bandra[3] in five years cannot be done in 25 years by 7 crores of Mussulmans. I repeat to you some commonplace things. It is about Champaran. I narrated the matter to a Marwari and he burst

[1] Durga, consort of Siva, worshipped as the giver of plenty

[2] Pieces of cloth used as veils

[3] A suburb of Bombay where a big slaughter-house is situated

into tears. I did not shed any tears. I drew his attention to the condition of a bullock drawing a cart. You worship cows, and are you justified in killing bullocks? See the condition of dairy farms. The cows give milk, the buffaloes also give milk. Milk is drawn in such quantities from their udders that blood comes out. And we drink it. If you truly wish to save cows, then go to the help of Khilafat. The Mussulmans are not ungrateful but you should not ask them to save cows first before you can help their Khilafat. Don't do so—this is no matter for bargain. Die for your brothers, adopt *fakiri*[1] and claim that you are a Hindu. As a Hindu, you should not turn out to be cowards, but be bold in your conduct.

If you have piece-goods lying in stock sell them or burn them and promise that you will never purchase them or wear them. Make the weaver understand that foreign yarns should not be used. Ask them to despatch the goods which they have in stock and not to use yarn above No. 20 and use cloths made with them. I want three things. The first thing is: save me. Do not worry Gandhi, do not give him trouble and cry "*Gandhi ki jai*", and consider it as *haram*[2]. The second thing is: money is needed. Give as much as you can afford, and do as much as you can. Today the dealers in seeds have given me Rs. 10,000 and promised to give more by raising fresh subscriptions. I want that whatever you give, you should give with humility and generosity. As I pray to God, so I pray to you. Kindle your religious sense and your patriotic feelings. The third thing is this: be pure, be patriotic, be devoted to the cause of swaraj and Khilafat. Khilafat is the *Kamadhenu.* Use pure swadeshi things in your household. This alone will do you good. 60 crores of rupees go out of the country. Save them and win swaraj in 9 months. Brothers, you have listened to me with such love and attention that I am very pleased with you. But I do not want blind, mad love for me. I want the conscious love of India. With such love for me, I shall be able to free India. Again I ask you to remember my words and pray to God that He may give you and me power to win swaraj and bless you.

Amrita Bazar Patrika, 30-1-1921; *The Hindu*, 1-2-1921

[1] A life of voluntary poverty

[2] A thing to be shunned

142. NON-CO-OPERATION MEANS SELF-PURIFICATION

The Congress resolution[1] has been accepted as a method of self-purification and a form of *yajna*. If non-co-operation does not mean that, it would certainly be a sin. As there can be no co-operation between virtue and sin, between darkness and light, so there can be none between the people and a government opposed to their interests; by means of non-co-operation, we are proving that even the most wicked policy cannot survive if the people do not tolerate it, refuse to be a party to it.

Foreign cloth can be sold in India because we are attracted by it; the Government can establish control over us by bribing us with titles because we feel tempted by them; we are infatuated with degrees and, therefore, the Government, by controlling our education, tells us that we have not the strength to be free even in regard to education; because we continue to submit to the orders of despotic officers, such officers still rule in the Punjab; the Government earns crores out of liquor simply because we drink it; the Government's courts function because we quarrel among ourselves. This means, in effect, that our share in the sins of the Government is not a small one. When public opinion has become pure and the people have decided to get rid of their sins, that very day the Government will lose its crown. It is we who have been supporting it. It is not by their own strength that a hundred thousand Englishmen rule over thirty crores. Large numbers from among us have been, consciously or unconsciously, helping those one hundred thousand in every possible way and crores of us tolerate this situation. The Government means those who are running the administration with our help. When we have withdrawn our help, there will be no Government worth the name.

We believe the Government to be a sinful, a Satanic one. If we desist from our sins, the Government will drop off like dead leaves, or will repent and be purified.

Through what sins, then, are we supporting the Government? We have considered the question in relation to schools, courts, titles and legislatures. Really speaking, these things are not sinful in themselves. They are merely signs of a sinful state of affairs. If the Government is a beneficent one, we may receive our education from it, obtain justice through it and accept honours from

[1] On non-co-operation; *vide* Appendix I.

it. By renouncing these things, we are obliged to leave off our sinful habits.

So the heart of the matter is giving up our sinful ways. If the people drink liquor, indulge in gambling, commit thefts, are guilty of adultery and envy one another, non-co-operation cannot go on, for the Government maintains its rule by taking advantage of those evil habits.

The drink habit is one of no little danger. If we get rid of that habit, the people can save crores of rupees, and many wicked things will cease. I believe that the element of cruelty we find in British policy would not be there if the British did not drink. A man will never lose all sense unless he habitually drinks. However small the quantity of liquor taken, it cannot but have an intoxicating effect, one's reason is bound to be clouded in consequence, be it ever so little, and in such a state the conscience certainly becomes weak. Therefore, we who have set out to cultivate and teach sacrifice, must free the people from the habit of drinking liquor. There can be no resolution to appeal to habitual drinkers, because there are not many such people taking part in public life. But it is certainly necessary to pay attention to that matter. Great efforts were made at many places to induce people to give up the tea habit. In the measure that it remained free from violence, it was a praiseworthy movement. We do not wish to use violence to force anyone to leave the drink habit; but we should try to make people give it up through moral pressure and by persuasion. Some of us should go to the liquor-vendors in our respective cities and plead with them, request them to take up some other trade, and also work through the communities to which the drink addicts may belong. This is difficult work but nothing is difficult for public opinion to bring about. When public opinion ceases to tolerate drinking, it will stop in a moment. At present we do not bother about our neighbour. To become one people means that the thirty crores must become one family. To be one nation means believing that, when a single Indian dies of starvation, all of us are dying of it and acting accordingly. The best way of doing this is for every person to take under his charge the people in his immediate neighbourhood; that is to say, start serving them. If we work along this line, we can abolish every distillery in no time. The reader need not concern himself when the whole of India will give up liquor. If he takes care of his own village in that regard, he will have discharged his duty fully. What is true of liquor is also true of tobacco. We do not deprecate tobacco so much because its evil effects are not obvious. It is an addiction like opium. It

makes one forget one's suffering, but the addiction is so wasteful of money that it must be cast off. Even if people resolved to refrain from this habit till we get swaraj, a great deal of money could be saved thereby and put to other good uses.

What should I say about licentiousness? In comparison with this, I would not think of drinking, smoking, etc., as sins. A drunkard degrades only himself, a debauchee drags many others with him. Who can ever keep count of the hypocrisy, the falsehoods, the quarrels and the diseases born of this vice? There are few sins equal to that of casting an evil eye on another's wife and yet it is a sin that is not rare. There is no easy way, either, to save oneself and others from it. Speaking for myself, I have not been able to find a universally effective way of saving the people from this sin. Who should reason with the prostitutes, and who should entreat their customers? What associations can be established for this purpose? I am holding on to this faith only that those at any rate who are taking part in the national movement will resolutely free themselves from that sin and that, as the awakening among the people grows, others will also free themselves from this vice. It is a vice which has weakened and impoverished the people and made them cowardly. Why is it that the people of the West, who are no less guilty of this vice, are not cowardly, it will be asked. I have pointed out time and again that there is no manliness in possessing the strength to kill. It is my firm belief that this strength which has been cultivated by the people of the West stems from their addiction to liquor and their indulgence in passion. There are other reasons also but these are among the chief ones. To call the people of the West manly is an exaggeration.

Yes, it is true that those people are less afraid of death than we are; but so are the communities which live by robbery. We may regard the people of the West as brave to the extent to which we regard these communities as brave. The very comparison with the West should be regarded as out of place. Everyone should realize that we shall not succeed in establishing *dharmarajya* in India by imitating the West. The self-control practised in the West is based on expediency—on policy. In the East, self-control is an end in itself. It is not the teaching of religion that one should tell the truth because it is profitable to do so. All religions have proclaimed their belief that truth is God Himself. One gets exercise through *namaz*,[1] but no Muslim offers *namaz* for exercise; they all do so only as a religious duty. Therefore, if

[1] During the *namaz*, the Muslim prayer, one has frequently to bend forward on one's knees.

we wish to liberate India by non-co-operation, we shall have to realize the importance of self-purification and shall have to get rid of our infatuation for the West. We shall win swaraj only by giving up Western ways. I consider it impossible to win it by our adopting these ways.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 27-1-1921

143. A NOTE

DESCENDANTS OF "RISHIS"[1]

I am not out of my senses in publishing this article. It was written after two days' experience and is probably the result of momentary enthusiasm. But personally I think that the status which the author has given to the spinning-wheel is deserved and so, publishing it, I flatter myself. The exaggerated picture of the Ashram which it may have given is published in order that it may serve as an ideal for the Ashram inmates to follow. It will serve to make them feel ashamed whenever they fail to live up to the ideal. The name *tapovan* was actually suggested by a friend. Even today I regard it as unsuitable. I would be satisfied if scrupulous regard for truth was maintained in the Ashram, and it is my unshakable faith that the country, too, would be satisfied. The Ashram can, therefore, adopt the name of Satyagraha Ashram alone and no other.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 27-1-1921

144. SPEECH AT OPENING OF TILAK NATIONAL SCHOOL, CALCUTTA

January 27, 1921

Mr. Gandhi then addressed the meeting. At the outset he wished the school success. He next spoke about the wrongs done to the Punjab and to the Khilafat. He dwelt at length on the efficacy of the charkha and said that the authorities would see that special stress was laid on spinning so that

[1] The comments were appended to an article with this title written by one who called himself a brother of these descendants. After a day's visit to the Ashram, he described it in glowing terms and spoke of it as a *tapovan*, or a forest retreat where the inmates lived a life of austerity and spiritual discipline.

the boys might be well trained in this art. He suggested that instruction should be given both in Devanagri and Urdu to both the Hindu and Mussulman boys. Addressing the students Mr. Gandhi asked them to follow his advice and assured them that if they did so swaraj would be attained very soon.

Amrita Bazar Patrika, 28-1-1921

145. LETTER TO C. F. ANDREWS

CALCUTTA,
January 29 [1921][1]

MY DEAREST CHARLIE,

You have inundated me with love-letters and I have neglected you. But you have been ever in my thoughts and prayer. You had no business to get ill.[2] You had therefore be better up and 'doing'. And yet on your sick-bed you have been doing so much.[3] For I see more and more that praying is doing and that silence is the best speech and often the best argument. And that is my answer to your anxiety about the untouchables.

I look at the problem as an Indian and a Hindu, you as an Englishman and a Christian. You look at it with the eye of an observer, I as an affected and afflicted party. You *can* be patient, and I *cannot*. Or you as a disinterested reformer can afford to be impatient whereas I as a sinner must be patient if I would get rid of the sin. I may talk glibly of the Englishman's sin in Jallianwala. But as a Hindu, I may not talk about the sin of Hinduism against the untouchables. I have to deal with the Hindu Dyers. I must act and have ever acted. You act, you do not speak, when you feel most. Not knowing Gujarati, you do not know how furiously the question is raging in Gujarat. Do you know that I have purposely adopted a pariah girl? There is today at the Ashram a pariah family living again! You are doing an injustice to me in even allowing yourself to think that for a single moment I may be subordinating the question to any other. But I need not give addresses or write in English upon it. Most of those who form my audience are not

[1] The contents suggest that the letter was written in 1921 and in that year Gandhiji was in Calcutta on January 29.

[2] In January 1921 Andrews had a severe attack of influenza.

[3] After visiting the emigrants who had returned from Fiji and were stranded near the Calcutta docks, Andrews kept to his bed but dictated 35 letters, telegrams and articles in one day.

hostile to the 'pariahs'. I had the least difficulty about carrying the proposition about them in the Congress.[1]

Moreover I cannot talk about things I do not know. The *Namsudra*[2] question in Bengal I know only superficially. It is perhaps not one of untouchability but of the zemindar against the serf. I am dealing with the 'sin' itself. I am attacking the sacerdotalism of Hinduism. That Hindus consider it a 'sin' to touch a portion of human beings because they are born in a particular environment! I am engaged *as a Hindu* in showing that it is not a sin and that it is sin to consider that touch a sin. It is a bigger problem than that of gaining Indian independence but I can tackle it better if I gain the latter on the way. It is not impossible that India may free herself from English domination before India has become free of the curse of untouchability. Freedom from English domination is one of the essentials of swaraj and the absence of it is blocking the way to all progress. Do you know that today those who are opposing me in Gujarat are actually supporting the Government and the latter are playing them against me?

I began to think about you and the question at 2 a.m. Not being able to sleep I began to write to you at 4 a.m. I have not written all I want to say on the question. This is no apology. I have not been able to clear the point for you as it is clear to me. What you have written in your letter about students is right. You are thinking as an Englishman. I must not keep one thing from you. The *Gujarati* is endeavouring to weaken my position on the question by saying that I have been influenced by *you* in this matter, meaning thereby that I am not speaking as a Hindu but as one having been spoiled by being under your Christian influence. This is all rotten I know. I began this work in S[outh] A[frica] —before I ever heard of you and I was conscious of the sin of untouchability before I came under other Christian influences in S[outh] A[frica]. The truth came to me when I was yet a child. I used to laugh at my dear mother for making us bathe if we brothers touched any pariah. It was in 1897 that I was prepared in Durban to turn Mrs. Gandhi away from the house because she would not treat on a footing of equality Lawrence who she knew belonged to the pariah class and whom I had invited to stay with me. It has been a passion of my life to serve the untouchables because I have felt that I could not remain a Hindu if it was true that untouchability was a part of Hinduism.

[1] The annual session of the Congress held at Nagpur in December 1920 had passed a resolution on the removal of untouchability among the Hindus.

[2] One of the depressed classes in Bengal

I have only told you half the truth. I feel as keenly about the Kalighat[1] as I do about the untouchables. Whenever I am in Calcutta the thought of the goats being sacrificed haunts me and makes me uneasy. I asked Harilal[2] not to settle in Calcutta on that account. The pariah can voice his own grief. He can petition. He can even rise against Hindus. But the poor dumb goats? I sometimes writhe in agony when I think of it. But I do not speak or write about it. All the same I am qualifying myself for the service of these fellow creatures of mine who are slaughtered in the name of my faith. I may not finish the work in this incarnation. I shall be born again to finish that work or someone who has realized my agony will finish it. The point is, the Hindu way is different from the modern way. It is the way of *tapasya*. You will notice the use of the word 'modern'. For I do believe that the Christian way is not different from the Hindu. I am still not satisfied that I have told you all that is just now rising to my pencil. But I dare say I have said sufficient for you to understand. Only please do not take this letter to be a complaint if it is not to be taken as an apology.

Your reply to Sir William Vincent[3] is perfect.

I know you will let Dr. Chimandas go, if he wishes to. What is wanted is for Shantiniketan to come out boldly for non-co-operation in the religious sense. My fear is that Gurudev[4] has not yet realized the absolute truth and the necessity of it.

I am likely to leave here on the 4th instant on my way to Delhi. I am in Benares on the 9th. I am sending a personal note too, to Corbett[5].

With deep love,

Yours,
MOHAN

From a photostat : G.N. 958

[1] In Calcutta near the temple of the goddess Kali. It was then the practice to sacrifice goats there to propitiate the goddess.

[2] Gandhiji's eldest son

[3] Member, Viceroy's Executive Council

[4] Rabindranath Tagore. The term literally means godly preceptor.

[5] G. L. Corbett; member of the Asiatic Inquiry Commission appointed by the Government of South Africa in 1920

146. LETTER TO LALCHAND

January 29, 1921

MY DEAR LALCHAND,

I have read the letter from East Africa. I believe that you will not shine as an editor. You may shine in the absence of any light whatever. But you have not reached the minimum standard. You have neither the style nor the accuracy of knowledge.[1] The style really comes from knowledge. You will therefore be unable to give our people the lead they need in East Africa. But you must be guided not by me but by your inner voice.

Anyway, I am seriously thinking of putting someone else in editorial charge. I value you as manager, not as editor. I am in constant dread. I do not know what you have said on caste. Joseph has frightened me. You ought not to have written at all on that thorny topic. You should have waited for me. You see that I am in no hurry to air my views on the questions though thereby I am exposing myself [to] being misundertsood. I must have leisure for the task.

I have seen a report of the Nagpur Congress speech. It contains glaring errors. Your weak English disables you even for the work of touching up things. If you reproduce my speeches they should be touched up. What therefore, I require, is a better scholar and more informed man than you are in order to make me feel easy about *Young India*. You must therefore be prepared to vacate the chair at any moment. If you will remain as manager, I would like to keep you. But in that event I would expect you to be absorbed in that work and organize it in the most thorough manner possible.

I would like you not to take this letter amiss, but believe that it is best for the cause. *Young India* ought to rise higher than where it stands today in its editorial get up and for that purpose an abler assistant is a necessity of the case.

Yours sincerely,
M.K.G.

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary. Courtesy: Narayan Desai

[1] *Vide* "Letter to C. F. Andrews", January 19, 1921.

147. LETTER TO FRIEND IN BURMA[1]

January 29, 1921

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I know I owe you many apologies, for I have not personally attended to so many of your letters. But you know my difficulties. I have, however, been sending you replies through Mahadeo Desai or another Desai who has also been kindly helping me.

You do not now want me to deal with the difficulties you raised in your previous letters. If you have any doubt still left, I promise to give you fullest satisfaction about the utmost correctness of my ruling to Mr. Jinnah about Swaraj Sabha[2]. Did you ever see my reply[3] to his letter?

Do you also know that all the Commissioners[4] have at least fulfilled their obligations. For Mr. Jayakar also has suspended his practice.

And now for the education question there. We have such an awakening here all round that really it is not possible to spare anyone of those you name. My advice to the Burmese is that they must revert to the old system with a new spirit. They need not at the present moment think of Western education. If there is any tradition there about hand-spinning it should be revived or you should find out the Burmese supplementary industry to agriculture and revive that lost industry pending full swaraj. Let the students understand that swaraj is not to be obtained by learning but by an exhibition in their own lives of the qualities necessary for swaraj, viz., openness, truthfulness, courage, cohesion, fellowship and self-sacrifice. If they have these qualities, they must take them to their villages and spread them. They must teach the villagers that the English are not here for the benefit of the Burman but for their material end. They must therefore suspend their literary training till they have freed themselves from foreign domination. If I came there, that is how I should talk

[1] The addressee's name is not known.

[2] Formerly known as the Home Rule League

[3] *Vide* Vol. XVIII, pp. 370-2.

[4] Appointed by the Punjab Sub-committee of the Indian National Congress to report on the Punjab disorders; *vide* Vol. XVII, pp. 114-292.

to them. They must unlearn the infatuation of the English language. Today it is positively a hindrance to national growth.

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary. Courtesy: Narayan Desai

148. SPEECH TO POST-GRADUATE AND LAW STUDENTS, CALCUTTA

January 29, 1921

I shall tell you that the only excuse I could offer for being so horribly late is this pile containing money and jewellery which your Marwari sisters have given for your sake. I had the pleasure and privilege of addressing them just now and the response that they made—the so-called uncultured ladies of Marwar—was a magnificent response. I do not believe there is anything under Rs. 10,000 worth of jewellery and cash in that pile. I know you will be pleased to hear from me that more is to be expected from our sisters this very afternoon. Do you, therefore, wonder if you find me saying in season and out of season that I do expect swaraj within one year? If the response in money, in men and in every respect continues as it has begun, the most confirmed sceptic will be converted to the view that I venture to hold, and I ask all the post-graduate students who have gathered here to listen to your leaders, to respond to the resolution[1] of the Congress, nay more, to respond to the voice of your own conscience. If you are satisfied that we cannot live under this Government with any degree of self-respect, if you are satisfied that this Government has trodden underfoot the most sacred sentiments, that it has disregarded some of the inestimable privileges which we hold dear, you will come to the same conclusion that the Congress has come to: that association with that Government is a crime, is a sin, and if you endorse that view, it is impossible for us to receive any instruction at the hands of or under the influence of a Government such as ours. The Duke of Connaught came to Calcutta yesterday and you saw what the great citizens of Calcutta had to say about his visit. They carried out a complete hartal. Do you suppose that for a man like me, who has always tendered the heartiest and voluntary co-operation to this Government for a period of nearly 30 years—do you suppose that it was a matter of pleasure to me that I should associate myself heartily and

[1] On non-co-operation, passed at the Congress Session at Nagpur in December 1920

entirely with a complete boycott of his visit? It was not a pleasure to me. At the same time I felt it to be my duty not only to associate myself with it but to propagate the idea that to extend any welcome to any representative of the Sovereign would be a mistake, would be a crime, would be inconsistent with our self-respect, and that is the view I hold even up to the present moment. The Duke of Connaught has come not to wipe your and my tears. He has come not to wipe away the insult that has been hurled against Islam and the seven crores of Mohammedans of India. He has come not to heal the wounds of the Punjab, but he has come to sustain the power which has been so horribly abused. He has come to add prestige to an institution which we consider to be corrupt at its very source and, therefore, it became our duty to boycott that visit, and our duty not to receive any instruction under the influence of that Government. And I therefore suggest to you, post-graduate students of Calcutta, that you would far rather postpone your further literary progress and throw in your lot with the millions of your countrymen and gain swaraj inside of one year. If you feel that by continuing your post-graduate studies under the influence of this Government you can advance by one single minute the establishment of swaraj on this great soil, I have no word to say. But if you are convinced, as I am convinced, that continuation of our studies under the aegis of this Government can only retard our progress towards the goal, you will not take one single minute before retiring from these studies.

I want you to face this question boldly and fairly. You are not called upon to withdraw because the system of education is rotten, rotten though it undoubtedly is. You are called upon to suspend your studies, to withdraw from these institutions because they are under the aegis of this Government which you and I want to destroy, if we cannot mend it. And if you approach the question with that view, you will not ask any further question as to your future. Your future is safe and insured immediately you come out of these institutions in order to advance the cause of swaraj. Your future rests not on these institutions but on yourselves. That is the lesson which the Congress resolution teaches you and teaches me. Hitherto for a period of 35 years all our resolutions have been addressed to the Government. The Congress has altered its course. The Congress has asked the nation to become introspective. The Congress has turned this searchlight inward. The Congress addresses its resolution now not to the Government but to the nation. Its prayer is addressed to you,

the student world of Calcutta, and to me, an old man passed the stage of youth. The Congress addresses its resolution and its prayers to the uncultured men of India, the people living on the fields of India, to the artisans, and to all those whom we consider to be the illiterate masses of India. And the question that rises before you this afternoon is : what are you, the post-graduate students, going to do? What part are you going to play in this great upheaval? Are you going to be mere witnesses or are you going to be actors? Are you going to throw yourselves in the thick of the fight and claim the laurels of victory? I hope that your decision will be sound, swift and certain, and after having come upon that decision I hope that there will be no shrinking back. And I ask the students who are gathered in this theatre[1] to burn their books and not to seek at the present moment a literary career. I ask you to work as hewers of wood and drawers of water for the sake of swaraj. I, therefore, ask every one of you students to take to the spinning-wheel, and you will find the message of the spinning-wheel to be true.

The message of the spinning-wheel is that "he who takes me, he who turns me, brings swaraj within a measurable distance." The message of the spinning-wheel is that "every man, woman or child of India will turn me for one year or eight months, and I shall present, in turn, swaraj." And I ask you to take that message from that wheel which costs no more than Rs. 6 or Rs. 8. Mr. Das was telling me only the other day that there is a Bengali song about the spinning-wheel and the song runs somewhat thus : that the spinning-wheel gives you all, that the spinning-wheel is the cow of plenty; and I assure you that if you ask those who have taken to the spinning-wheel they will tell you, "Yes, the spinning-wheel is the *Kamadhenu* for ourselves."

The women who surrounded me this afternoon asked me to give them a message. As I went round them asking for donations for your sake, they asked me for a message and my unhesitating message was : "Take up the spinning-wheel. Purify yourselves, sacrifice yourselves for the sake of the country," and that is my humble message to you also. Purify yourselves by withdrawing yourselves from slave-owning institutions and take up the spinning-wheel and, if you will do that, I promise you swaraj within one year.

Amrita Bazar Patrika, 30-1-1921

[1] The Star Theatre where this meeting was held

149. MESSAGE TO PRESIDENT, PUNJAB STUDENTS' CONFERENCE[1]

January 30, 1921

Please convey to the Punjab students our great expectation of an enthusiastic and unanimous response to the country's appeal for immediate withdrawal,[2] the only response consistent with honour and dignity of the outraged Punjab and betrayed Islam.

Amrita Bazar Patrika, 1-2-1921

150. SOME QUESTIONS

Many correspondents probably feel disappointed, because their letters do not receive full justice. Readers of *Navajivan* know that great care is being exercised about the matter published in it. Therefore, letters from correspondents are utilized only when space is available. I have two such letters, written in October, lying with me. After they were written, quite a number of articles must have appeared and the correspondents may also have had the replies to their questions. Even then, if only to show that I have not considered their questions as deserving no notice, I shall here try to reply to them.

Easy to Wield but of Tremendous Effect

A friend writes from Surat :

Q. You say that the people should remain peaceful if you or the Ali Brothers are arrested or sentenced to any punishment. If that is not done, non-co-operation will receive a set-back. I do not understand this. Besides, you have only Mr. Nehru[3] with you. Supposing he also is arrested, who will take up your work?

My advice is the right one. The key to successful non-co-operation is peace. If peace is violated, non-co-operators will

[1] The message was sent jointly by Gandhiji, C. R. Das and Mahomed Ali to Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlew, president of the Punjab Students' Conference, Gujranwala, which passed a resolution on January 30, 1921, welcoming the Congress resolution on non-co-operation.

[2] From Government or Government-aided educational institutions

[3] Motilal Nehru, who had given up his princely practice as a lawyer and become a prominent leader of the non-co-operation movement

be deprived of their strength because, in consequence of breach of peace, the Government will resort to repression and the people, terrorized by the repressive measures, will submit. Non-co-operation is an education in getting rid of the fear of repression. We are still full of fear. When we have become fearless, there will be no one to oppress. Nor can it be said that Shri Nehru is the only leader left now in the non-co-operation movement. Victory will be ours only if non-co-operation goes on even after all the leaders of non-co-operation are arrested. Non-co-operation educates people in exercising the power they have. When the people stand with their own strength, only then can they enjoy swaraj, that is, democratic government. We do not want to give any help to the Government or receive any from it. This is no big task so that it should need a leader. Non-co-operation is an unfailing weapon, but yet one which can be employed even by a child. It is a weapon that is easy to wield but of tremendous effect.

One Step Enough Today

Q. Suppose we have won swaraj; how do you propose now to solve the Khilafat question? Will you fight the Europeans? We are unarmed.

A. If we get swaraj without a solution of the Khilafat issue, we shall have severed our connection with England. The Government is today suppressing the Khilafat only with our assistance and for subduing us. When they lose their hold over India, they will not need Mesopotamia or Constantinople. But whether or not it remains, when we recall our soldiers from abroad, the Government will not be able to stay on in Mesopotamia any longer. It will not be necessary for us to fight. All we shall need is to recall our people from Europe and Asia. But, supposing we want to fight, then free India will have that right as well. Who can say today what we may wish to do at that time?

Don't Ask for External Unity, Go on Acting Rightly

Q. You have promised to get freedom within a year. We can certainly get it within a month if we are absolutely united. But, when big leaders such as Shastriji[1], Bannerjea[2], Malaviyaji and others are on the opposite side, victory will be difficult. Moreover, you also do not try to win them over to your side.

[1] V. S. Srinivasa Sastri
[2] Surendranath Bannerjea

A. Let us understand the meaning of absolute unity. Unity does not mean identity of views. Each one may have his own opinion and yet there can be unity. There is a serious difference of opinion between Malaviyaji and me, yet there is complete unity between the two of us. My efforts to win him and others over to the same view as mine are continuing. This can be brought about only through the actions of non-co-operators. Where argument fails, one good action succeeds. There is a condition attached to my promise to win swaraj in a year. If non-co-operators do their duty, we shall surely have it within a year. If the twenty thousand persons who assembled in the Congress as also the thousands of men and women who met together in different cities act on the views they have expressed, we shall certainly get freedom within the time fixed. I have no reason to believe that they will not act that way.

AM I A DICTATOR?

Q. You say you are not a dictator. Have you ever been guided by any leader to the smallest extent? Even in the Subjects Committee, you remained adamant as a rock. At times you ask us to follow the voice of our conscience; why are you, then, struggling so hard to canvass support for your view?

A. I certainly believe that I am not a dictator. Not only that, there is not even a trace of dictatorship in me, since the way that I have embraced is that of service. I have often been guided in the past by many leaders and still am. In the Subjects Committee meetings, I yielded on many points, at Calcutta as also at Nagpur. But this indeed is true, that in matters of conscience I am uncompromising. Nobody can make me yield. I, therefore, tolerate the charge of being a dictator. Though I ask people to obey the voice of their conscience, everyone has the right to convince others by argument. The conscience in us likes to go to sleep. It requires to be aroused from time to time, and that is the worthiest effort for man. Helping one another to break our chains is the truest service.

ACCLAIMED BY PEOPLE MEANS ACCLAIMED BY THE CONGRESS

Q. Before the session of the Congress, you had said, "I do not at all care for the Congress," then why do you claim to be a Congressman?

A. I have never made the arrogant statement that I do not care for the Congress. Nor have I claimed to be a Congressman. The Congress is a great body and I hold it in the highest

esteem. I have respected it since my youth and, therefore, I have always tried to attend its sessions. But I have never regarded the resolutions of the Congress as gospel truths. When I feel any of them to be against my personal creed, I consider myself free to go against them, and I also believe that everybody else should have that freedom. Though acting in this way, one can remain a genuine admirer of the Congress.

Q. Would your movement have succeeded even to the extent of one per cent if the Congress had not passed the resolution[1]? In these past twenty centuries, this non-co-operation is the most important issue we have had to face. When we have the nectar-like Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, is it right to lead the whole country on the wrong path in the manner of a dictator? People like Malaviyaji also say that Gandhiji has lost his head and is leading India along a wrong path.

A. I see much misunderstanding behind this question. The Congress is the organ of public opinion. When the people accept something, the Congress will certainly pass it, whether it is good or bad. Supposing a reformer wishes to introduce some reforms which are not to the liking of the people, he will not succeed in getting them passed by the Congress, and no wonder. The non-co-operation movement was in full swing before the resolution of the Congress was passed and it is for that reason that the Congress acclaimed it. I have many ideas which I cannot get the Congress to pass, because I have not been able to make the people see their value. I believe that when a man becomes a widower, he should not remarry; I believe that we should take only vegetarian food; I believe that it is wrong to get vaccinated; I believe that many of our practices relating to hygiene are so bad that they cause diseases. But I have not been able to educate public opinion in my favour on all these matters; hence I would not succeed, either, in getting resolutions on these matters passed by the Congress. Despite this, I do not hesitate to place these ideas of mine before the people when occasion arises. If India had felt the Montagu Reforms to be like nectar, I would have had to put my dictatorship in my pocket. I believe that I have given practical shape to an idea which appeals to the people, and that this is the reason why the people have acclaimed my programme. I am not leading the people on the wrong path; if the path taken by the people is wrong, I also have fallen into error and been swept along that path. If so, my capacity will be held in low esteem.

[1] On non-co-operation

I believe that the people have taken the right path and that they have advanced along it very rapidly. Malaviyaji certainly does not believe that I am leading the people astray. There is some difference of opinion between us, but he is a devoted supporter of non-co-operation and believes that the people are marching ahead.

I Shall Not Run the New Government; the People Will Run It

Q. If, as Lokamanya Tilak said, you are going to retire to the foot of the Himalayas after freedom is achieved, what will be the fate of the new Government? Who will run it? When blood-brothers do not agree, what may one expect of the crores?

A. This question is also based on a wrong impression. The Lokamanya never said anything about my going to the Himalayas. I do not intend to retire to the Himalayas after freedom, but it is certain that I shall not run the new Government. The people themselves will run it. Until the people have developed such self-confidence, what possibility is there of our getting freedom?

"Politics" and Religion

Q. Are you not mixing religion and politics, as stated by Mr. N. V. Sharma? Can politics be for mahatmas? Do you think you will be able to secure victory for the crores simply because you secured it for a small number in Africa and in Kheda?

A. I certainly do introduce religion into politics. It is my humble view that not a single activity in the world should be independent of religion. It is a question whether there can be anything not meant for a mahatma. If he does not share in every suffering, how is he a mahatma? I cannot do this, and so I do not claim to be a mahatma. But there is no impropriety in every one of us striving to become a mahatma. It is because we did not introduce religion into our politics that there has been so much delay in winning freedom. It is a law that what is true in one case will be true in all. We can fight on the all-India plane in the same manner in which we fought in Kheda, and can win too.

Q. You had said in Ahmedabad that, even if one man practised non-co-operation in perfection, it would have its effect and freedom would be won. Is this likely?

A. I am convinced that even one non-co-operator, if he has attained perfection, will suffice. But I think the effect produced

even by a man striving to be perfect, as I do, will be great. The seed of every reform in the world is sown by one individual.

None Is Born before His Time

Q. Like the Lokamanya, are you not born before your time?

A. No one ever comes or goes before his time. But people feel so about every reformer in the world. When we, who are accustomed to one way, are shown another by somebody, initially we always feel shocked.

I Have Not Aroused the Muslims

Q. The Muslims feel nothing about the Khilafat. It is you who, prodding them repeatedly, aroused them. Did not some Muslims stand as candidates for Councils? Is not Mr. Shafi in the Executive Council of the Viceroy? Do rich and educated Muslims take part in your movement?

A. I cannot claim at all that I roused the Muslims. It was the Ali Brothers who did so. I only offered them my help, thinking that it was my duty to do so. It is not a matter for surprise that the educated Muslims have lost their good sense. That is a sign of the times. The Muslim masses are with the Ali Brothers. There would have been no delay [in winning freedom], as there is today, if Muslims like Mr. Shafi and Hindus had not been under some kind of spell.

Efforts in Good Cause Never Fail

Q. Is not your movement unpractical or one which cannot possibly succeed? You said in Madras that the movement might even fail if there was no satisfactory response. Then what about those who have supported you? What degradation it will be for the whole of India! Why not leave this movement midway, as you left the satyagraha movement, and do what you mentioned, repair to the Himalayas?

A. It is being proved day by day that this is not an unpractical movement. The straight path may perhaps in the beginning appear an impossible one to follow, but it is certainly not unpractical. There is nothing in the world which is so effective in practical affairs as truth. Nobody in the world has ever been able to draw any other line which was as short as a straight line. The Madras speech ought to be read in full. The sentence quoted only means that, if the response was not satisfactory, the movement would seem to the people to have failed. But at no time is there a failure in a good undertaking. One always gets the fruits which one's actions deserve. But it is possible that the

people may not see the fruits of what one man alone has done. In order to obtain tangible results, it is necessary that the work should have been done by many. This apart, those persons who did the work have certainly had the full benefit. Those who have given up studies and those who have left practice have already acquired the reward of their virtuous action. Whatever may happen to the movement, what harm can come to the persons who have left these things? They will feel unhappy, of course, if they regret having left them. This is the reason why I have been saying that renunciation cannot be sustained without detachment. I never advised those who were not thoroughly disillusioned with this Government to join non-co-operation. This movement is holy because it is right even for one individual to go on with it. There is no need to pause or look for a co-worker before doing a meritorious deed; before committing a sin, one should consult a thousand astrologers and try to find thousands of companions. One must desist [from sin] even if time and friends oblige. Just as an individual will not be harmed through non-co-operation, so also the country as a whole will not be. I certainly did not abandon satyagraha half way. It assumed another form. As the people had not learnt to offer it in the form of civil disobedience, satyagraha in that form was stopped.[1] I believe that thereby India has profited beyond measure. I am sure that by stopping civil disobedience, I proved my understanding of satyagraha and showed my fitness as leader of the movement. It is because I had stopped civil disobedience that the Punjab has risen in prestige, despite Sir Michael O'Dwyer's determination to knock it down. My mention of going away to the Himalayas should be understood in the same way. It is my firm belief that the law of brute force followed in the West will not be relished by India, will not suit it. Suppose, nonetheless, India adopts it, I would then see no profit in living in the country. At such a time, residence in the Himalayas in solitude would seem heavenly to me. In employing brute force, the country would find no use for my services. It would also, then, send me away to the Himalayas with its blessings.

Is the Establishment of an Ideal Government Conceivable?

Q. You have said in *Navajivan* that a real *brahmachari* can exist only in our imagination. Cannot the same be said about an ideal government? Was there any such government in the past? And will there be any in the future?

[1] In 1919; *vide* Vol. XV.

A. Once the ideal is fully realized in practice, it ceases to be an ideal. Still we should go on, clinging to the ideal; else we would stumble and fall. The ideal straight line and the ideal right angle exist in imagination only. And yet, without the ideal line and the ideal right angle, the mason could not build a single house. Similarly, keeping in mind the ideal swaraj and the ideal means and trying to employ them, we shall win the right kind of swaraj in the shortest possible time.

The questions asked by the friend from Surat are over. His letter begins with a pleasant preface. There might seem occasional severity in the language of the questions, but I believe that the questions have been asked respectfully. The questioner has also given his name and address. I quote three from his concluding sentences:

> As a father forgives the wrongs of his son, so should be your attitude to me. In schools, teachers say that, if pupils have any difficulties, they should ask questions about them over and again; in like manner, we, as pupils, find it necessary to put you such questions. Please tear up the letter if you think the questions to be wrong or impertinent.

Behaviour of Students

The other letter is from a well-known writer from Ahmedabad. He has written it under the pseudonym "Swadeshi". It discusses five questions. One of them is about the advice I have given to students. This question has been discussed so often that continuing the discussion is likely to yield nothing new, and so I drop it. I would say only this that the students have not become arrogant and self-willed because of the advice I have given them. They were locked up in a cage; a bird which has just come out of a cage is bound to play a few pranks. One need not, for that reason, be satirical about them. There will be hardly anyone who knows, as well as I do, the students who have come out [of schools]. They have not dispensed with respectful manners. They are struggling against themselves, against society and against their parents, and have been fulfilling all the expectations that one can have of youngsters. There is no room in non-co-operation for show of disrespect. It is quite true, as this gentleman writes, that people act according to their nature. But there are two natures in man, one of Ahriman and the other of Ormuzd; the demoniac and the human; one loving truth and the other falsehood. I am convinced from experience that we do no violence to human nature to stress the aspect of truth, to pay attention only to the good, to go on asserting that man was an animal yesterday but has taken the human form today, is indeed human.

The other question relates to what he had heard about my having advised the teachers of private schools to repudiate their contracts. I have never given such advice to anybody.

UNCIVIL NON-CO-OPERATOR

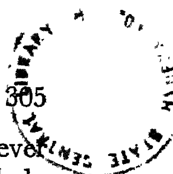
The third criticism is about a so-called non-co-operator who described a candidate for a Council as "the prince of donkeys". It pains me to have to say that there are non-co-operators who use such unbecoming words. But this is a heritage which has come down from a long time ago and, therefore, the habit will go only with effort. I know that there are many non-co-operators who are learning to control their language and their thoughts. The correspondent thinks that the use of such language has become second nature and that my efforts to combat it are likely to be in vain. My experience of thirty years teaches me something different.

WHY I HAVE BEEN WORKING FOR KHILAFAT SO SERIOUSLY

The fourth question is important. The gentleman writes:

> I cannot at all understand why you feel so much over the Khilafat issue. We are convinced that the Khilafat agitation is just a political weapon. Looking to the past, one feels that Hindus and Muslims will not remain united, no matter how many sacrifices are made. Unity is worth having, if it can be brought about and maintained. But I feel that it will not endure if dictated merely by self-interest. This is what many besides me believe. If, therefore, you tell us in an article why you feel so much about Khilafat, I and others of my way of thinking will be grateful to you.

I have discussed this question orally and in writing. However, believing it to be so important a question that there can never be too much discussion of it, I discuss it here. I place the Khilafat issue above all others. I discovered the weapon of non-co-operation in the form we know while thinking about the Khilafat. I feel very much about this issue because I am a staunch Hindu. If I wish to see my religion protected against seven crores of Muslims, I must be ready even to die for the protection of their religion. Similarly, for the Hindus as well freedom will remain a meaningless ideal until Hindus and Muslims develop unity of heart; till such time, cow-protection will remain an impossibility. I do not believe that the Muslims will betray us once their end has been achieved. Those who believe in religion do not betray anyone. I do not know of a single instance in history of a great sacrifice by the Hindus having gone unrewarded. What was done



before now was a kind of bargaining. There is no place whatever for bargaining in our dealings today. The Hindus should help the Muslims as a matter of duty and look to God for reward. They must not ask anything of the Muslims. I seldom mention the subject of cow-protection to the Ali Brothers. I have already published the conversation with Maulana Abdul Bari.[1] He knows, all the same, that I have not concealed my hope of being able to melt the hearts of Muslims, by dying for them, if need be. It is my conviction that God always rewards a good deed. My prayer is to God. I have sold myself to the Muslims without demanding a price and I ask each and every Hindu to do the same. This is no policy, but plain dealing. I would not have been ready to die for Muslims if their case had been weak. If, knowing their case to be absolutely just, I remained aloof through doubt or fear, my Hinduism would be disgraced and I would have failed in my duty as a neighbour.

I know that the Khilafat agitation is not a political weapon. It is the duty of all Muslims to defend the Khilafat. It is a different matter that Hindus may not regard it as their duty as well. The Muslims will not accept cow-protection as a religious duty. But all Muslims know that for the Hindus it is so. In the same way, all Hindus must know that to defend the Khilafat is a religious duty for the Muslims. I have great respect for the devotion of the Ali Brothers to their religion. They would not have become fakirs just for the sake of political benefits. Of course, fighting for the Khilafat will increase the power of Islam. It is no crime to rejoice at this. The Muslims cannot but be glad; and, if we wish that people of other faiths should be happy at the awakening of a new spirit in Hinduism and its regeneration, we Hindus should also be glad at the regeneration of Islam.

I hope that nobody will bring up here the history of the attempts by Guru Nanak[2] and Kabir[3] to unite Hindus and Muslims; for the effort today is not for uniting the religions, but for uniting hearts, despite the differences of religion. The efforts of Guru Nanak and others were towards uniting the two by showing the basic unity of all religions. The attempt today is for cultivation of tolerance. Its aim is to see that the orthodox Hindu remains what he is and yet respects an orthodox Muslim and sincerely

[1] For an account of this conversation, *vide* Vol. XVI, pp. 90-1.

[2] Founder of the Sikh religion

[3] A fourteenth-century poet and saint who had Hindu as well as Muslim followers

wishes him prosperity. This attempt is altogether new but it springs from an ideal which is at the very root of Hinduism.

Let us assume that the Muslims will betray us even after this effort. The fact remains that it will always be in the interests of both to maintain unity all the time. Let us assume, however, that the Muslims will turn against the Hindus once their immediate object, that concerning the Khilafat, is attained. If, because of that fear, we remain neutral today, what shall we gain thereby, except perpetuating our slavery under British rule? Suppose that, by our efforts today, the Khilafat is saved and freedom won, and that the Muslims then betray us; even so, what will it matter? Can the Muslims prevail against the 22 crore Hindus? Will their moral strength, their *tapashcharya* and the sacrifice the Hindus make today be of no help to them? But [it may be asked] what if the Muslims invite an outsider and fight us? Not impossible. Why should a brave man be afraid even of that? Our struggle today is for becoming self-reliant, free. Though but one, a man can face many with courage and refuse to budge from where he is standing. Even animals act thus when driven to such straits. The Arab children behave in this way. I have known Dutch children acting thus. This is no strength of the gods, but a common endowment of man. India cannot be free so long as there are not many Indians with this kind of strength. The Kshatriyas of the time of [Rana] Pratap had such fortitude. A Kshatriya does not mean one who can kill, but one who knows how to die. According to the definition given in the *Gita*, a Kshatriya means one who does not run away in fear, does not turn his back. There is no bargaining at all in the unity we have between Hindus and Muslims today. The title-deeds of our partnership are the nobility of either. This is friendship subject to no condition. It is a unilateral bond on either side. Such a partnership alone can be called a voluntary partnership. It is not broken simply by one side breaking it, though perhaps in a sense it may be. The law does not bind the party that breaks it, but love may bind even the person so breaking it.

> Hari has bound me to Him by a slender cord,
> As He pulls me so do I turn.
> My heart by love's dagger has been pierced.

Thus sang Mira[1] and proved by her actions that it was so. The same slender cord will suffice to bind the Muslims and to

[1] Medieval saint-poetess of Rajasthan

save the cow. Bhoja Bhagat[1], however, has described for us the conditions of love also:

> Devotion's way is a bargain, and one's head the price,
> Hard and steep is the way ahead.
> The test of love is in walking on the blade of a sword.

If a Hindu wishes to protect his religion, let him do that.

MALAVIYAJI AND SASTRIJI

The fifth question this friend has put thus:

> You are greatly mistaken in thinking that Malaviyaji and Sastriji do not feel as much as you do about the Punjab and the Khilafat issues.

He has followed this statement with some arguments. These proceed on the assumption that I have attacked these two veteran leaders. I assure him that that is not so at all. My regard for both of them remains what it was, and so does their love for me. To describe the actual position, I have merely cited the examples of two friends with whom I am closely connected. Impatient over the Punjab and the Khilafat issues, I have come forward to sacrifice my all. These two leaders are ready to tolerate the humiliation on both these scores. If anyone chooses to call this practical good sense, I would not quarrel. To me, one's actions are the test of one's feelings. I do not wish to win more admiration by claiming that I feel more, nor do I wish to lower Malaviyaji and Sastriji in people's esteem in the least measure by asserting that they feel less.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 30-1-1921

151. SPEECH AT BELUR MATH[2]

January 30, 1921

Mr. Gandhi was requested by the people to deliver a speech. He agreed and wanted to know if they wanted to hear him in English or in Hindi and asked them to raise their hands. Many raised their hands wishing him to speak in English. He said that it pained him much that they did not understand Hindi, the language of their own country. He then asked how many of them

[1] Medieval Gujarati poet

[2] Delivered on the birth anniversary of Swami Vivekananda at Belur Math, the headquarters of the Ramakrishna Mission, near Calcutta

wanted to hear him in Hindi. A good many also raised their hands in favour of Hindi. He then spoke in Hindi and asked all to learn Hindi. He began by saying that he bore great respect for late Swami Vivekananda[1]. He had studied many of his books and said that his ideals agreed in many respects with that great man. If Vivekananda were alive it would have been a great help for their national awakening. However his spirit was amongst them and that they should do their best to establish swaraj. He said that they should learn to love their country before anything else and they should be of one mind. He asked all to use swadeshi clothes and to take to charkha and give up drinking of liquor. He said that the police were reported to be oppressive. He asked the police not to do any *zoolum*[2] over the ryots who were their own countrymen. He wanted to tell the police and the army to do their job but not to interfere with the work which they were doing for the country. The police were not the servants of the Government but the servants of their countrymen. He did not want them to give up their jobs but asked them to remain prepared to obey such a call which might be given to them in proper time. He also asked the audience not to seek for Government service but to try to live independent lives. He advised them to keep that idea always before their mind. He also spoke about the national school in Calcutta and said that he had funds with him for opening other schools.

Records of Intelligence Branch, I.G.P., West Bengal

152. SPEECH AT MIRZAPUR SQUARE, CALCUTTA[3]

February 1, 1921

Mr Gandhi at the outset wanted to know if the majority of the audience were students. When he was informed that it was largely attended by students and a few parents and guardians, he said he was much pleased. He said that swaraj could be attained in the course of eight months or within a year if they were strictly non-violent throughout. If they were not non-violent, he was afraid he would not be successful in this movement, but he believed that he had great confidence in them. He did not want the brute force, but he wanted to acquire soul-force and to win swaraj by the latter force. In this

[1] 1863-1902; founder of the Ramakrishna Mission

[2] Oppression

[3] The meeting was held under the presidentship of Bipinchandra Pal to express disappointment at the Mont-ford Reforms, on the day of the inauguration by the Duke of Connaught of the Reformed Bengal Legislative Council. Similar meetings were held at Wellington Square and six other places in Calcutta. Gandhiji, Mahomed Ali and Motilal Nehru were present at all these meetings held on February 1.

connection he incidentally mentioned that to lie prostrate before a running motor-car would be an act of violence. If they wanted a real democracy, they should not use this sort of violence. It mattered little if the Councillors or the lawyers did not withdraw but it would be a death-blow to the attainment of swaraj if they were not non-violent.

Turning to the question of the spinning-wheel, which Mr. Gandhi had been advising his countrymen to take to, he said if they really wanted to save 60 crores of rupees which were being drained out of their country every year, he hoped that every home would have such a wheel. Mr. Gandhi next appealed for help and said that he had received large contributions that day. It was the chief object of the meeting to collect funds and in this direction he hoped that his appeal in every meeting that afternoon would have a ready response.

Amrita Bazar Patrika, 2-2-1921

153. SPEECH AT WELLINGTON SQUARE, CALCUTTA[1]

February 1, 1921

Mr. Gandhi then speaking in Hindi said that they had already heard what had happened in Calcutta in the morning and what their duty should be. It had been said that the Council was their own and the members were their representatives. He wanted to say that the Council was not theirs and the members were not their representatives. They should not take any political help from these members. If they believed that the Council had no representative character, if they wanted to attain swaraj they would have to do a lot of things. The task before them was a difficult one. If they thought that they had done their duty by passing resolutions in meetings then it would have no effect. What should they do then? The question had been answered many a time. They should all adopt non-violent non-co-operation. If they could not spread the idea of non-violent non-co-operation throughout the land it would be impossible for them to attain swaraj. Let them leave their schools and colleges and law courts. Those who had surrendered their titles, left schools, colleges and law courts, should not go there again. They should go to others and ask them to do as they had done. Mr. Gandhi then spoke at length about the importance of non-violence in their non-co-operation movement. If they did not indulge in violence the Government would have no opportunity to use force on them and in spite of the great power of the Government the victory would be theirs. When the people would become fully impressed about the importance of non-violence then only he might ask the people to stop paying taxes and the

[1] Delivered at a meeting held under the presidentship of Abul Kalam Azad

soldiers to lay down their arms. He regretted that during the hartal on Friday[1] some students stood on public roads and interfered with some people. He was sorry that some students lay in front of Calcutta University to prevent others from appearing at the examination. This should not have been done. They should not give anyone any chance of saying anything against them. Mr. Gandhi then spoke about the importance of the spinning-wheel in their struggle for swaraj and asked all of them to take to it.

Amrita Bazar Patrika, 2-2-1921

154. LETTER TO DUKE OF CONNAUGHT[2]

[Before *February 2, 1921*]

SIR,

Your Royal Highness must have heard a great deal about non-co-operation, non-co-operationists and their methods and incidentally of me, its humble author. I fear that the information given to Your Royal Highness must have been in its nature one-sided. I owe it to you, to my friends and myself that I should place before you what I conceive to be the scope of non-co-operation as followed not only by me but my closest associates such as Messrs Shaukat Ali and Mahomed Ali.

For me it is no joy and pleasure to be actively associated in the boycott of Your Royal Highness's visit. I have tendered loyal, voluntary assistance to the Government for an unbroken period of nearly 30 years in the full belief that through that lay the path of freedom for my country. It was, therefore, no slight thing for me to suggest to my countrymen that we should take no part in welcoming Your Royal Highness. Not one amongst us has anything against you as an English gentleman. We hold your person as sacred as that of a dearest friend. I do not know any of my friends who would not guard it with his life if he found it in danger.

We are not at war with individual Englishmen. We seek not to destroy English life. We do desire to destroy the system that has emasculated our country in body, mind and soul. We are determined to battle with all our might against that in English nature which has made O'Dwyerism and Dyerism possible in the Pun-

[1] That is, on January 28, 1921, when the Duke of Connaught arrived in Calcutta; the hartal referred to was observed by the citizens to signify a complete boycott of the Duke's visit.

[2] This was published in *Young India* and other newspapers, the earliest available publication being in *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, 2-2-1921.

jab and has resulted in a wanton affront upon Islam, a faith professed by seven crores of our countrymen. We consider it inconsistent with our self-respect any longer to brook the spirit of superiority and dominance which has systematically ignored and disregarded the sentiments of thirty crores of innocent people of India on many a vital matter. It is humiliating to us. It cannot be a matter of pride to you that thirty crores of Indians should live day in and day out in fear of their lives from one hundred thousand Englishmen and, therefore, be under subjection to them.

Your Royal Highness has come, not to end the system I described, but to sustain it by upholding its prestige. Your first pronouncement was a laudation of Lord Willingdon. I have the privilege of knowing him. I believe him to be an honest, amiable gentleman, who will not willingly hurt even a fly, but he certainly failed as a ruler. He allowed himself to be guided by those whose interest it was to support their power. He is not reading the mind of the Dravidian province[1]. Here, in Bengal, you are issuing a certificate of merit to a Governor[2] who is again, from all I have heard, an estimable gentleman, but who knows nothing of the heart of Bengal and its yearnings. Bengal is not Calcutta; Fort William and the palaces of Calcutta represent an insolent exploitation of the unmurmuring and highly cultured peasantry of this fair province.

The non-co-operationists have come to the conclusion that they must not be deceived by the reforms that tinker with the problem of India's distress and humiliation, nor must they be impatient and angry. We must not in our impatient anger resort to stupid violence. We freely admit that we must take our due share of blame for the existing state. It is not so much British guns that are responsible for our subjection as our voluntary co-operation.

Our non-participation in a hearty welcome to Your Royal Highness is thus in no sense a demonstration against your high personage, but it is against the system you come to uphold. I know individual Englishmen cannot, even if they will, alter the English nature all of a sudden. If we would be the equals of Englishmen we must cast off fear. We must learn to be self-reliant and independent of schools, courts, protection and patronage of a Government we seek to end if it will not mend.

Hence this non-violent non-co-operation. I know we have not all yet become non-violent in speech and deed, but the results

[1] Madras

[2] Lord Ronaldshay

so far achieved have, I assure Your Royal Highness, been amazing. The people have understood the secret and value of non-violence as they have never done before. He who will may see that this is a religious, purifying movement. We are leaving off drink. We are trying to rid India of the curse of untouchability. We are trying to throw off foreign tinsel splendour and, by reverting to the spinning-wheel, reviving the ancient and poetic simplicity of life. We hope thereby to sterilize the existing harmful institutions.

I ask Your Royal Highness as an Englishman to study this movement and its possibilities for the Empire and the world. We are at war with nothing that is good in the world. In protecting Islam in the manner we are, we are protecting all religions; in protecting the honour of India, we are protecting the honour of humanity. For our means are hurtful to none. We desire to live on terms of friendship with Englishmen, but that friendship must be friendship of equals both in theory and in practice, and we must continue to non-co-operate, i.e., to purify ourselves till the goal is achieved. I ask Your Royal Highness, and through you every Englishman, to appreciate the viewpoint of non-co-operation.

I beg to remain, etc.,
M. K. GANDHI

Young India, 9-2-1921

155. NOTES

SWARAJ SABHA

Apropos of reorganization, the question has been asked as to what is to become of Swaraj Sabhas, Home Rule Leagues, etc. In my opinion their institutional activity, for the time being, should be swaraj activity.

PATIENCE WANTED

The construction of an organization such as I have adumbrated means patience. In their zeal, I understand, certain workers in Bihar, with a view to bring about a reduction of prices, began to intimidate shopkeepers and are said to have used my name for that purpose. Such exhibition of force will defeat the end we have in view. If shopkeepers are not dealing honestly we must reason with them, and if they will not listen, we must set up national shops for the purpose of supplying cheap grain. As a matter of fact the grain traders, being so many, are ill able to charge

exorbitant prices. In any case, the grain dealers, too, have got to be purified. They must be induced to introduce honesty and concern for the nation into their dealings.

Awakening in Bihar

But these excesses will sometimes happen when a great revival is taking place. Fortunately, the leaders were able immediately to deal with the situation, and, probably, nobody even knows anything about the incident except those immediately concerned. Bihar is silently, but surely, organizing itself. Babu Rajendra Prasad has become the Principal of a National College[1] which has some able professors on its staff, and their institution is making steady headway. The professors are mostly volunteers drawing just enough for a livelihood.

Sitting "Dharna"

Some students of Calcutta have revived the ancient form of barbarity in the form of sitting *dharna*[2]. Fortunately, the practice was stopped as soon as it was revived. They blocked the passage of their fellow students who wanted to go to the University for paying their fees or to see some officials of the educational department. I call it 'barbarity' for it is a crude way of using coercion. It is also cowardly because one who sits *dharna* knows that he is not going to be trampled over. It is difficult to call the practice violent but it is certainly worse. If we fight our opponent we at least enable him to return the blow. But when we challenge him to walk over us, *knowing* that he will not, we place him in a most awkward and humiliating position. I know that the overzealous students who sat *dharna* never thought of the barbarity of the deed. But one who is expected to follow the voice of conscience and stand even single-handed in the face of odds cannot afford to be thoughtless. Non-co-operation, if it fails, will fail only through internal weakness. There is no such thing as defeat in non-co-operation. It never fails. Its so called representatives may so badly represent their cause that it may appear to the spectators to have failed. Let non-co-operationists therefore beware of everything they do. There must be no impatience, no barbarity, no insolence, no undue pressure. If we want to cultivate a true spirit of democracy, we cannot afford to be intolerant. Intolerance betrays want of faith in one's cause.

[1] At Patna, in Bihar

[2] Exerting moral pressure by sitting at one spot and going without food or water

The Need for Hindustani

I have ventured to advise every student to devote this year of our trial to the manufacture of yarn and learning Hindustani. I am thankful to the Calcutta students that they have taken kindly to the suggestion. Bengal and Madras are the two provinces that are cut off from the rest of India for want of a knowledge of Hindustani on their part—Bengal, because of its prejudice against learning any other language of India, and Madras, because of the difficulty of the Dravidians about picking up Hindustani. An average Bengali can really learn Hindustani in two months if he gave it three hours per day and a Dravidian in six months at the same rate. Neither a Bengali nor a Dravidian can hope to achieve the same result with English in the same time. A knowledge of English opens up intercourse only with the comparatively few English-knowing Indians, whereas a passable knowledge of Hindustani enables us to hold intercourse with the largest number of our countrymen. I do hope the Bengalis and the Dravidians will come to the next Congress[1] with a workable knowledge of Hindustani. Our greatest assembly cannot be a real object-lesson to the masses unless it speaks to them in a language which the the largest number can understand. I appreciate the difficulty with the Dravidians, but nothing is difficult before their industrious love for the Motherland.

The Place of English

Alongside of my suggestion about Hindustani has been the advice that the students should, during the transition period from inferiority to equality—from foreign domination to swaraj, from helplessness to self-help—suspend their study of English. If we wish to attain swaraj before the next Congress, we must believe in the possibility, we must do all that we are capable of doing for its advancement, and one must do nothing that would not advance it or would actually retard it. Now adding to our knowledge of English cannot accelerate our progress towards our goal and it can conceivably retard it. The latter calamity is a reality in many cases for there are many who believe that we cannot acquire the spirit of freedom without the music of the English words ringing in our ears and sounding through our lips. This is an infatuation. If it were the truth, swaraj would be as distant as the Greek Kalends. English is a language of international commerce, it is the language of diplomacy, it contains many a rich literary

[1] To be held at Ahmedabad in December 1921

treasure, and it gives us an introduction to Western thought and culture. For a few of us, therefore, a knowledge of English is necessary. They can carry on the departments of national commerce and international diplomacy, and for giving to the nation the best of Western literature, thought, and science. That would be the legitimate use of English. Whereas today English has usurped the dearest place in our hearts and dethroned our mother tongues. It is an unnatural place due to our unequal relations with Englishmen. The highest development of the Indian mind must be possible without a knowledge of English. It is doing violence to the manhood and specially the womanhood of India to encourage our boys and girls to think that an entry into the best society is impossible without a knowledge of English. It is too humiliating a thought to be bearable. To get rid of the infatuation for English is one of the essentials of swaraj.

My 'Stable Companion'

Commander Wedgwood has not done justice to himself in his article in the *Nation*. I am afraid that he wrote without a proper study of facts and persons. I do not wish to deal with inaccuracies concerning myself. But his ignorance of Maulana Shaukat Ali is amazing. He does not understand the secret of the power of Maulana Shaukat Ali who is one of the sincerest of men I have had the privilege of meeting. I do not believe that he hates Englishmen —or anybody for that matter. He certainly loves his religion as life itself. He does believe in non-violence, though he believes equally in violence. If he cannot secure honourable terms for the Khilafat by means of non-violence, and if he finds that he can usefully lead his people on the path of violence, he will do so. If ever he thinks it necessary to offer violence he will do it on terms that the world will consider beyond reproach. His conviction about non-violence is not only not "skin-deep" but is derived from the life of the Prophet. He is enjoined to refrain from violence so long as it is possible to attain his purpose by non-violent means. Col. Wedgwood's article would almost show that Maulana Shaukat Ali is simply thirsting for blood. Surely he should know that a soldier, although he believes in violence, may still be credited with qualities of the heart, viz., kindness, charity, and benevolence. I assure him that Maulana Shaukat Ali is as good a soldier as the gallant Colonel himself. I have entered upon this reply because I am anxious that Englishmen should not misjudge the Ali Brothers and the Muslim attitude. The Ali Brothers have rendered a service to humanity by restraining

themselves and their fellow religionists when their passions might have got the better of them. And this amazing self-restraint is a most eloquent demonstration of their intense religious faith. It saddens me when I find Englishmen, even like Col. Wedgwood, rushing to conclusions. Nothing retards a peaceful settlement as this refusal on the part of Englishmen to see things as they are.

Young India, 2-2-1921

156. *THE DUTY OF SPINNING*

In "The Secret of Swaraj" I have endeavoured to show what home-spinning means for our country.[1] In any curriculum of the future, spinning must be a compulsory subject. Just as we cannot live without breathing and without eating, so is it impossible for us to attain economic independence and banish pauperism from this ancient land without reviving home-spinning. I hold the spinning-wheel to be as much a necessity in every household as the hearth. No other scheme that can be devised will ever solve the problem of the deepening poverty of the people. How then can spinning be introduced in every home? I have already suggested the introduction of spinning and systematic production of yarn in every national school. Once our boys and girls have learnt the art they can easily carry it to their homes.

But this requires organization. A spinning-wheel must be worked for twelve hours per day. A practised spinner can spin two tolas and a half per hour. The price that is being paid at present is on an average four annas per forty tolas or one pound of yarn, i.e., one pice per hour. Each wheel therefore should give three annas per day. A strong one costs seven rupees. Working, therefore, at the rate of twelve hours per day it can pay for itself in less than 38 days. I have given enough figures to work upon. Anyone working at them will find the results to be startling.

If every school introduced spinning, it would revolutionize our ideas of financing education. We can work a school for six hours per day and give free education to the pupils. Supposing a boy works at the wheel for four hours daily, he will produce every day 10 tolas of yarn and thus earn for his school one anna per day. Suppose further that he manufactures very little during the first month, and that the school works only twenty six days in the month. He can earn after the first month Rs. 1-10-0 per month. A

[1] *Vide* "The Secret of Swaraj", 19-1-1921.

class of thirty boys would yield, after the first month, an income of Rs. 48-12 per month.

I have said nothing about literary training. It can be given during the two hours out of the six. It is easy to see that every school can be made self-supporting without much effort and the nation can engage experienced teachers for its schools.

The chief difficulty in working out the scheme is the spinning-wheel. We require thousands of wheels if the art becomes popular. Fortunately, every village carpenter can easily construct the machine. It is a serious mistake to order them from the Ashram or any other place. The beauty of spinning is that it is incredibly simple, easily learnt, and can be cheaply introduced in every village.

The course suggested by me is intended only for this year of purification and probation. When normal times are reached and swaraj is established one hour only may be given to spinning and the rest to literary training.

Young India, 2-2-1921

157. REORGANIZATION OF PROVINCES: THE NEW CONSTITUTION

It is to be hoped that the different provinces have begun to reorganize themselves in terms of the new constitution[1]. There is not a moment to lose if we are to attain swaraj within one year. Below will be found the rules[2] adopted by Gujarat for reorganizing the province on the new basis. They are published for general guidance. They show that it is convenient to treat talukas as units for returning delegates and electing members of the Provincial Congress Committee. That Committee is to consist of 100 members of whom 90 will be directly elected and these will elect ten more so as to ensure representation of minorities and other interests—if the general body of electors have omitted to do so. There should not be a single village left without a Congress organization and no village register should be without a single adult male or female on it[3]. This means honest and industrious workers. When millions have voluntarily joined the Congress, the forced orga-

[1] *Vide* pp. 190-8.
[2] Not reproduced here
[3] "Not on it" in the source.

nization of the Government must fall to pieces. I consider the Government organization to be forced because it is based on fear and not on hope. The *Patel* or the *Mukhi*[1] is not a man executing the will of the villagers but he imposes on them the will of a Government which has nothing in common with the people.

Young India, 2-2-1921

158. LETTER TO A FRIEND[2]

148, RUSSA ROAD,
CALCUTTA,
February 2, 1921

DEAR FRIEND,

I have heard that you have gone on hunger strike at not finding sufficient response from your neighbours to the call of non-co-operation. Whilst your action shows the purity of your heart and the spirit of sacrifice, in my opinion, it is hasty and possibly thoughtless. Fasting for the purpose of showing one's displeasure or disappointment can hardly be justified. Its basis must be penance or purification. I would therefore strongly advise you to stop fasting and devote yourself to organizing those parts of the country where you are known. We must not put pressure of the kind contemplated by your fast in order to bring people round to our point of view. We must give to everyone the same freedom of action and speech that we claim for ourselves.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary. Courtesy: Narayan Desai

[1] The village headman
[2] The name of the addressee is not known.

159. SPEECH AT OPENING OF NATIONAL COLLEGE, CALCUTTA[1]

February 4, 1921

FRIENDS,

You have just now heard the beautiful prayer[2] sung by the students over there, and I hope that all of you will ponder over the magnificent language of that prayer.[3] If we will base all our acts in this institution on prayer, I have very little doubt that we shall come through with added glory to ourselves and to our country. I have had the privilege, during these few months, of opening several institutions in several parts of India. But I must confess to you that, in opening no other institution have I been so weighed down with anxiety and fear as I am in performing the opening ceremony in connection with this institution. As I have elsewhere remarked, all the eyes, all the attention of the student world are centred upon Calcutta. You have seen so many telegrams reproduced in the Press, I have seen many more telegrams not reproduced in the Press, congratulating the students on the magnificent response to the country's call. You may have also noticed that as a result of your response the students all over India are withdrawing themselves from Government institutions. Great, therefore, is your responsibility and the responsibility of the professors and teachers connected with this institution, of Mr. Das and myself also. For myself, I can only assure you that my prayers will attend all your efforts in making this institution a success. But I know that no prayer that I can offer, no prayer that our clearer hearts can offer, can be of the slightest service unless the students approach their task in humility and in their fear of God,

[1] The college, housed in a spacious building in Wellington Square, was established by the Board of Education formed by C. R. Das, J. L. Banerjea and others.

[2] A hymn from the *Gita* sung at the commencement of the opening ceremony

[3] The report in *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, 5-2-1921, begins thus: "Mr. Gandhi, in declaring the College open, said that he was exceedingly grieved that their good friend and brother Sj. Chittaranjan Das was not present as he was not well enough to attend the gathering, although it was his intention that he should be present at the opening. Mr. J. L. Banerjea had told them what they were to expect in the institution. They had just heard the beautiful prayer sung by the students and he hoped that all of them would ponder over the magnificent nature of that prayer."

with perseverance, with single-mindedness and with love and a devotion for the country in whose name and for whose sake they have abandoned Government institutions. It is not a light task for a student expecting certificates of high merit, expecting a great career in his own estimation. It is no light task for a student with all these expectations to surrender them in the hope that he is rendering a service to the country and therefore a service to himself. Personally I have not the slightest doubt about it. I hope you will never have to regret the day that you left Government institutions. But I know also that you must have to regret the day if you will not use your time usefully, if you have left under the impulse of moment as so many of our leaders who mean well of the country have already expressed their fears. Let me hope that you will falsify their fears.

You will at the end of the year so discharge yourselves that those who are today filled with doubts may come forward with an expression of opinion that their doubts were misplaced. Let me not conceal from you, the students of Calcutta, what certificate Indians in other parts of India give to you. Many of the students and many grown-up men also, who have talked to me about your movement have expressed a sense of nervous fear. You have been credited with a great deal of emotion, you have been credited with a great deal of impulsiveness but you have not been credited with the same amount of perseverance and industry.

You are embarking upon a new career. You are turning over a new leaf. You are shouldering a great responsibility. You are counting yourselves among the makers of India of the future. And if you realize this responsibility, I have no doubt, you will dispel all these fears which have been expressed in other parts of India. Those who know Bengal well are in the position also to testify that Bengalis on many an occasion have not been found wanting; and for my part I shall certainly decline to believe that those students who have responded and who will join this institution will be found wanting. I shall hope also that the professors and the teachers will prove true to their trust. What I said in all humility to the professors and teachers at the time of performing the opening ceremony of the Gujarat National College[1], I am tempted to repeat here; that the success and failure of this institution will very largely depend upon the honest exertion that the professors and teachers may put forth. At this critical moment in the

[1] At Ahmedabad, on November 15, 1920; *vide* Vol. XVIII, pp. 463-8.

history of our dear country every one of us, who intends to mould the young mind of the country, has a serious responsibility, and if the professors and the teachers are found alseep, if they are overtaken with doubt, if they are overtaken with fear as to the future, God help the students who come under their charge. And I shall pray to the Almighty that he may bless the professors and teachers with wisdom, with courage, with faith and hope.

I have in one of my speeches told the students that whilst they might go on with the course that they have mapped out for themselves they must not interfere with others. You have perhaps read the paragraph that appeared in the newspaper today with reference to Barisal[1]. I do not know whether it is an exaggerated account of what had happened there. I do not care whether it is an exaggeration, and whether it is an understatement, but it furnishes a lesson for you and for me that we must on no account resort to violence, that we must on no account exert undue pressure. And as I said at one of the meetings day before yesterday, I hope that the students will not sit *dharna*—they will not exercise any pressure whatsoever upon those students who would not come out of the schools and colleges. It is sufficient that those who feel it is sinful to belong to these institutions ought to come out of them. If we have sufficient faith in ourselves we shall remain steadfast although not a single other student responds to the call. It does betray want of faith in our own mission when you become impatient. And if we are impatient we begin to compel others to do what we have done. I hope no one of the students who will belong to this institution will be filled with any such doubt as to the correctness of his conduct.

I hope also that when I renew your acquaintance a month hence, as I hope I shall be able to do, you will not call upon me to address you any longer in English but that you will have mastered sufficient Hindustani to be able to understand whatever message I might have to give to you in our national common language. I assure you when you approach your study of Hindustani some of you will find it simple and easy. To some of you the words will seem perfectly natural, because the vocabulary is common to Bengali, Hindi and most of the Indian languages, barring the Dravidian stock. You will find also it will feed your intellect and it will satisfy all the intellectual requirements of intellectual Bengal. And if you want to go in for literature, I promise you will find treasures hidden both in Hindi and Urdu

[1] Town in Bengal

whatever scripts you take up—and whatever books you take up first. You talk of the poverty of Hindi literature—you talk of the poverty of today's Hindi, but if you dive deep into the pages of Tulsidas, probably you will share my opinion that there is no other book that stands equal to it in the literature of the world in modern languages. That one book has given me faith and hope which no other book has given. I think that it is a book which can stand any criticism and any scrutiny alike in literary grace, in metaphor and in religious fervour.

I hope also that when I come back you will have made sufficient progress in making yarn and have it woven by some village weaver for your own use. But I hope that you will be able to give sufficient proof of what wonders you have performed in spinning and I hope you will be able to share with me the same poetry and the same intellectual treat that I find in spinning if you spin with faith and hope with reference to the future of India. I hope also that your professors and teachers will give their lectures through Bengali, and I hope that, all the knowledge that you have acquired in your Government institutions, you will translate for yourselves in Bengali and that you will be able to find equivalent expressions for the richest thought that you have learnt from English poets and from English literature.

I hope also that you will approach your task with a religious faith. If this movement of ours is not religious I am free to confess to you that this movement will not only fail but it will discredit us. It is a new method of applying ourselves to the task and if we consider that we can solve the problem of India by bringing some changes only upon the old methods, we shall be doomed to disappointment. If you approach the task with the same religious fervour for which Bengal is noted, I know you will find that swaraj is within easy reach. May God help you. May God help the professors, and may God give you the strength that our friend Srijut Chittaranjan Das needs. I have much pleasure in declaring this institution open.

Young India, 9-2-1921

160. TELEGRAM TO JAIRAMDAS DAULATRAM

JHARIA,
February 5, 1921

SEEMS IMPOSSIBLE VISIT SIND FOR TWO MONTHS.[1] SO LONG COLLEGE REMAINS NATIONAL WE NEED NOT INTERFERE. GIRDHARI[2] MAY STAY IF HE LIKES WORK.

Bombay Secret Abstracts, 1921, p.176

161. LETTER TO DEVDAS GANDHI

Saturday [February 5, 1921][3]

CHI. DEVDAS,

I got your letters. I hardly get time for sleep; how then could I write to you?

I think you had better stay on there for the present. Ba will also feel happy. You will be able to solve some of the difficulties of the Ashram. Besides, I do want that you should have some experience there and acquire proficiency in carding and spinning. Accompanying me at present are Jamnadas, the Doctor and Prabhudas. And Surendra will come and join us today. I do not understand why he has come away from Rangoon; Prabhudas, however, saw him in Patna yesterday. There are likely to be two further additions to these, Parasram and a Bengali whom the Professor[4] wants to entrust [to me]. He believes that the man is competent enough to be useful for *Young India.* You would get lost in all this company and I wouldn't know what to do. I have been thinking of reducing the number somewhat. I believe it is all to the good that things have so chanced that you have had to go there. Either you alone can fill your place, or anyone can. No person can fill another's place and no one is indispensable.

[1] Gandhiji went to Sind in the last week of April 1921.

[2] Girdhari Kripalani, nephew of J. B. Kripalani

[3] As stated in the last paragraph, Gandhiji wrote this letter in the train on his way to Bihar. After touring Bengal, in 1921, Gandhiji arrived in Dhanbad, in Bihar, on February 5, which fell on a Saturday, and he was in Patna on February 6 to inaugurate a National University for Bihar.

[4] J. B. Kripalani

I at any rate have cultivated this attitude. It is good to cultivate the virtue of detachment.

Mrs. Joseph[1] will now definitely go to Prayag[2], and that will be right. It seems they will not arrest Joseph in the immediate future. I wonder if you will have to accompany Mrs. Joseph when she returns.

I should like you to study every aspect of the Ashram. I shall be sending you a wire today. I am writing this letter in the train. We are on our way to Bihar. The Doctor and Prabhudas were left in Gaya. They will be going to Patna from there. We shall meet tomorrow morning.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : S.N. 7605

162. *THE SPINNING-WHEEL MOVEMENT*

The spinning-wheel movement appears to be making good progress. I see that there is demand for spinning-wheels from many places. But we would get lost again if people want spinning-wheels to be manufactured in one place only.

This movement is as easy to carry on as it is likely to be rewarding. It will be rewarding because it is easy. The spinning-wheel is such an ordinary thing that it can be made in any village. Every one of its parts can be manufactured in a village which has a carpenter and a blacksmith. The population being 30 crores, if we count one home for every ten persons the number comes to three crore homes. A lover of swaraj can have peace only when the country has three crore spinning-wheels. If all these spinning-wheels are to be manufactured only in one place, the work cannot go ahead.

There are 750,000 villages in India, and so this work will spread out in so many villages. The villages are grouped into two hundred and fifty districts. If, therefore, we have one man in every district to take up this work, the movement can spread in every part of the country. The work will make progress only if the worker in each district can supply spinning-wheels to his own district, or show the people the way to produce them.

[1] Wife of George Joseph, a barrister of Madurai
[2] Allahabad

The fact that all demands for spinning-wheels are addressed to the Ashram shows that we have not yet started working among the artisan classes. We have to arouse interest in the swaraj movement in every one of the many communities in every village. As we are slowly getting out of the delusion that only those who have had English education can conduct the movement of swaraj, so also shall we have to forget the idea that only politicians can do justice to this work.

The first training we need is that for swaraj. It has to be imparted to all, to children and to aged people, to men and to women, to the people of all communities and faiths. Literacy is not essential for the purpose. We have to destroy this Satanic rule. It is not for our good. The means we use to destroy it is peaceful non-co-operation. Non-co-operation means co-operation among ourselves. Co-operation among ourselves means the desire and the strength to become free. The most effective means of acquiring the strength to satisfy this desire is the spinning-wheel. So much can be explained to everyone in a short while.

We should, therefore, engage our carpenters, blacksmiths, cobblers, farmers and others in this work. The artisans built the Swaminarayana temple[1] free. Rich men donated money for it. Why should not the artisans devoted to swaraj build the temple of swaraj free? Labourers can donate their labour and rich people their wealth. Only a few persons are needed for rousing such a spirit, but these must be honest men of service.

At present, all this work is being done among a class of people who are cripples. It is my firm belief that we, the educated class, have become cripples in so far as winning swaraj is concerned. We have realized that swaraj cannot be won by talking, by making speeches and applications or by leading deputations to England, but it is only now we have begun to see that swaraj means devotion to one's dharma, that it can be won only through courage and self-sacrifice. We have now to spread this idea widely. The day it becomes widespread, swaraj will be ours. If we are after this work, it can be done in a year. That is why I have been saying that it is possible to get swaraj in a year's time.

However, this article is about the spinning-wheel. Working for swaraj means introducing a spinning-wheel in every home and persuading people to spin on it.

[1] In Vadtal

Instead of asking me to send spinning-wheels, people should get them made in their own villages.

Thanks to our fear and lack of information, it takes us time to find spinning-wheels. There are some in every province, lying in obscure places. Every person should search for one in his own village or street. If he finds any, he should seek out a carpenter. The latter will probably know how to make others. If all attempts to find a spinning-wheel fail, one may be ordered for use as a model and with it we may get others made.

But our securing a spinning-wheel will not by itself mean production of yarn. Securing a spinning-wheel is only the first step. Slivers will be required. For this purpose, we shall have to find a carder and beg him for his services. He, too, will have to be taught the lesson of swaraj.

These suggestions have been made time and again, but they need to be repeated either in the same words or in different words because we have still not acquired efficiency and skill.

Just as there are demands for spinning-wheels, so also there are for khadi. Once yarn of good quality is being produced, enough khadi can be made to spread over the whole country.

Yarn must be in fact yarn. Any sort of thread drawn out will not be accepted as yarn. Yarn is what can be woven [into cloth]. It should be properly twisted, should have no loose fibre and should be of one unbroken length. There should be no particles of broken cotton seeds or leaves sticking to the yarn.

The spinning-wheel has spread so widely in Gujarat that, with a little more faith, khadi worth a crore of rupees can be produced in a year in this province alone. This would mean a crore of rupees brought into the homes of the poor in Gujarat and that without increasing vice; for, when the poor are enabled to earn so that they have enough to eat, the result is always auspicious.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 6-2-1921

163. WHO IS A "SANATANI" HINDU?

It has been asked why I call myself an orthodox *sanatani* Hindu and why I regard myself as a *Vaishnava*. I think I should answer these questions.

The answer will cover the definition of a *sanatani* Hindu and include a complete description of a *Vaishnava*.

According to my belief, a Hindu is anyone who, born in a Hindu family in India, accepts the Vedas, the *upanishads* and the *puranas* as holy books; who has faith in the five *yamas* of truth, non-violence, etc., and practises them to the best of his ability; who believes in the existence of the *atman*[1] and the *paramatman*[2], and believes, further, that the *atman* is never born and never dies but, through incarnation in the body, passes from existence to existence and is capable of attaining *moksha*; who believes that *moksha* is the supreme end of human striving and believes in *varnashrama* and cow-protection. Whoever, besides believing in all these, has been born in a family belonging to the *Vaishnava* sect and has not forsaken the *Vaishnava* way; who possesses in some measure the qualities described in Narasinh Mehta's devotional song entitled "Vaishnavajana" and strives to cultivate these qualities in perfection is a *Vaishnava*. It is my firm belief that I possess in a large measure the characteristics described by me and I have been striving to strengthen them. I do not, therefore, hesitate to call myself with all firmness, though humbly, a strict *sanatani* Hindu and a *Vaishnava*. I believe that the most important outward form of Hinduism is cow-protection. I regard the Hindu world as mpotent because at present not a single Hindu is capablc of giving that protection. Among these impotent people, I believe myself to be the least impotent. I do not believe that there can be anybody else who has systematically exerted himself as much as I have done, and am still doing, for the protection of cows or who feels for the cow and its progeny as much as I do. As long as the Hindus in India show no kindness to the cow, as long as they themselves torture cattle in many ways, as long as they have not succeeded in winning the regard of Muslims and persuading them to stop, out of their regard, the slaughter of cows and as long as they tolerate the killing of cows by the English and salute the

[1] Self

[2] Supreme Self

British flag, I shall believe that the Brahmin and the Kshatriya spirit has vanished from Hinduism. Therefore, though born a Vaisya, I am ever active in the duties of both.

I believe that the essence of Hinduism is truth and non-violence. I have not seen anyone among those whom I know respecting truth so scrupulously as I have been doing right from my childhood. The active manifestation of non-violence is love—absence of ill will. I firmly believe that I am overflowing with love. I have not felt ill will against anyone even in a dream. I entertain no such feeling towards Dyer, his wicked deeds notwithstanding. Wherever I have seen misery or injustice, I have felt troubled in my soul.

The central principle of Hinduism is that of *moksha*. I am ever striving for it. All my activities are for *moksha*. I have as much faith in the existence of the *atman* and in its immortality as I am certain of the existence of my body and its transience.

For these reasons, I am happy to declare myself a staunch *sanatani* Hindu.

If anybody asks me whether I have made any deep study of the shastras, I would say that I have and I have not. I have not studied them from a scholar's point of view. My knowledge of Sanskrit is almost nil; even of the translations available in modern Indian languages, I have read only a few. I cannot claim to have fully read even a single Veda. Nevertheless, I have understood the shastras from the point of view of dharma. I have grasped their real meaning. I know that one can attain *moksha* without reading the Vedas.

I have found the right method for reading—for understanding—the shastras. If any injunction in a shastra is opposed to truth, non-violence and *brahmacharya*, it is unauthentic, whichever the shastra in which it is found. The shastras are not above reason. We can reject any shastras which reason cannot follow. I have read through only the Upanishads. I have also read some among them which my reason could not follow. I did not, therefore, accept them as having any authority. Many poets have told us in their poems that anyone who sticks to the letter of the shastras is a pedant. Teachers like Shankaracharya[1] have given the essence of the shastras in single sentences, and the sum and substance of it all is that one should cultivate *bhakti* towards God and attain *jnana*[2], and thereby attain *moksha*. Akha Bhagat has said:

[1] 780-812; Hindu philosopher and religious reformer; author of commentaries on the Upanishads, *Brahmasutras* and the *Bhagavad Gita*

[2] Enlightenment

Live as you please,
Attain God anyhow, somehow.

That shastra which teaches me drinking liquor, eating meat and wicked ways cannot be called a shastra.

Much that is the very opposite of dharma is going on in the name of the *smritis*[1]. By trying to follow the letter of the *smritis* and other such works, we make ourselves fit for hell. Deluded by these, people who call themselves Hindus give themselves up to licence and become ready to commit or make others commit rape on young girls.

We now have before us the important question of what, in all the shastras, we should regard as interpolations, what as acceptable and what as deserving to be rejected. If there had not been, as I have stated above, a total extinction of the Brahmin spirit, we could have consulted a Brahmin who had purified himself by following the disciplines of *yama-niyama* and acquired a good measure of *jnana*. In the absence of such Brahmins, the path of *bhakti* rules supreme at present. When we have brought about self-purification by non-co-operating with the present Government in which the sins of hypocrisy, pretension, pride, worldliness and so on, reveal themselves in numerous ways, then perhaps we shall get a cultured person who can give us the essence of the shastras. Till then we, the common people, may cling to the essentials with a simple faith and live our lives in *bhakti* to God. I see no other way.

"There can be no *jnana* without a guru" is a golden maxim. But it is very difficult to find a guru, and it would not be proper to accept any person as a guru in the absence of a good one and so drown ourselves right in the middle of our voyage across this ocean of life. A guru is one who will help us to swim across. How can a man who knows no swimming save others? Even if such swimmers exist in modern times, they are not a common sight.

Let us now examine *varnashrama*. I have always believed that there are no more than four *varnas*[2]. I believe that one acquires one's caste by birth. One who is born in a Brahmin family dies a Brahmin. If he becomes a non-Brahmin through his qualities of character, his Brahmin body does not cease to be such. A

[1] Sacred books prescribing detailed rules for personal conduct and social life; considered as of derivative authority in contrast with *shruti*, revealed literature

[2] Castes

Brahmin who does not follow the Brahmin's dharma may be born, according to his deserts, as a Sudra, or even as an animal. A Vaisya like me who follows the dharma of a Brahmin and of a Kshatriya, if he has to be born again, may well be a Brahmin or a Kshatriya in the next birth. So far as this life is concerned, he will remain but a Vaisya, and rightly so. From time to time persons belonging to other faiths have been absorbed by Hinduism, but they were not known as Hindus during their lifetime. The Hindu world is like a sea. All refuse that finds its way into its bosom gets purified, settles down. This has happened again and again. People from Italy, Greece and elsewhere came in and were absorbed by Hinduism, but they were not converted by anyone to Hinduism. Merely in course of ages, the numbers have risen and fallen. Unlike Christianity or Islam, Hinduism does not invite persons of other faiths to join its fold; it enjoins all to follow their own religions. Sister Nivedita[1], for instance, embraced Hiuduism but we do not think of her as a Hindu, nor do we boycott or slight her in any way. There is no question of anybody embracing Hinduism. Everybody can practise Hinduism.

Varnashrama is a law. The practical question is the caste system. Castes are subject to increase and decrease [in number]. They come into existence and they disappear. Only the man himself can leave Hinduism, though he may be expelled from the caste. Excommunication by the caste is a mode of punishment and ought to be available to every community.

It is certainly necessary that the numerous castes should become fewer, and this can be brought about by the councils of the various castes without injury to Hinduism. If the various divisions of *Vanias* merge together and their members marry among themselves, that will not harm religion in any way.

The rules which people observe in regard to food, water and marriage are not essential features of Hinduism but, because self-control has been given special importance in Hinduism, restrictions have been laid down, even to the smallest detail in regard to these matters. I do not think that they deserve to be condemned, but, at the same time, I would not regard a person who does not observe them as having transgressed dharma. Not to have water or food or enter into matrimonial alliance anywhere and everywhere, I regard as civilized behaviour. This ensures preservation of health and purity But I believe that not accepting food or water at

[1] Margaret E. Nobel, a follower of Vivekananda

anybody's place through contempt is opposed to Hinduism. It is my view, based on experience, that the prohibition as to dining with or marrying a person of another *varna* or another religion is an essential protective fence for its culture put up by Hinduism.

Why do I, then, dine even at the homes of Muslims? I do so because, even when dining with them, I am able to observe the utmost self-restraint. Among cooked articles, I go so far as to take bread, because the process of baking bread is absolutely clean and just as pop-corn can always be taken, no matter where roasted, similarly bread (not *rotli*) can be taken wherever it may have been baked. But my co-workers do not observe even this restriction and eat any articles, otherwise acceptable, in the home of a Muslim or of a person belonging to a caste other than their own, if the articles are prepared hygienically. In doing so, they run the risk of being expelled from their caste, but they do not cease to be Hindus. The Ashram follows a kind of dharma appropriated to sannyasis. There a new caste or a new code of conduct, suitable to the present age and in conformity with Hinduism, is being formed. I look upon this effort as an experiment. If it succeeds, it will be treated as worthy of adoption. If it fails, it will have harmed no one. Even those engaged in the experiment will not be harmed, because the basis of the experiment is self-control. The aim is to be able to carry on the work of service with ease and to see that unlike at present, when religion has come to be confined to rules about eating and drinking, the conventions in those matters are kept in their proper and subordinate place.

Now remains the issue of untouchability. Nobody can trace the origin of this practice. I have merely ventured guesses. They may be right or wrong. But even a blind man can see that the practice of untouchability is contrary to dharma. Only, in the same way as the *atman*'s inhabiting [the body] for ages prevents us from knowing it, the long existence of the practice of untouchability does not permit us to see the *adharma* inherent in it. To make any persons crawl on their stomachs, to segregate them, to drive them to live on the outskirts of the village, not to be concerned whether they live or die, to give them food left over by others —all this certainly cannot be religion. We are inflicting upon untouchables an outrage grosser than that in the Punjab against which we have been protesting. That an untouchable cannot live in our neighbourhood and cannot own land, that an untouchable must, on seeing us, shout: "Please keep at a distance, do not touch me," and should not be permitted to sit with us in the train—this is not Hinduism. This is Dyerism. There is no

self-control in the practice of untouchability. An analogy has been cited in justification of it, viz., that a mother, after removing stools, does not touch anything without taking a bath. But in this instance the mother herself does not wish to touch anything and, if we sought to enforce such a rule in respect of *Bhangis*, nobody will object. By treating *Bhangis* and others as untouchables, we only tolerate filth and breed diseases. If we look upon untouchables as touchables, we shall see to it that that limb of ours remains clean.

I have found the homes of *Bhangis* far cleaner than many *Vaishnava* houses. I have been astonished at the truthfulness, simplicity, kindness and such other qualities in some of them. It is my conviction that we have fallen because of the entry into Hinduism of the demon of untouchability, and have, in consequence, also become powerless to ensure the protection of mother cow. So long as we have not rid ourselves of this Dyerism, we have no right to ask that we should be freed from the Dyerism of the British.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 6-2-1921

164. SPEECH AT PATNA[1]

February 6, 1921

Mahatma Gandhi spoke sitting. He was ashamed to say that he had forgotten that Maulana Mazharul Haq and he were together in England and that they returned to India by the same boat.[2] He remembered the fact when he was reminded of it. But he was glad that ever since his return to India from South Africa his friendship with Maulana Haq had gone on increasing and in fact he regarded his house in Patna as his home. If it was true, as he had told them, that in the matter of Khilafat he had raised his voice before others, he had but done his duty. As he was a staunch Hindu and wanted to live his religion he had realized that he must be friends with Mussulmans, stand by their religion and defend it as if it was his own. He wanted to assure them again that he would not rest satisfied till the Khilafat wrong was satisfactorily settled even though he had to give his life in the attempt. Maulana Haq had told them that in opening the National College they were laying the foundation of swaraj. The college had been already

[1] Delivered at the opening ceremony of the Bihar Nationa University and the National College, Patna

[2] In 1891

opened by his friend Mr. Haq and he was there to perform but the formal ceremonial. When he saw the students that morning praying in solemn earnestness the question came to his mind if they had anything of the kind in any Government college and he thought that the right kind of feeling was coming over them. He had to open both the National College and the National University. The Vidyapith would be their National University, it would be the machinery which would regulate the teaching in the National institutions in the province, prescribe the syllabus and would generally control national education. They had selected Maulana Haq as Chancellor, Babu Braja Kishore Prasad as the Vice-chancellor and B[abu] Rajendra Prasad as their Principal and Registrar. The members of the Provincial College Education Committee[1] would be the senators and out of them they would constitute a syndicate. He wanted all of them to realize their great cause in which they were working and he was glad to find that all the professors and others connected with their institutions were genuine, earnest Bihar workers. Babu Braja Kishore and Babu Rajendra Prasad were as brothers to him and he had lived with them and worked with them for months in Champaran[2] at a time when not many were willing to go and join them. He was sure that with them at the helm, the work of their institution would be carried on with enthusiasm, for he was certain that they were men who would gladly give their lives for the work. To the professors he wanted to say that they must live up to the ideal of their old *rishis*, in consonance with their great ancient civilization, and if they did that they might rest assured that the foundation of swaraj had been truly laid in the founding of their institution. Referring to students he said that Kalidas had once observed that a guru could give only as much as the neophyte could take. Education was a manifestation of the enlightenment they received within and it was the function of the guru to bring out what was within the student, and he hoped that the students in the College would so live and learn at the hands of their teachers that the institution might be an example to the country.

In the prayer read out to them by Pandey Jagannath Prasadjee he had seen the key of the work they were doing—to get into truth, into light from darkness, into life from a sort of death. This was non-co-operation and the attainment by them of swaraj was the sign of their emerging into the light. By co-operating with their present hypocritical Government they had become as it were contaminated and had become partners in its crimes. They had done so so far because they were equally sinful, but even then they had believed in and feared God. And the conviction having at last dawned on them that the Government was wrong and its system vicious, they had come to the decision that they could not co-operate with it till it was completely trans-

[1] Of the Congress organization in Bihar
[2] In 1917

formed. He hated neither the Empire nor those who sustained it; he was out to uproot the system. He had hatred for none and entertained for them nothing but sentiments of love. But even if his father and his brother had acted in the manner the Government had done he would have felt it his duty to have nothing to do with them. If a son lived with a Satanic father he became by that fact partner of his sire's guilt and no religion sanctioned this partnership even between a father and his son. The divine injunction was clear and imperative—to cease co-operation even with their near and dear ones if they were sinful.

The first mission of the University therefore would be to teach the ideal of non-co-operation and to emphasize its basic principle, absolute non-violence. The speaker then referred to the picketing by students in Calcutta and other similar forms of pressure brought by them on their friends who did not like to join them. He said he had been pained to hear of the treatment meted out to men like Messrs Shastri[1] and Paranjapye[2] in Bombay, who, he wanted to tell them, were real, sincere patriots. If they were enemies of India, he (Mr. Gandhi) could not be its friend. They honestly believed that the future of the country would be advanced by co-operation with the Government and were convinced that he (Mr. Gandhi) was misleading the country. Such differences of opinion were bound to exist but these could never mean that they were not patriots but enemies of the country. It was none of the business of the students to cry shame on them and refuse to give them a respectful hearing. It would have been in keeping with their ancient culture to listen to their advice with respect and attention. It was an English practice to obstruct meetings, howl down speakers and even throw stones at them. Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Churchill had been in their time howled down and stoned. But this was a habit foreign to their culture and their civilization and they must give it up if they were really earnest in carrying on the non-co-operation movement to a successful end. Cries of "shame" could never never win friends, make their opponents their supporters. They could transform them into their friends in time only if they loved and treated them with respect.

He hoped the University would not devote its energy merely to adding to the store of their literary knowledge, but that its principal function would be to inculcate in the minds of the young men the principles of their civilization, to inspire them with an earnest and genuine aspiration for freedom. The first thing they had to do was to unlearn a great deal of what they had hitherto learnt and seek to live up to their great ancient culture. If one of their lawyer friends refused to give up his practice it was not for them to call upon

[1] V. S. Srinivasa Sastri

[2] R. P. Paranjapye, educationist and Liberal politician; Minister of Education, Government of Bombay, 1921-23; member, India Council; appointed High Commissioner in Australia in 1944

him to explain why he had not done what Mr. Haq has done. There was a vakil in Jharia, whom he asked in joke to give up his practice. Mr. Mahomed Ali repeated the request and the result was that by then he would have given up his practice. But if he did not, he was by no means the enemy of the country. His heart was as genuine as theirs. If out of honest difference of opinion or for want of sufficient courage any of their friends were unable to join them that day they could not be regarded as objects of their hate.

Referring to the charkha he said that its significance should not be minimized. With the spinning of the charkha was bound up the solution of the Punjab and the Khilafat wrongs and they could be true soldiers of the country only when they took to spinning in right earnest. Even the uneducated could do so but he wanted the educated among them to take to it, and realize for themselves that the greater the quantity of the thread they produced, the greater would be the advance of the country. So far they had loosened their tongue; he wanted them now to stretch their hands, not, however, with the sword but for the charkha. If they could see to it that not one Indian used any cloth manufactured in foreign countries and of yarn made in foreign lands they could begin to realize their strength and feel that they were going to win swaraj. The speaker then referred to some jewellery presented to him by little girls and said many ladies had promised to spin in Bengal. The daughters of Mr. Justice P. R. Das[1] had taken to spinning and to wearing khaddar cloth. Girls and young married women in Bengal had come to him and told him that they could not use jewellery for they were at present in a state of widowhood without swaraj. He wanted to realize the present situation even as these girls and young ladies had realized it. The speaker then announced that during his recent visit to Jharia he was able to secure Rs. 60,000 for their National University mostly from Gujaratis, Bengalis and Marwaris, and Rs. 2,000 for the same purpose from a Bangali zemindar of Katras. The donors were mostly non-Biharees and yet they had given him the magnificent sum because they had begun to realize that the National University, though founded in Bihar, would work for the nation. He almost wept—though he suppressed it as they had to be brave at the present moment—when little girls came to him with their jewellery and he hoped they would make themselves as pure as these girls. He prayed to God that their National University would flourish and prosper and remain an everlasting monument of the enthusiastic labour of all those who worked for it. With an appeal for funds the speaker concluded his speech.

The Searchlight, 9-2-1921

[1] Brother of C. R. Das; Judge of the High Court at Patna

165. *SPEECH ON NON-VIOLENCE, PATNA*[1]

February 6, 1921

Mahatma Gandhi then rose amidst deafening cheers and said that he did not want to detain them longer. After the speech of Maulana Mahomed Ali there was nothing left for him to say. Whatever had fallen from his lips was right, well and good. His path was the path of non-violence, of ahimsa. He would not kill one who considered himself to be his enemy. His brother Maulana Mahomed Ali believed in the contrary faith. But in spite of this difference they were living like the sons of one mother. Wherever they went, whatever side they turned, the three (himself, Maulanas Mahomed Ali and Shaukat Ali) preached only non-violence. If they did not maintain non-violence they were sure to lose their case. In them there was no strength left for taking to the sword. He believed that he would be able to win swaraj, in other words what he called *Ramarajya* or *Dharmarajya*, through non-violence alone. He condemned strongly the action of those who take to abusing and coercing, hat looting, etc., and said that if the attainment of swaraj was being delayed it was because they had not learnt well the lesson of non-violence or ahimsa.

Mr. Mahomed Ali did well in calling upon Mr. Hassan Imam and an old European professor of his. He wanted to win them over by persuasion and love and he believed that they would come round soon. Referring to the awakening amongst the villages he said that the spirit which had come in them, the strength which they had acquired, must be kept up. They must not use any kind of violence in dissuading them from the evils of intemperance. They could do away with the evils simply by non-co-operation with them, by not taking or giving any kind of help to them. If any Mussulman converted anyone to Islam by force he would fight with them in the same way as he was fighting with the Government. If his son took to drinking wine, instead of beating him, he would ask him to get out of his house, would stop all help to him, and thus he would make him give up the habit. He in fact had no right to use any kind of violence against him. So if they all understood that perfectly, if they all acted up to it, there was no doubt that they would be able to win swaraj by September next. The land of Bihar he alway considered to be very sacred. He had spent many days[2] amongst the agriculturists in Champaran. It would be a great pain to him if any violence was done anywhere.

The Searchlight, 9-2-1921

[1] Delivered at a public meeting held in the afternoon, in Madrassa Mosque grounds

[2] In 1917 during the Champaran satyagraha

166. NOTES

Abusing the Khaddar

A friend draws attention to the fact that many who have adopted the khaddar costume are using it as a passport for arrogance, insolence, and, what is worse, fraud. He says that they have neither the spirit of non-co-operation in them nor the spirit of truth. They simply use the khaddar dress as a cloak for their deceit. All this is likely, especially during the transition stage, i.e., whilst khaddar is beginning to become fashionable. I would only suggest to my correspondent that such abuse of khaddar must not even unconsciously be allowed to be used as an argument against its use. Its use today is obligatory on those who believe that there is not sufficient Indian mill-made cloth to supply the wants of the nation, that the wants must be supplied in the quickest way possible by increasing home manufacture, and that such manufacture is possible only by making home-spinning universal. The use of khaddar represents nothing more than a most practical recognition of the greatest economic necessity of the country. Even a scoundrel may recognize this necessity, and has, therefore, a perfect right to wear it. And if a Government spy wore it to deceive people, I would welcome his use of khaddar as so much economic gain to the country. Only I would not give the wearer of the khaddar more than his due. And I would therefore not ascribe to him any piety or special virtue. It follows, therefore, that co-operationists or Government servants may wear khaddar without incurring the danger of being mistaken for non-co-operationists. We may no more shun khaddar than a devout church-goer may renounce his church because bad characters go to it for duping gullible people. I recall the name of an M. P. who successfully cloaked many of his vices by pretending to be a staunch temperance man. Not very long ago a bold and unscrupulous speculator found entry into most respectable circles by becoming a temperance advocate. Well has a poet said that "hypocrisy is an ode to virtue."

An Apology

I must apologize to the reader for the article on the East African Despatch[1] under Mr. Adwani's name. It gives a view which

[1] Of the Government of India to the Home Government vigorously pro-

is not borne out by its contents. The language is needlessly offensive. Whilst I condemn the existing system of Government in severe language, I will not be knowingly guilty of pronouncing unmerited condemnation upon it. The Despatch is an honest attempt to do justice to the Indians of East Africa. It is true that it has been rendered possible by the awakening in India. But that, too, is a credit to the Government that it is responsive to public opinion when its own existence is not at stake. It is true also that it still betrays a language of patronage. But that is only to be expected until Englishmen have begun to regard themselves not as our trustees but as equal partners. Whilst I offer this apology to the reader and the Government, I do not wish to be unfair to my assistant. Mr. Adwani is a sincere and devoted assistant. He endeavours to write calmly and dispassionately. But he is young, ambitious and inexperienced. Like everyone of us he labours under the handicap of having to write his thoughts in a foreign tongue. The mistakes such as his are inevitable. I offer the apology because I want to avoid being understood as approving of everything written by my assistant, or other contributors. I am anxious to be impartial and fair in conducting *Young India.*

Young India, 9-2-1921

167. THE GREATEST THING

It is to be wished that non-co-operationists will clearly recognize that nothing can stop the onward march of the nation as violence. Ireland may gain its freedom by violence. Turkey may regain her lost possessions by violence within a measurable distance of time. But India cannot win her freedom by violence for a century, because her people are not built in the manner of other nations. They have been nurtured in the traditions of suffering. Rightly or wrongly, for good or ill, Islam too has evolved along peaceful lines in India. And I make bold to say that, if the honour of Islam is to be vindicated through its followers in India, it will only be by methods of peaceful, silent, dignified, conscious, and courageous suffering. The more I study that wonderful faith, the more convinced I become that the glory of Islam is due not to the sword but to the sufferings, the renunciation, and the nobility of

testing against the policy of racial disability and racial segregation in East Africa

its early Caliphs. Islam decayed when its followers, mistaking the evil for the good, dangled the sword in the face of man, and lost sight of the godliness, the humility, and the austerity of its founder and his disciples. But I am not, at the present moment, concerned with showing that the basis of Islam, as of all religions, is not violence but suffering, not the taking of life but the giving of it.

What I am anxious to show is that non-co-operationists must be true as well to the spirit as to the letter of their vow if they would gain swaraj within one year. They may forget non-co-operation but they dare not forget non-violence. Indeed, non-co-operation is non-violence. We are violent when we sustain a Government whose creed is violence. It bases itself finally not on right but on might. Its last appeal is not to reason, nor the heart, but to the sword. We are tired of this creed and we have risen against it. Let us not ourselves belie our profession by being violent. Though the English are few, they are organized for violence. Though we are many, we cannot be organized for violence for a long time to come. Violence for us is a gospel of despair.

I have seen a pathetic letter from a god-fearing Englishwoman who defends Dyerism for she thinks that, if General Dyer had not enacted Jallianwala, women and children would have been murdered by us. If we are such brutes as to desire the blood of innocent women and children, we deserve to be blotted out from the face of the earth. There is the other side. It did not strike this good lady that, if we were fiends, the price that her countrymen paid at Jallianwala for buying their safety was too great. They gained their safety at the cost of their humanity. General Dyer has been haltingly blamed, and his evil genius, Sir Michael O'Dwyer, entirely exonerated because Englishmen do not want to leave this country of fiends even if every one of us has to be killed. If we go mad again as we did at Amritsar, let there be no mistake that a blacker Jallianwala will be enacted.

Shall we copy Dyerism and O'Dwyerism even whilst we are condemning it? Let not our rock be violence and devilry. Our rock must be non-violence and godliness. Let us, workers, be clear as to what we are about. *Swaraj depends upon our ability to control all the forces of violence on our side.* Therefore, there is no swaraj within one year if there is violence on the part of the people.

We must then refrain from sitting *dharna*, we must refrain from crying 'shame, shame' to anybody, we must not use any coercion to persuade our people to adopt our way. We must guarantee to them the same freedom we claim for ourselves. We

must not tamper with the masses. It is dangerous to make political use of factory labourers or the peasantry—not that we are not entitled to do so, but we are not ready for it. We have neglected their political (as distinguished from literary) education all these long years. We have not got enough honest, intelligent, reliable and brave workers to enable us to act upon these countrymen of ours.

Young India, 9-2-1921

168. A MUNICIPAL ENTERPRISE

The reader will find elsewhere the text[1] of the correspondence between the municipality of Nadiad and the Government of Bombay as represented by the Collector of the District of Kaira in which Nadiad is situated. Nadiad is an important town in Gujarat with a population of about 35,000. Its municipality has an elected chairman and contains a majority of elected members. Nadiad is noted for its educational activity and has the honour of having produced some of the best educated sons of Gujarat. The town has two high schools. Its aided high school has been nationalized. The municipality runs several primary schools which instruct over five thousand children.

The question before the citizens was to nationalize all the primary schools. The ratepayers, instead of withdrawing the children from these schools, passed a resolution calling upon the municipality to nationalize the primary schools. They were in receipt of a yearly grant of Rs. 21,000 and were naturally under the control and supervision of the Education Department. The municipality therefore resolved in accordance with the instructions of the electors to nationalize the schools and informed the Government accordingly. It will be noticed that the municipality in its proceedings has directly referred to the Congress resolution on non-co-operation and has adopted this bold policy in furtherance of the attainment of swaraj.

There was the technical point about the municipality's statutory obligation to conduct schools under the direct supervision of the Government. On this the municipality's attitude is thus stated:

> It is in complete symapthy with the movement of non-co-operation designed for the attainment, among other things, of full swaraj and so long as

[1] Not reproduced here

> this municipality remains in existence, it will be its bounden duty to help the people of Nadiad in achieving the national purpose . . . So far as the legal difficulty is concerned, it is respectfully suggested that Sec. 58, if it runs counter to the express wish of the residents of Nadiad, must automatically remain in abeyance because if the Board correctly understands the temper of the people of Nadiad, they are clearly determined to have nothing to do with Government control over the education of the children, and it need hardly be pointed out that the Board is in full sympathy with the determination of the people.

No one can take exception to the admirable spirit of the people or the correctness of the attitude of the municipality. Of course the Government may, if it dare, disband the municipality. But any such disbandment must be futile if the ratepayers are determined not to have Government control over the education of their children. This is a peaceful revolution on a small scale. The success of the movement is due to the cohesion of the people and their ability to manage and finance the education of their children. Violence being eschewed, the people of Nadiad are able to give an education in swaraj to their children. What is true of the municipality regarding the education of the children is true of the whole of India in every other respect.

When the people have one mind, ability of management, and recognize the necessity of non-violence, if only as a business proposition, swaraj is won. Finance is a matter of little consideration. For the Government does not bring money from heaven. It receives, to paraphrase an expressive Gujarati saying, an anvil weight of metal and returns a needle weight. And the pity and the disgrace of it is that even with that niggardly donation, it imprisons and emasculates the tender mind of the nation. Were it not for self-delusion, we would at least refuse to be party to the ruin of our own children. The municipality of Nadiad has shown how easy the whole process of nationalization of education is. Lala Daulat Ram's articles have shown how easy the question of finance is, and how the ordinary fees are almost enough to conduct all our educational institutions. I hope that the object-lesson given by the municipality of Nadiad will not be lost upon other municipalities similarly situated.

Young India, 9-2-1921

169. TELEGRAM TO SHAUKAT ALI

February 9, 1921

PLEASE WIRE BENARES[1] DESCRIPTION BEHAVIOUR BOMBAY STUDENTS TOWARDS SHASTRI KANJI[2]. WE MUST PREVENT THESE SCENES AND DISSOCIATE OURSELVES THEREFROM.

Bombay Secret Abstracts, 1921, p. 157

170. SPEECH AT TOWN HALL, BANARAS[3]

February 9, 1921

BROTHERS,

My brother Mahomed Ali and I have both come to you today. You will be setting up a Vidyapith here. We have come to take part in its inauguration. Our brother Maulana Abul Kalam Azad has also come with the same purpose. I will not take away your time for something else. I only want to tell you all that our *shakti*[4] is increasing day by day. And along with it our responsibility is increasing and also our sense of fear. We have to decide how we are to set about our work. If, conscious of our increased *shakti* we want to go forward, we must be clear about how the increase has come about. The only explanation is that we pursue *shanti*[5]. Brother Shaukat Ali is fond of saying that the increase in our *shakti* is to be ascribed to our cool courage. If in anger or excitement we were to draw the sword we might cut our own throat or that of the Englishman. This would only make us weak. This is a battle that calls for cool courage and peaceful methods. Get ready for this battle. If in this battle we draw the sword and cut the throat either of the Englishman or of our own brother it will only bring about our downfall. What have the Fyzabad peasants done? In frenzy they looted shops and the pro-

[1] Gandhiji was in Banaras on February 9 and 10.

[2] Kanji Dwarkadas, a public worker of Bombay

[3] Delivered at a public meeting attended by nearly a hundred thousand people and presided over by Bhagwandas.

[4] Capacity

[5] Peace

perty of their own brothers.[1] That was our downfall. The Government is aware that we have started a great campaign, that we have resolved to mend or end this regime. Even then the Government, mighty as it is, says nothing. Why? Because the Government sees that we are working peaceably, that we have made it a matter of religion. So the Government can do nothing against us. If we take up arms today its power will begin to increase. If we want to see an end to the Punjab atrocities, if we want to see justice done in the matter of Khilafat, if we want to secure swaraj, we must show cool courage. This and this alone will be the right way. I shall not be in the least sorry if lawyers do not give up their practice or students their schools and colleges, if people choose to go into the Councils, and if Government jobs and titles are not renounced; but it causes me great pain if there is even a single killing, if the stick is brought into play or if someone swears at someone else, for it indicates waning of our power. I am extremely unhappy at the madness shown by the peasants of Fyzabad and the doings of the Bombay students. It was a great error on their part to have insulted Mr. Sastri and Mr. Paranjapye. Both are very able men and no less servants of the country than myself. No doubt there are differences between us but they are as proud of their service to the nation as I am of mine. I would not have been sorry if you had not gathered here today. But it would be painful if you indulged in rowdyism and created a noisy disturbance here. I cannot understand why such a thing happens. One should not come to a meeting with the intention of creating a disturbance there, and he who does this is no gentleman. I am compelled to say that the students of Bombay cast aside the decorum of their families and violated the instructions of the Congress and the Khilafat Committee. If you are in agreement with what I say, you should take a lesson from this. If you want to get someone to do your work and if he is unwilling to do it in the manner that would satisfy you, do not compel him. Remember the condition I have laid down. I want complete swaraj within a year, that is to say, by September. We can get that swaraj only by maintaining peace. Without this power it is impossible to achieve swaraj. People say: We do not want to disturb the peace, but the Government forces us to do so. I call this madness. If I tell you to give up your religion, will you do so? Never. Similarly if we are determined not to do something, how can the Government make us do

[1] In January 1921 there were agrarian riots at Fyzabad and some other places in Uttar Pradesh.

it? Nothing should be done in anger; otherwise swaraj is impossible. I am prepared to give up everything—I shall not raise the question of lawyers, I shall leave students alone—but I cannot give up peace. If we do not want foreign rule we should also give up foreign fashions of dress. And we must give up foreign cloth too. If we cannot do this, we shall not get swaraj in ten years, let alone one. We do not need numbers. The few that are making sacrifices are enough. Pandit Motilal Nehru, Mr. Das and Lala Lajpat Rai have given up legal practice. What more do we need? By and by, others will follow them. No coercion should be used against anyone. Let those only do it whose hearts respond. Students of Sanskrit ask me what their duty is. There is no question now about what one's duty is. The only duty is to give up Government schools and colleges. So long as our sufferings are not wiped out, Government schools are taboo. Spreading of swadeshi cloth is also an imperative need. For this we must propagate the charkha. If students want to give up their schools and serve the country, they could do nothing better than this. They should forthwith take up the charkha. If five million students devote four hours daily to this work, every student can spin in four days enough yarn for a dhoti, so that all the students can together produce a million and a quarter dhotis in one day if they have all the material. What a great service it will be! You would then forget your meetings. I am rather tired of meetings. The experience I have gained from participating in these meetings is that we make use of our energy in strangling one another. What else can be expected where everyone is trying to take the place of everyone else? I have been observing this since September and I am upset. We cannot even keep peace at these meetings. At Gorakhpur the audience consisted of about one hundred and fifty thousand people and things went very peacefully. But this alone does not meet my needs. For that you must take up the charkha. The day we realize this meetings will no longer be necessary nor will anyone have time for them. If the time that is wasted in meetings were devoted to spinning how many of the naked would we not be able to clothe? Two things are necessary if we want swaraj in one year: to maintain peace and to give up foreign cloth. To do both successfully, we must take up the charkha. The need for meetings will cease the day you have grasped this. If you have understood the *mantra* of charkha, swaraj is at hand. If you have understood that non-co-operation has to be peaceful and if you have chosen it after due thought then remain peaceful. We can bend the Government. Persevere in work. Do not be frightened

of jail. People who seek release of those who have gone to jail show cowardice and their fear of jail. We should go to jail cheerfully. We should regard the jail as a palace. It is our part to go to jail just as it is the Government's to send us to jail. If we shrink, the world will say that we only know how to talk and not how to act.

All this, of course, needs money. We need money for the charkha, for setting up educational institutions, for national work and for those who will be giving up legal practice. I cannot go back empty-handed from such a vast meeting as this. I shall beg. Please give what you can. Remember that if you take up the charkha and resolve to wear only the cloth that you yourselves make, we shall have swaraj in September.

[From Hindi]

Aaj, 10-2-1921

171. *MY NOTES*

Black Mixing with White

A friend writes[1]:

Every word of this criticism is justified. Whenever a reform is undertaken, there is always a danger of its being abused. So it is with khadi. I would certainly say that one cannot show perfect patriotism unless one uses khadi, but it cannot be denied, either, that a person wearing khadi can be a C.I.D.[2] man and that another not wearing khadi, either because he is too poor to do so or because he has not come to have faith in khadi, may yet be a patriot. Hence, we need not assume that a person wearing khadi is necessarily a patriot. We may believe that a person wearing khadi is likely to be a follower of swadeshi. It is enough if the aversion to khadi disappears and beauty is seen even in khadi. Just as it would not be right to attribute all virtues to khadi, so also we should not be shocked when a person wearing khadi disgraces khadi by his misbehaviour. Any kind of outward show must be eschewed, but the outward appearance must be a fit expression of the feelings within. Thus, anyone who is simple in mind will also be simple in dress, and he whose heart is devoted to swadeshi will have his dress made of khadi only. As long as there are fools

[1] The letter, not reproduced here, gave a warning against excessive importance being attached to khadi lest impostors in khadi dress should be at an advantage over honest people not wearing khadi.

[2] The Criminal Investigation Department

and ignoramuses in the world, cheats will flourish. We should not, for that reason, allow ourselves to be cheated nor be afraid of cheats.

We have seen that just as khadi is being exploited, non-co-operation is also being exploited. Many even behave as if they had got a licence to abuse those who co-operate [with the Government] merely because they themselves had raised their hands in support of the non-co-operation resolution. Really speaking, exploiting khadi and non-co-operation pollutes this pure movement and delays the hour of freedom. In these wicked times, we find that, when we try to remove impurity from one place, it settles in some other place. Despite such difficulties, this is the only way left for anyone who has come to see the truth.

About "Antyajas"

I have received many letters of advice on this subject. All of them cannot be published. They contain more of censure than of argument. Quite a few letters express ideas in agreement with mine. They certainly need not be published. It remains to convince those who argue on the opposite side. A young man writes to say that I have made an unfailing weapon like non-co-operation less effective by raising the question of the untouchables. He says that even if untouchables are not really such, this is not the proper time to raise this issue, that as a result of this one of the schools has chosen to go back to the Government; he adds, further, that in the end all the *sanatani* Hindus will go over to the side of the Government and take their revenge either on me or on non-co-operation. I have no such fear. The number of those who would cut off the nose to spite the face is never very large at any place. I believe that there are not many such in India. Among those who today oppose this movement are some who sincerely believe that Hinduism will perish if the untouchables are no more treated as untouchables. Gradually, they will realize that Hinduism has fallen on evil days because of its sanctioning the practice of untouchability. There is no genuine basis for this practice. Nevertheless, let us assume that the cause of non-co-operation suffers because of the movement for the abolition of untouchability. That means non-co-operation itself obstructs non-co-operation. Many persons used to argue that the non-co-operation movement would break down because of that part of the programme which related to lawyers and schools. The truth is that we cannot carry on non-co-operation to its ultimate conclusion as long as we cling to the practice of untouchability. Again, even if the *sana-*

tani Hindus support the Government so that they may continue with it, the non-co-operators will remain unafraid. The *sanatani* Hindus, too, think that the Government should be got rid of and denounce it. Today the Government itself is like an untouchable. How can the *sanatani* Hindus succeed in maintaining the practice of untouchability by touching that Government? If non-co-operation is a form of self-purification, we should intensify it without thinking of the consequences. Then, even if only one non-co-operator is left, we shall gain victory through him. Again, what needs to be pondered over is that, if we neglect the untouchables, not only shall we suffer for that sin but the Government also is sure to use them for its own ends.

Parsis' Help

Friend Sethna from Dabhol writes a long letter and says that the charge that the Parsis are not in the non-co-operation movement is not justified. He says that as the Parsis get convinced of the firmness of Hindus and Muslims, they will start joining the non-co-operation movement. I too believe the same. Nobody, certainly, can say that all Parsis remain aloof from non-co-operation. But, since the number of those who have joined is very small, they are not conspicuous. Speaking of the community as a whole, it is true that they have not joined [the movement]. If the non-co-operators go on making sacrifices peacefully, maintaining humility and adhering to truth, then the Parsis and all the others who have stayed out will positively join.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 10-2-1921

172. SPEECH AT FOUNDING OF KASHI VIDYAPITH, BANARAS[1]

February 10, 1921

BABU BHAGWANDAS, SISTERS AND BROTHERS,

There is in my heart a sorrow that I cannot hide from you. Before I came here I went to Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and asked him if he would attend this ceremony. He said no, it would be better for him not to. It is needless to tell you how close he is to me. Today he is not here with us. I cannot des-

[1] This National University was established by Bhagwandas and Shivaprasad Gupta.

cribe to you how sad it makes me not to see him here. But our struggle is such that we have to put up with such sorrow. The father has to bear the pain of separation from the son, the husband from the wife, the wife from the husband. Babu Bhagwandas has in very sweet words told us that ours is a righteous struggle. I have not the slightest doubt that it is so. Else I would never think of destroying an institution[1] whose life-breath is Malaviyaji. My heart says that it should either become mine or cease to be. I deem it a sin not to act in this way. Yesterday a number of students from Kanpur came to me. They have given up their studies. I asked them why they had done so. They answered that they would rather do some national work. I told them that it was not a good reason for giving up studies. I told them that it would have been better if they had given up studies because they considered it a sin to pursue them in institutions run with Government aid. They understood something of what I meant but their faces showed that a doubt still lingered in their hearts. For they said that only two months remained for the examinations and asked if it would not be all right if they took up non-co-operation after getting their degrees. I said no, it would not be right, for once we had become convinced that it was a sin to receive education in these institutions it would be proper to leave forthwith. This is non-co-operation. For years and years a snake has lain hidden under my bed. I was not aware of it. Today all of a sudden I discover it. I cannot stay in the bed any more. Even if my father forbids me to leave it, even if he curses me, I cannot remain in it. I cannot obey my father's command, for he does not know the situation. I cannot lie in peace in that bed. This is the attitude that should guide you in leaving schools and colleges. This is not the time to raise the question of examinations.

That is what I have to say to the students here. Yesterday I received a letter from my brother Andrews. He writes that, judging from the way this work has been going on, he has no hope of its success even in Gujarat which is my home. But he is sure about two places—Patna and Kashi. In Patna Babu Rajendra Prasad shoulders the burden; in Kashi it is Babu Bhagwandas. Everyone has full confidence that these two will not let the work languish. Babu Bhagwandas has done a lot of work for education. The workers in other provinces have greater political interest and so they take part in education work also. About Kashi and Patna

[1] The Benares Hindu University, which had not stopped taking the Government grant

I too am confident. But I wish to say in answer to Mr. Andrews that in other provinces also the work is being done out of interest that is religious, not political. We must set our hearts on making non-co-operation successful. The education that we require should also be such that the achievement of swaraj can come within a year. It is also to be considered how swaraj can be secured. Giving up of educational institutions run with Government aid is possible. People ask why we should not give up food grains available under the aegis of the Government. I agree that we should. But it is not easy. Education can be had elsewhere. Babu Bhagwandas has just recited the story of the abduction of Sita. We are not owners of the land. It is something that we cannot renounce. And not to give up what cannot be given up may be excused. But education is not something that cannot be given up. Even if we do not get anything in its place we should leave the Government's educational institutions. What do the leaders of this *Ravanrajya* tell us today? They tell us that they want to keep us with them. Mr. Craddock from Burma says that we do not handle arms. We should tell these gentlemen that we do not wish to remain with them; that we have been with them against our will. The Ali Brothers say that if we cannot find here the pure-heartedness that is needed even for reciting the Koran we should do *hijrat*, i.e., that we should leave the country. Tulsidas also speaks of leaving a kingdom that is wicked. But we are not quite leaving it just yet. We shall give it a chance. We shall consider if there is no way to end it or mend it. If a way can be found, what need is there for the *hijrat* of 300 million people? A little effort is all that is needed. That is why this Vidyapith is being set up. We should not accept the sacred gift of education from soiled hands. We should not receive education in institutions patronized by the Government. It is sinful to study where the flag of the Government flies. If you too agree that it is sinful to study there, I invite you into this institution. But do not come here merely with the idea that the education there is faulty and you will get better education here. If you do so, you will repent. I realize that the education there is faulty. For one thing the medium of instruction there is English. English is not our mother tongue. Our mother tongue is Hindustani, which is spoken by 210 million people. We do not wish to install English as our mother tongue though we do not wish to give it up either. It is a most vigorous language. Its usage is highly developed. Learn it. Our mother tongue has lost its place, which has been usurped by another. And now we have to restore it to its place.

There are a number of other defects too. But we cannot wait till these defects are removed and a new system established. We cannot stay under a flag which our boys were forced into saluting.[1] Students, steady your hearts. If these institutions are to be shunned, then even the study of the *Gita* and the Koran there should be given up. You will not get here those huge mansions. Here we have neither houses nor lands. But it is good to live and work in a thatched hut. It is bad to have to salute the Government flag [though living] in a palace. Every student who wishes to come forward should boldly declare: It is not my function to improve educational institutions; I have no time for it. If [new] teaching institutions are started, education will automatically be cleansed. If I come here it is because non-co-operation has found its way into the hearts of Babu Bhagwandas and Babu Shivprasad. This institution has been founded for the furtherance of non-co-operation. For us non-co-operation alone is shastra. Other knowledge—metaphysical or religious—is not shastra. There is no place here for selfish knowledge. We want to do away with it or raise it into something higher. If we do service today it is out of selfishness, with the desire to make our wives and children happy. We must serve the nation. Let us all work for the nation. We do not want to indulge in the gambling that is trade. We shall turn India into a *punyabhumi*[2]. Every year a sum of Rs. 60 crore goes from here to foreign countries as the price of cloth. I shall tell you the way to stop this. We can install Sita (land)[3] here after we bring her from Lanka, but we have to stop this stripping of Draupadi.[4] It is not possible at once to make the land our own, but we should not let them deprive us of cloth. We should solemnly declare that it is a sin to wear foreign cloth. Both Hindus and Muslims can easily understand this because to both self-control and sacrifice are matters of religion. Using foreign cloth is a sin. Our first duty is to ply the charkha. Those who run this institution will remember this. We can save Rs. 60 crore with the aid of students. And we must save it. It is up to the students to do it. It will purify our economic life.

[1] During the Martial Law regime in the Punjab, in 1919

[2] Land of virtue

[3] Sita, in the *Ramayana*, was born of the earth and is thus a symbol of it.

[4] The words "of Draupadi" are from the report in the *Kashi Vidyapith Panchang*. The allusion is to the incident in the *Mahabharata* where Duryodhana, having won Draupadi in a game of dice from Yudhishthira, attempted to humiliate her by getting her stripped.

Our next duty is to develop our mother tongue. It is a shame not to be able to read or write it. Assimilate into the mother tongue what you have learned through English. Hindus and Muslims have to learn the way of service. We have to learn both Devanagari and Urdu scripts. We have to make current a Hindi in which there is a mingling of both Sanskrit and Urdu elements, and through which Hindus and Muslims can enter each other's hearts. The English say that this unity is only apparent, that Hindus and Muslims can never unite, that the basis of even this apparent unity is only self-interest and they will again fall apart as soon as this is served. But this is nonsense. If Hindus and Muslims are determined to protect their unity, this cannot be. The teacher can draw the pupil. Babu Bhagwandas is one who can certainly do so. Everyone in India knows how learned he is. In fact at the time of the founding of the national university in Gujarat I requested him to come to Gujarat for a time. He is your Principal. I can pray to him with humility. Kripalani[1] is my younger brother. I have a right to command him. There are others whose names Babu Bhagwandas has mentioned but whom I do not myself know. It is my prayer to them that they should so transform Kashi that the whole of India may look up to it. We have to steal Malaviyaji's heart. Malaviyaji has told me that he will leave the Hindu University if he is convinced that it is right to do so. He argues that leaving it will do India harm. All of you will now adorn this new institution. And the *yajna* will now proceed more efficiently and more swiftly. Our revered brother Malaviyaji will also come to see things more clearly. If Hindus and Muslims unite to work here we shall have swaraj through you. That is why I asked Shivprasad and Jawaharlal to let me inaugurate this institution with my hand. I have explained my hopes to you. I pray to God that this institution may flourish from day to day and take its share in ending or mending this *rakshasi* regime.

[From Hindi]

Aaj, 11-2-1921

[1] J. B. Kripalani, then a professor of history, had left the Benares Hindu University and joined the National University, Banaras.

173. SPEECH AT FYZABAD

February 10, 1921

Mr Gandhi spoke sitting on a chair placed on a raised platform. He apologized for this, expressed appreciation of Mr. Kedar Nath, who was arrested,[1] and said the arrest was a test of that man and of the people, made by Government in order to cow them down and to release Mr. Kedar Nath if he agreed to abandon agitation.

He next dwelt upon the agrarian disturbances and deplored the action of the kisans who committed violence. . . . Mr. Gandhi condemned violence most strongly and unequivocally, and said that he considered it a sin against God and man. He deprecated all attempts to create discord between landlords and tenants and advised the tenants to suffer rather than fight, for they had to join all forces for fighting against the most powerful zemindar, namely, the Government. He exhorted the people to purify their soul, to banish fear and to march on with stout hearts and fearlessness.

Recalling his South African passive resistance campaign and the success which attended it he condemned the sword procession at the station.[2] Violence, he said, was a sign of unmanliness. Thirty crores of souls, he said, were a power and could bring about swaraj, without violence, by non-co-operation. The sword was described as a weapon of the weak. He pleaded for organization, the adoption of the spinning-wheel and for funds. About students leaving Government colleges and schools, he said boys over sixteen should do so even against their parents' wishes. Swaraj was attainable in seven months, he said, by *shanti*, the spinning-wheel, non-co-operation and money, and appealed for funds.

The Leader, 13-2-1921

[1] In connection with the agrarian disturbances in some parts of Uttar Pradesh in January 1921

[2] Mohammedan volunteers who had come to receive Gandhiji at the railway station had lined up at the gate, armed with naked swords.

174. LETTER TO MANIBEHN PATEL[1]

DELHI,
February 12, 1921

CHI. MANI,

I got your letter. I was very much pleased. You two, brother[2] and sister, spinning for half an hour daily will not bring swaraj. If you come to like the work, make it a point to spin for four hours every day. With practice you will acquire proficiency in spinning.

Shri Das is not at present in a position to go there. Keep writing to me. Let me know what books you have been reading.

Blessings from
BAPU

PS.

I have to be constantly on the move these days. Today I am in Delhi. I have still to go to the Punjab, thence to Lucknow and after that to Bezwada. So I don't know when I shall be back in Ahmedabad. Tell father that he should start preparations for the Congress.[3]

CHI. MANIBEHN
C/o VALLABHBHAI PATEL, BAR-AT-LAW
BHADRA, AHMEDABAD

[From Gujarati]
Bapuna Patro—Manibehn Patelne

175. SWARAJ WILL BE DELAYED

I feel ashamed even to pen such a heading. But the incidents that took place in Poona and Bombay and the things I witness in the course of my tours have forced these words from me. Those who looted shops in Bihar and those who did not allow Shastriar and Paranjapye to speak[4] have put back the clock of

[1] Daughter of Vallabhbhai Patel

[2] Dahyabhai

[3] The 36th session of the Congress was to be held at Ahmedabad in December 1921.

[4] *Vide* "Speech at Patna", February 6, 1921.

freedom; they practised untruth in the name of truth; pledged to preserve peace, they spread disorder; they justified Shastriar's fears. If Shastriar and others get convinced that India can really fight a peaceful war, they would forthwith become non-co-operators and, if the whole of India takes to non-co-operation immediately, freedom would be ours this day.

Even if the lawyers do not give up practice, the students do not leave Government schools and the title-holders do not relinquish their titles, even then, I see freedom can be won immediately. If, however, peace is disturbed, we cannot win freedom or, at any rate, cannot win it within one year.

Shri Shastriar and others sincerely believe that the non-co-operation movement only harms the country. If they believe so, how are they to blame? We cannot correct this wrong idea of theirs by force, nor by unmannerly behaviour.

Those who violate peace are enemies of the country, for they give the most effective co-operation to the Government. The Government knows how to put down violence. It would certainly be defeated if we could employ greater strength of arms than it can; if, however, we try to overcome it with force of a kind it does not possess at all, then we can achieve our goal in the shortest possible time and we shall not have to learn anything from it. Even a child will be intelligent enough to understand this.

Non-co-operation can succeed only when we can demonstrate its magic to large numbers. That magic can be worked only through peace. Just as darkness can be dispelled only by light, so we shall be able to vanquish the Government's armed might only by non-violent non-co-operation.

So far, I have dwelt only on the general principle. What, then, should a non-co-operator do in such circumstances? If we cannot stop the rowdyism in such meetings, we had better not attend any of them. When the first cry of "shame" was heard in Shastriar's meeting, if those who did not approve of this incivility had left forthwith, maybe only a few persons would have remained in the meeting, shouting "shame", but then the non-co-operators would have been spared the blame. We are not bound to attend anybody's meeting but, if we do attend, we are bound to preserve, and see that others preserve, civil manners.

But should we be blamed if the Government's own agents create rowdyism? The blame is ours to the extent that we fail to curb it. A soldier will not be dismayed by the ditches and rocks that obstruct his way but will continue to march forward, filling up the ditches and levelling the rocks. The Government

rules over us because it has the strength to defeat our tactics. When we are able to defeat all its plots, we shall rule over it. If the Government's own spies come to meetings for breaking them up, we should leave the field clear for them. We should quietly leave the meeting. Peaceful non-co-operation is so pure a weapon that the slightest impurity which gets into it cannot escape notice. Its edge is so sharp that it can cut through the hardest object. Hence there is no weapon as effective as this one. And yet its use is so easy that it can be explained even to a child. Wherever anything is to be "done", experience and training are required. Non-co-operation means "not doing". It takes years to make a child master letters, but to ask it to write nothing is easily done. A really obedient child can of itself understand what should not be done, likewise, a sincere non-co-operator who has faith in non-co-operation can understand without any training what things should not be done. And wisdom and strength come only from a sacrifice made with such understanding. Even if India wants to learn the use of arms, it will have to learn how to preserve peace and to employ non-co-operation.

Therefore, workers who may read this article should pay attention to the following general points:

When there is the slightest apprehension of disorder in a meeting of co-operators, they should not attend it and they should dissuade other non-co-operators from doing so. They should make efforts on every occasion to train people along these lines.

Nothing more can be said to persuade lawyers and students; if, therefore, we give training to those who have already left [practice or studies], their character and their fearlessness will induce others to do likewise of their own accord.

Now the non-co-operators need to go into the midst of the artisan class. We shall progress by thus serving every section of society.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 13-2-1921

176. SPEECH AT OPENING OF TIBBI COLLEGE[1], DELHI

February 13, 1921

HAKIMJI AND FRIENDS,

It was not without reluctance that I agreed to perform the ceremony of declaring this great institution formally open. I know that had it not been for the unfortunate estrangement created between the Government and ourselves, His Excellency the present Viceroy[2] would have been requested to open an institution whose foundation-stone was laid by his predecessor[3]. You will naturally appreciate my embarrassment in finding myself a substitute for so exalted a personage as the Viceroy. The second reason for my reluctance is still more personal. I hold strange views on medicine and hospitals and have scrupulously avoided any special contact with such institutions. But my reluctance was overborne by my regard for our worthy Hakimji. I must frankly confess that I have undertaken to perform the ceremony for political motives. I regard the Hakimji as an embodiment of Hindu-Muslim unity without which we can make no progress. I regard this institution as a symbol of that unity. It, therefore, gives me pleasure to be associated with today's ceremony.

You must have listened to the report just read with interest and profit. It is a record of substantial progress and strenuous labour. It shows what one man's energy devoted with single-mindedness can do. May God grant long life to the Hakimji and enable him to complete the programme sketched out by him. I hope that the monied men of the country will lighten his labours by sending him unsolicited donations. You will note that besides declaring this institution open I am to unveil the portraits of Lord and Lady Hardinge. It will give me particular pleasure to be privileged to perform that function giving us as it does an opportunity of showing that in the battle of non-co-operation we are not actuated by an anti-British spirit and that our national ideal includes the treasuring of the memory of good deeds done by anybody, be he English or Indian.

[1] The Tibbia College, a national medical college, founded by Hakim Ajmal Khan

[2] Lord Chelmsford

[3] Lord Hardinge

In order to avoid any misinterpretation of my views on medicine, I would crave your indulgence for a few moments over a very brief exposition of them. I have expressed them in a booklet[1] much criticized at the present moment. I believe that a multiplicity of hospitals is no test of civilization. It is rather a symptom of decay, even as a multiplicity of *pinjrapoles*[2] is a symptom of the indifference to the welfare of their cattle by the people in whose midst they are brought into being. I hope therefore that this college will be concerned chiefly with the prevention of diseases rather than with their cure. The science of sanitation is infinitely more ennobling, though more difficult of execution, than the science of healing. I regard the present system as black magic because it tempts people to put an undue importance on the body and practically ignores the spirit within. I would urge the students and professors of the college to investigate the laws governing the health of the spirit and they will find that they will yield startling results even with reference to the cure of the body. The present science of medicine is divorced from religion. A man who attends to his daily *namaz* or his *gayatri*[3] in the proper spirit need never get ill. A clean spirit must build a clean body. I am convinced that the main rules of religious conduct conserve both the spirit and the body. Let me hope and pray that this college will witness a definite attempt on the part of the physicians to bring about a reunion between the body and the soul.

Modern medical science having ignored the condition of the permanent element in the human system in diagnosing diseases has ignored the limitations that should naturally exist regarding the field of its activity. In trying to cure a body of its disease, it has totally disregarded the claims of sub-human creation. Man, instead of being lord and, therefore, protector of the lower animal kingdom, has become its tyrant and the science of medicine has been probably his chief instrument for tyranny. Vivisection in my opinion is the blackest of all the blackest crimes that man is at present committing against God and his fair creation. We should be able to refuse to live if the price of living be the torture of sentient beings. It ill becomes us to invoke the blessings in our daily prayers of God the Compassionate, if we in turn will not practise elementary compassion towards our fellow creatures. Would to God that this college, founded by one of the best of

[1] Gandhiji presumably refers to *Key to Health* (earlier version) or *Hind Swaraj*.
[2] Inssitutions for the care of infirm and disabled cattle
[3] Vedic prayer to Sun-god for illumination

Indian physicians, may bear in mind the limitations that God in my humble opinion has set upon our activity.

Having said this much, I would like to pay my humble tribute to the spirit of research that fires the modern scientists. My quarrel is not against that spirit. My complaint is against the direction that the spirit had taken. It has chiefly concerned itself with the exploration of laws and methods conducing to the merely material advancement of its clientele. But I have nothing but praise for the zeal, industry and sacrifice that have animated the modern scientists in the pursuit after truth. I regret to have to record my opinion based on considerable experience that our hakims and *vaids*[1] do not exhibit that spirit in any mentionable degree. They follow without question formulas. They carry on little investigation. The condition of indigenous medicine is truly deplorable. Not having kept abreast of modern research, their profession has fallen largely into disrepute. I am hoping that this college will try to remedy this grave defect and restore Ayurvedic and Unani medical science to its pristine glory. I am glad, therefore, that this institution has its Western wing. Is it too much to hope that a union of the three systems will result in a harmonious blending and in purging each of its special defects? Lastly I shall hope that this college will set its face absolutely against all quackery, Western or Eastern, refuse to recognize any but sterling worth and that it will inculcate among the students the belief that the profession of medicine is not intended for earning fat fees, but for alleviating pain and suffering. With the prayer that God may bless the labours of its founder and organizers, I formally declare the Tibbi College open.

The Bombay Chronicle, 15-2-1921

[1] Practitioners of the Ayurvedic system of medicine

177. LETTER TO C. F. ANDREWS

DELHI,
Monday [February 14, 1921][1]

MY DEAR CHARLIE,

Today is my day of silence. Naturally I think of those that are dearest and nearest to me. I appreciate your letter regarding Shastri and Paranjapye. It was a disgraceful affair. We must however continue our work making every endeavour to restrain the rowdyism. The more I think and I see, the more clearly do I see the hand of God in this movement. The self-restraint exercised in the face of provoking circumstances is certainly amazing. I make all allowance for the restraining influence of the bayonet.

I do not want to neglect either science or education in general. But I do want to suspend all other activity during this period[2] of probation. The time limit is for the people. They like a period to work up to. And I know that if real non-violence can be established in India during the period, you will see swaraj before September. You will remember the time limit for the termination of indentured labour. There is no usurpation there of any kind.

We had a good time at the Tibbi College. I want you to read my address at the opening and give me your criticism. I want your criticism of my letter[3] to the Duke also.

Please write at Lahore, 36, Mozang Road. I shall be in the Punjab nearly a fortnight.[4]

With love,

Yours,
MOHAN

From a photostat: G.N. 954

[1] The various events mentioned in the text suggest this date

[2] One year after the special Calcutta session of the Congress held in September 1920

[3] *Vide* "Letter to Duke of Connaught", before February 2, 1921.

[4] Gandhiji left Delhi on February 14, 1921, and was in the Punjab from February 15 to March 8, 1921.

178. SPEECH AT HARIANA RURAL CONFERENCE, BHIWANI[1]

February 15, 1921

Mahatma Gandhi then spoke and said that the resolutions passed by them about non-co-operation and intoxicating drugs[2] were to be strictly carried out. He said that he had observed that the people were satisfied with the mere passing of resolutions and were unconcerned with the carrying out of their resolve. That was a most unfortunate thing. Those who passed the resolutions were expected to carry them out. There were certain conditions attached to the statement made by him in September last that swaraj could be attained within one year from that month. The first indispensable condition was that the people remained non-violent even in face of provocation, whether from the Government or from amongst themselves. Non-violence with the speaker was a creed. But everybody now had realized that swaraj was unattainable within any measurable distance of time by methods of violence.

The second condition was co-operation among themselves. They, therefore, could not treat anyone of their own kith and kin as untouchables. He claimed to be a staunch Hindu. His Hinduism taught him to consider every man as his brother, entitled to the same opportunities and privileges as himself. So long, therefore, as they treat millions of their countrymen as untouchables, they must be content to remain the untouchables of the Empire. If non-co-operation was the movement of purification, all their evil habits had to go. The third condition was complete boycott of foreign cloth at any cost. That could only be brought about by making home-spinning a voluntary obligation during leisure hours by young and old, male and female, at least for a year.

The fourth condition was pecuniary contribution by everyone to the utmost of his or her ability.[3] They could not carry on swadeshi propaganda or national schools or colleges without funds.

He had mentioned these few conditions, which were of universal application. Those relating to the special classes were also there. Whilst the Congress did not call upon the sepoys and the policemen to give up their service, it did expect them to be faithful to the people; and the Congress did expect

[1] A town in the Hariana district of the Punjab. The Conference was held under the presidentship of Lala Lajpat Rai.

[2] The resolution about intoxicating drugs called upon the people to give up liquor and other intoxicants.

[3] At the Conference Gandhiji received about Rs. 18,000 in cash besides numerous ornaments from women, and promises for contributions amounting to Rs. 42,000.

the military classes not to go in for any further enlistment. There should be no recruitment for the police or the military.

If the conditions that the speaker mentioned could be carried out in a satisfactory measure he said that swaraj could certainly be gained before September. No one could complain that the fulfilment of the conditions he had named was at all difficult.

The Tribune, 19-2-1921

179. NOTES

What Will Kill Non-co-operation?

Certainly violence on the part of non-co-operators. But that is not what I wanted to answer. 'What can the Government do to kill non-co-operation?' is the question I have been asked. A settlement of the Khilafat in accordance with the Muslim demand, a settlement of the Punjab in accordance with the Indian demand, and the grant of swaraj in accordance with a scheme to be framed by authorized representatives of the nation.

What Is Swaraj?

That is the next question. It is partly answered in the foregoing paragraph. No one man can produce a swaraj scheme because it is not one man's swaraj that is wanted, nor can a scheme be framed in advance. What may satisfy the nation today may not satisfy it tomorrow. Our evolution is, and must be, an organic growth. National will is therefore subject to change from day to day. But some broad outlines can certainly be laid down in advance for any scheme of swaraj. The nation's representatives must have full control over education, law, police and military. We must have full financial control. And if we are to be self-governing not a soldier can leave India without our consent.

What about European Interests?

They will be as safe in a self-governing India as they are today. But there will be no privileges of a superior race, no concessions and no exploitation. Englishmen will live as friends in every sense of the term but not as rulers.

And the British Connection?

Nobody, so far as I am aware, wants to end it for the sake of ending it. There must be complete independence if England's policy is in conflict with the Muslim sentiment on the Khilafat

question or with the Indian sentiment in the Punjab. In any case it must be a partnership at will, based upon mutual love and esteem.

IS INDIA READY FOR THIS?

Time will show. I am convinced that it is. The swaraj that the Congress demands is not one that is to be granted by England. It must be that which the nation demands and can enforce, in the same sense that South Africa received it.

DHOTI AND "CHADAR"

Signs of the times are unmistakable. A Councillor in the reformed Council is reported to have appeared in dhoti and *chadar* and insisted upon taking his oath in Bengali. The Councillor deserves congratulations upon his pluck. It is the most natural thing for us to appear in our national costume at all functions. And one may hope that Councillors, wherever they can, will co-operate with the nation in spite of their having in many cases flouted the nation's wish in insisting upon going to the Councils. They will certainly render a service if they will have the courage to appear at Council meetings in khaddar dress and speak in their vernaculars. It is easier for the few Englishmen to speak our vernaculars than for the many of the nation to speak English.

Young India, 16-2-1921

180. MY RESPONSIBILITY

The Servant of India has referred me to the remarks of a Poona non-co-operator to illustrate that all non-co-operators are actuated not by love but by hate. I have never doubted it. On the contrary, I have admitted that many non-co-operators are impelled by hate, that most are impelled by a sense of justice, and some few by love only. The recital of the Poona facts is followed by a rebuke. Thus the writer ends:

> To enrol under the banner of love and peace the forces of hatred and violence, to believe that a simple doctrine can convert every heart into the purest gold, to persist in smoking a peaceful pipe on a stack of hay and in apparent innocence to disclaim all responsibility for the consequences, is amazing conduct even in a prophet.

The rebuke, I am sorry to say, is based on three unwarranted assumptions. I have not enrolled under the banner of love and peace the forces of hatred and violence, but I have enrolled under

the banner of justice all those who wish to secure it; and in doing so, as a practical reformer, I have not hesitated to take in those who I know are actuated by hatred. Even the latter are entitled to justice. Only I must see that they do not give play to their hatred. I claim that the vast majority of the haters are honourably fulfilling the compact, because they realize that non-violence is the best and the only policy for the country if it is to attain justice, and not merely to vent anger. I therefore do not need to believe that 'a simple doctrine can convert every heart into the purest gold'. But I do believe that practical experience is likely to change policy into creed. For I believe that people are by nature loving and peaceful. When they hate and kill, they do so against their better nature. I am not 'smoking a peaceful pipe on a stack of hay and in apparent innocence disclaiming all responsibility for the consequences'. On the contrary, as an expert miner, I am moving in a coal mine full of explosive gases with a safety lamp well protected against explosion, with a due sense of responsibility, and with the full knowledge that, in spite of the apparent safety of the lamp, the gases may, by some mysterious processes, any moment explode. If they do, I shall not shirk responsibility. I shall ask forgiveness not from avenging and indignant countrymen but from God, Who knows my motive and Who knows that He has created in me a frail mortal liable to err and has yet given him the faculty to judge and act. I claim to be a soldier, and a soldier is nothing if he does not take the boldest risks. The reference to 'a prophet' is an unkind cut coming from *The Servant of India.* The writers in that journal should know that I do not claim to be a prophet. But I do claim to be a devoted servant of the country with a burning passion to assist in delivering it from the intolerable yoke which has given it a stoop which it does not even sometimes recognize.

Young India, 16-2-1921

181. HAND-SPINNING AGAIN

The Servant of India has a fling too at spinning and that is based as I shall presently show on ignorance of the facts. Spinning does protect a woman's virtue, because it enables women, who are today working on public roads and are often in danger of having their modesty outraged, to protect themselves, and I know no other occupation that lacs of women can follow save spinning. Let me inform the jesting writer that several women have already returned to the sanctity of their homes and taken to spinning which they say is the one occupation which means so much *barkat* (blessing). I claim for it the properties of a musical instrument, for whilst a hungry and a naked woman will refuse to dance to the accompaniment of a piano, I have seen women beaming with joy to see the spinning-wheel work, for they know that they can through that rustic instrument both feed and clothe themselves.

Yes, it does solve the problem of India's chronic poverty and is an insurance against famine. The writer of the jests may not know the scandals that I know about irrigation and relief works. These works are largely a fraud. But if my wise counsellors will devote themselves to introducing the wheel in every home, I promise that the wheel will be an almost complete protection against famine. It is idle to cite Austria. I admit the poverty and limitations of my humanity. I can only think of India's *kamadhenu*, and the spinning-wheel is that for India. For India had the spinning-wheel in every home before the advent of the East India Company. India being a cotton-growing country, it must be considered a crime to import a single yard of yarn from outside. The figures quoted by the writer are irrelevant.

The fact is that, in spite of the manufacture of 62.7 crore pounds of yarn in 1917-18, India imported several crore yards of foreign yarn which were woven by the mills as well as the weavers. The writer does not also seem to know that more cloth is today woven by our weavers than by mills, but the bulk of it is foreign yarn and therefore our weavers are supporting foreign spinners. I would not mind it much if we were doing something else instead. When spinning was almost compulsorily stopped nothing replaced it save slavery and idleness. Our mills cannot today spin enough for our wants, and if they did, they would not keep down prices unless they were compelled. They are frankly money-makers and will not therefore regulate prices according to

the needs of the nation. Hand-spinning is therefore designed to put millions of rupees in the hands of poor villagers. Every agricultural country requires a supplementary industry to enable the peasants to utilize the spare hours. Such industry for India has always been spinning. Is it such a visionary ideal—an attempt to revive an ancient occupation whose destruction has brought on slavery, pauperism and disappearance of the inimitable artistic talent which was once all expressed in the wonderful fabric of India and which was the envy of the world?

And now a few figures. One boy could, if he worked say four hours daily, spin $\frac{1}{4}$ lb. of yarn. 64,000 students would, therefore, spin 16,000 lbs. per day, and therefore feed 8,000 weavers if a weaver wove two lbs. of hand-spun yarn. But the students and others are required to spin during this year of purification by way of penance in order to popularize spinning and to add to the manufacture of hand-spun yarn so as to overtake full manufacture during the current year. The nation may be too lazy to do it. But if all put their hands to this work, it is incredibly easy, it involves very little sacrifice and saves an annual drain of sixty crores even if it does nothing else. I have discussed the matter with many mill-owners, several economists, men of business and no one has yet been able to challenge the position herein set forth. I do expect *The Servant of India* to treat a serious subject with seriousness and accuracy of information.

Young India, 16-2-1921

182. STRIKES

Strikes are the order of the day.[1] They are a symptom of the existing unrest. All kinds of vague ideas are floating in the air. A vague hope inspires all, and great will be the disappointment if that vague hope does not take definite shape. The labour world in India, as elsewhere, is at the mercy of those who set up as advisers and guides. The latter are not always scrupulous, and not always wise even when they are scrupulous. The labourers are dissatisfied with their lot. They have every reason for dissatisfaction. They are being taught, and justly, to regard themselves as being chiefly instrumental in enriching their employers. And

[1] There were 200 strikes in India during 1920, and no fewer than 400 in 1921.

so it requires little effort to make them lay down their tools. The political situation, too, is beginning to affect the labourers of India. And there are not wanting labour leaders who consider that strikes may be engineered for political purposes.

In my opinion, it will be a most serious mistake to make use of labour strikes for such a purpose. I don't deny that such strikes can serve political ends. But they do not fall within the plan of non-violent non-co-operation. It does not require much effort of the intellect to perceive that it is a most dangerous thing to make political use of labour until labourers understand the political condition of the country and are prepared to work for the common good. This is hardly to be expected of them all of a sudden and until they have bettered their own condition so as to enable them to keep body and soul together in a decent manner. The greatest political contribution, therefore, that labourers can make is to improve their own condition, to become better informed, to insist on their rights, and even to demand proper use by their employers of the manufactures in which they have had such an important hand. The proper evolution, therefore, would be for the labourers to raise themselves to the status of part proprietors. Strikes, therefore, for the present should only take place for the direct betterment of the labourers' lot, and, when they have acquired the spirit of patriotism, for the regulation of prices of their manufactures.

The conditions of a successful strike are simple. And when they are fulfilled a strike need never fail.

1. The cause of the strike must be just.
2. There should be practical unanimity among the strikers.
3. There should be no violence used against non-strikers.
4. Strikers should be able to maintain themselves during the strike period without falling back upon Union funds and should therefore occupy themselves in some useful and productive temporary occupation.
5. A strike is no remedy when there is enough other labour to replace strikers. In that case, in the event of unjust treatment or inadequate wages or the like, resignation is the remedy.
6. Successful strikes have taken place even when all the above conditions have not been fulfilled, but that merely proves that the employees were weak and had a guilty conscience. We often make terrible mistakes by copying bad examples. The safest thing is not to copy examples of which we have rarely complete knowledge but to follow the conditions which we know and recognize to be essential for success.

It is the duty of every well-wisher of the country, if we are to attain swaraj during the year, not to precipitate any action that may even by a day retard the fulfilment of the great national purpose.

Young India, 16-2-1921

183. SOCIAL BOYCOTT

Non-co-operation being a movement of purification is bringing to the surface all our weaknesses as also excesses of even our strong points. Social boycott is an age-old institution. It is coeval with caste. It is the one terrible sanction exercised with great effect. It is based upon the notion that a community is not bound to extend its hospitality or service to an excommunicate. It answered when every village was a self-contained unit, and the occasions of recalcitrancy were rare. But when opinion is divided, as it is today, on the merits of non-co-operation, when its new application is having a trial, a summary use of social boycott in order to bend a minority to the will of the majority is a species of unpardonable violence. If persisted in, such boycott is bound to destroy the movement. Social boycott is applicable and effective when it is not felt as a punishment and accepted by the object of boycott as a measure of discipline. Moreover, social boycott to be admissible in a campaign of non-violence must never savour of inhumanity. It must be civilized. It must cause pain to the party using it, if it causes inconvenience to its object. Thus, depriving a man of the services of a medical man, as is reported to have been done in Jhansi, is an act of inhumanity tantamount in the moral code to an attempt to murder. I see no difference in murdering a man and withdrawing medical aid from a man who is on the point of dying. Even the laws of war, I apprehend, require the giving of medical relief to the enemy in need of it. To deprive a man of the use of an only village-well is notice to him to quit that village. Surely, non-co-operators have acquired no right to use that extreme pressure against those who do not see eye to eye with them. Impatience and intolerance will surely kill this great religious movement. We may not make people pure by compulsion. Much less may we compel them by violence to respect our opinion. It is utterly against the spirit of democracy we want to cultivate.

There are no doubt serious difficulties in our way. The temptation to resort to social boycott is irresistible when a defendant,

who submits to private arbitration, refuses to abide by its award. Yet it is easy to see that the application of social boycott is more than likely to arrest the splendid movement to settle disputes by arbitration which, apart from its use as a weapon in the armoury of non-co-operation, is a movmement fraught with great good to the country. People will take time before they accommodate themselves to private arbitration. Its very simplicity and inexpensiveness will repel many people even as palates jaded by spicy foods are repelled by simple combinations. All awards will not always be above suspicion. We must therefore rely upon the intrinsic merits of the movement and the correctness of awards to make itself felt.

It is much to be desired if we can bring about a complete *voluntary* boycott of law courts. That one event can bring about swaraj. But it was never expected that we would reach completion in any single item of non-co-operation. Public opinion has been so far developed as to recognize the courts as signs not of our liberty but of our slavery. It has made it practically impossible for lawyers to practise their profession and be called popular leaders.

Non-co-operation has greatly demolished the prestige of law courts and to that extent of the Government. The disintegrating process is slowly but surely going on. Its velocity will suffer diminution if violent methods are adopted to hasten it. This Government of ours is armed to the teeth to meet and check forces of violence. It possesses nothing to check the mighty forces of non-violence. How can a handful of Englishmen resist a voluntary expression of opinion accompanied by the voluntary self-denial of thirty crores of people?

I hope, therefore, that non-co-operation workers will beware of the snares of social boycott. But the alternative to social boycott is certainly not social intercourse. A man who defies strong, clear public opinion on vital matters is not entitled to social amenities and privileges. We may not take part in his social functions such as marriage feasts, we may not receive gifts from him. But we dare not deny social service. The latter is a duty. Attendance at dinner parties and the like is a privilege which it is optional to withhold or extend. But it would be wisdom to err on the right side and to exercise the weapon even in the limited sense described by me on rare and well-defined occasions. And in every case the user of the weapons will use it at his own risk. The use of it is not as yet in any form a duty. No one is entitled to its use if there is any danger of hurting the movement.

Young India, 16-2-1921

184. SPEECH AT RURAL CONFERENCE, ROHTAK[1]

February 16, 1921

Our object is to obtain swaraj and to redress the Khilafat question. If Government were again to promulgate Martial Law people would not submit to creep on their bellies. Now we have got so much power that we would refuse to creep on our bellies and to salute the Union Jack. I bowed to the sirkar for 35 years with my own consent but now I would not do so even by force. We should do good deeds and become the soldiers of God. We intend either to destroy or to reform the present Government. I request you to become the servants of God instead of serving anybody else. As long as you are in the service of the Government I advise you to continue and with honesty. Probably there is a police station here and some policemen present here. I tell them to treat the public, who are their brethren, mildly and lovingly and not to oppress them. We have not got so much funds that we can ask the people to leave their service and supply them food; but I ask them to continue their service; at the same time they should be the soldiers of God. In order to gain our twofold object we have started non-co-operation. You should peacefully adopt that. The Government have become Satanic. Even God did not kill Satan and we should refrain from killing the Devil. If [Government] servants have got sufficient funds to maintain themselves they should at once leave service, otherwise not. If any [Government] servant wants to leave he may do so today. Until there is freedom we can neither perform our prayer nor worship our God. Those who are in service may continue so, but no recruit should be given in future. Do not drink wine, smoke or commit theft, and refrain from looking on another's wife. Those who are addicted to these things can never be called godly people. Non-co-operation is a thing free of fear. Use native-made articles and spinning-wheels. Hindus and Mohammedans should unite. You should decide your cases by panchayats. If you act upon my advice we shall obtain swaraj by September. Give money for this as it is needed.

Police Abstract of Intelligence, Punjab, No. 1

[1] Town in the Punjab. Gandhiji visited the Jat School, which had lately been nationalized, and laid the foundation stone of the Vaishya High School.

185. SPEECH AT GUJRANWALA[1]

February 19, 1921

Mahatma Gandhi began by requesting the audience to preserve silence so that his voice might reach all. He asked the people not to talk or smoke. Mahatmaji said that when he was at Bhiwani and Rohtak, resolutions against drinking, smoking and using other intoxicants were passed. They should also take a similar pledge and become *jitendriyas*[2], that is to say, they should look upon all women as their mothers and sisters and be pure in thought, word and deed. They all desired swaraj and wanted to solve the Khilafat question and to obtain redress of the Punjab wrong. The panacea for all these three was non-co-operation. There were two ways of obtaining swaraj. One was by the might of the sword and the other by peaceful means. The Congress, the Muslim League and the Sikh League, had decided to obtain swaraj by non-violent non-co-operation. If they wanted swaraj within one year, they should follow the example of Mr. Yakub Hassan[3] at Calicut. Mr. Yakub Hassan had voluntarily preferred to go to jail rather than incite the people to violence. Government asked him to give security but he refused to do so and went to jail for six months[4]. All of them should prepare to go to jail. He was not prepared to go to jail nor did he ask anybody else to go to jail as a result of crime. But he was prepared to go to jail and asked others to do the same for the sake of swaraj.

Another condition of obtaining swaraj was the one which concerned students. It was necessary for students to give up colleges and schools if they wanted swaraj. The non-co-operation students should not bring pressure to bear on those students who wanted to continue their studies, nor should the former ridicule the latter. The man who becomes angry or uses strong language, loses something of his own strength. Those who wanted to continue their studies should be left alone. Only, the non-co-operators should place before the others their own practical example. Mahatmaji hoped that if martial law was delcared again they would not crawl on their bellies. All of them had, to India's eternal shame, humiliated themselves before the Union Jack

[1] Thousands had come from Lahore and other places to Gujranwala to hear Gandhiji who could not deliver a public speech in Lahore owing to the enforcement there of the Seditious Meetings Act.

[2] Those who have acquired control over the five senses

[3] Who had resigned his membership of the Madras Legislative Council on May 20, 1920

[4] Yakub Hassan, along with three companions, was sentenced on February 17, 1921.

which represented a Government which had sent to jail and the Andamans many innocent countrymen of theirs. He also hoped that if another Dyer would be born, the people would not run away before his bullets but allow the shots to pierce not their backs but their chests. They all wanted to be soldiers and soldiers did not run away but died of shots at their posts. If another Jallianwala Bagh was enacted, they would lay open their chests to the bullets and bear the shots till they died.

The first condition was that their methods of work should be peaceful. All the same they should be fearless. He had received letters which described the courage of Arab youths. Government placed before the Arabs all sorts of alternatives which were tempting. They promised to convert their warm sands into a cool climate and to build railways, etc. In exchange for these things, Government wanted the Arabs to consent to be governed by them. But the Arabs preferred their warm sands to foreign rule.

Mahatmaji then referred to the Duke's[1] visit and asked what he had done for them. He had neither punished the guilty officials nor stopped Dyer's pension. He [Gandhiji] did not want that Dyer should be prosecuted, but he certainly wanted that not a pie should be given to him out of the Indian exchequer. Men like Dyer were receiving pensions from their treasury. Students should give up schools and colleges maintained by such a Government. Courts also should be boycotted. The lawyers should also realize their duty along with students. If the Punjabis wanted liberty, they should learn to sacrifice comfort. If they were not prepared for this, freedom was impossible.

Another condition for the attainment of freedom was not to use foreign things, particularly cloth. If they were prepared to die for swaraj, could they not do without foreign clothing? Some people had told him that when the Punjab students would be asked to take to the charkha, they would run away. He wanted to tell them that if they desired to bring about the economic salvation of their country and to save 60 crores of rupees annually, they should give up the use of foreign cloth at once and take to the spinning-wheel. He had received a letter from Bombay which said that as a result of the example of those non-co-operating students in Bombay who had taken to the spinning-wheel, the members of their families had also adopted the charkha. There were some who looked upon spinning as womanish. In his opinion, the very expression of such a view was cowardly. If the Punjab students wanted to learn true economics, they should take to the charkha upon which depended their economic salvation.

Mahatmaji, continuing, said that it gave him great pain to notice Punjabi sons writing to their parents in English. If they adopted a foreign language as their own, they could not attain freedom. He had been told that the Punjab youths were drifting towards extravagance. Dadabhai Naoroji had estimated

[1] The Duke of Connaught

that their annual income per head was Rs. 26 only. How could they, under the circumstances, afford to live in luxury? There were in India three crores of persons who daily went without a full meal. How could they think of living a life of ease and comfort? They should lead poor lives and help their brethren. If they wanted to obtain swaraj they could not do with a lakh of rupees. Swaraj was not an ordinary bargain. In order to obtain the pearl of swaraj, they would have to make far heavier sacrifices. Up to that day ladies had donated liberally wherever he had occasion to appeal to them. He regretted that the ladies of Gujranwala had acted in a miserly spirit. Lala Lajpat Rai was styled by them the "Lion of the Punjab" and a lion was never satisfied with morsels of grass.

All of them should live like brothers. Neither cows, nor *gurudwaras*, temples nor mosques should be protected by resort to violence. If they wanted to protect these things, they should do so by sacrificing their lives. If they wanted to achieve swaraj, the path before them was straight. They should not resort to crooked ways nor be cheated by others.

In conclusion, Mahatmaji prayed to God to strengthen their minds and to make them fearless. They would themselves die but they would not kill others. They would have nothing to do with the Government. They would never cry "shame, shame" or hoot their revered leaders like Mr. Sastri and Babu Surendranath Bannerjea. All these were their respected elders. By hooting them they committed violence. They should not follow Western civilization but their own ancient tradition and thus maintain its pristine glory.

The Tribune, 22-2-1921

186. NATIONAL TILAK MEMORIAL FUND FOR SWARAJ

The nation has a duty to perpetuate the memory of Tilak Maharaj. It was a wholly worthy idea to associate his memory with swaraj work. That the money received for a memorial to him should be spent in the cause of swaraj is the only right course. By contributing for such a purpose, people serve their interests in two ways. It is to our benefit to perpetuate the memory of the Lokamanya and winning swaraj is plainly in our interest.

The Congress Working Committee has decided that the various provincial committees will collect contributions [in their respective provinces]. Three-fourths of what each committee collects will be spent for the purpose of the non-co-operation movement in the particular province and one-fourth will be passed on to the All-India Congress Committee.

Collections for the Fund are not to go on for years; they must be completed in a month or two.

Everyone, young or old, man or woman, should contribute to the Fund to the best of his or her ability. Hindus, Muslims, Parsis, Christians, Jews—all who look upon themselves as Indians should contribute their full share.

Contributions should be remitted to the Treasurer, All-India Congress Committee, or to Sheth Jamnalal Bajaj, Treasurer of the Congress or to Mian Chhotani[1]. If any persons wish to send their contributions to the *Navajivan* office instead of to one of these, the amounts will be acknowledged in the paper and sent on to the Treasurer of the Gujarat Provincial Committee.

I hope that every village will take up this work without delay.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 20-2-1921

187. WHAT TO DO WHEN ONE LOSES TEMPER

The treasure of my experiences is growing richer. I get a new experience every day. After the visit to Gorakhpur, we had to go to Kashi. The journeys are mostly by night. It is no exaggeration to say that out of a month almost fifteen nights are spent on trains. One night[2], things reached the limit. The train made long halts at each station, while crowds outside kept shouting all the time. My companions pleaded with the people and tried to maintain quiet as well as they could. I was very much tired and altogether exhausted. At one of the stations, my wife and Mahadevbhai[3] tried hard to keep the people quiet. But in vain. They insisted on having *darshan*[4]. They peeped through the window, said all kinds of things and even made ironic remarks. Finally, I got upset. I felt that I must do something to save my wife and Mahadev. I got up and peeped through the window. I was in a rage and so had not even taken care to cover myself. It was quite cold but, in my temper, I didn't feel it. I pleaded with the people in a raised voice. Their shouting of slogans grew louder. I felt very much annoyed. I told them: "You ought to have pity on a

[1] Mian Mahomed Haji Jan Mahomed Chhotani; nationalist Muslim leader of Bombay who took leading part in the Khilafat movement

[2] The night of February 8, 1921

[3] Mahadev Desai (1892-1943); lawyer, journalist and author; Gandhiji's private secretary

[4] Sight of a person, place or thing considered holy

woman and a young man. Why do you harass us in this way? How could you expect *darshan* at night?" But the people were in no mood to listen to all this.

What was I to do? Should I jump from the window? Should I cry? Should I beat any of them? Should I stay back at the station? How could I jump? What good would it be to cry? How could I even think of beating anyone? If I stayed back at the station, I could not reach Kashi. But I could in no way recover my calm, nor would the people be quiet. The shouts of *jai* grew louder still. I saw that both love and hatred can overpower us. I beat my forehead, but that had no effect. I did that again, when someone said: "What would be our plight if you yield to anger?" I felt ashamed, but the anger did not subside. It would subside only when people had become quiet. I beat my forehead for the third time. The people got frightened. They asked me to forgive them, became quiet and requested me to go to sleep. All this was observed by one gentleman[1] and he could understand my suffering. In this way I recovered my calm. From that station onwards, this gentleman himself protected us. At every station, he would plead with the people, restrain their eagerness for *darshan* and persuade them to remain quiet.

Within my memory, this is the fourth occasion in my life when I hit myself. On each of them, I have recovered peace only after hitting my head. It is only now I learn from experience that even love can irritate a person.

And now comes the point of describing all this. There are so many occasions when a person is likely to give way to anger. It is his duty every time to control it; as he learns to control it, he becomes braver, acquires greater fortitude, greater courage and self-confidence and his reason becomes clearer. When, however, a person simply cannot control his anger, the best way to work it off is to strike oneself. Of the four incidents I mentioned, on three occasions my grief was due to the misdeeds of those dear to me and I could not bear it. On one occasion I atoned for my own lapse. I had committed such a sin that I felt suddenly shocked at it and was aflame with anger with myself. I rose and struck myself hard blows and only then did I have peace. It was my experience on all these four occasions that the effect on me and the atmosphere around me was quite good. When an enraged person

[1] Ram Gopal, secretary of the Khilafat Committee at Mhow, described by Mahadev Desai in his account of this journey as an unknown angel who rescued Gandhiji

hits another, he himself falls and commits a crime against that other person. When, tortured by anger, a man suffers himself, he is purified and has a purifying effect on others.

India is at present angry because of the atrocities of this Government. If the country hurts itself, if it suffers in its own person, it will win and get swaraj before September. Let no one put forward this vain argument: "In my case, on all occasions the people concerned loved me and so they could understand the meaning of self-punishment. Here we have to deal with the British; what effect can we produce on them by inflicting suffering on ourselves? " It would be atheism to ask such a question. Self-punishment is also a kind of *tapashcharya*. Its fruit can be nothing else but the holy merit which accrues from a virtuous act. Even enemies cannot but feel its effect. Our purpose, however, is not to produce an effect on the British but to become, ourselves, pure, firm, courageous, and fearless. When we have become fearless, who would dare to rule us? Nobody can rule even uncivilized races when they become fearless; who, then, can rule a civilized India become fearless?

There should be strong reasons for self-punishment. The reason for getting angry should be just. When this is not so, self-punishment is suicide and deserves to be condemned. It will not be satyagraha, it will be nothing but *duragraha*.

I hear of instances of such *duragraha* time and again. A person who fasts before another's house in order to get money will only starve to death. Anyone who gives him money out of misplaced pity because of his fasting will have done no virtuous deed either. If my example of self-punishment is not followed wisely, the self-punishment will profit nothing.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 20-2-1921

188. LETTER TO G. L. CORBETT

RAWALPINDI,
February 20, 1921

DEAR MR. CORBETT,

I thank you for your letter which I received in Lahore on Thursday[1]. Though we seem to be drifting I am sure that we are drifting only to come nearer. The false and unnatural relations that subsist today are really keeping us apart.

I am not against free and voluntary emigration but I am indifferent about it and even opposed to any stimulation. I thoroughly distrust the Fiji authorities. I have heard enough to convince me of the truth in the main of the emigrants' version. In these circumstances I should deplore the departure of a single emigrant to Fiji. Emigration would be a proper enterprise when India has gained full control of her own affairs and can treat with the dominions on an equal footing. But if anybody goes to Fiji to conduct an inquiry whilst India is in a ferment and her status undermined, I know that you are one who will not do conscious injustice to her.

I am quite at one with you on the question of the Hindu treatment of the untouchables. There is absolutely no excuse to offer for the evil. And I am hoping that with the untouchability of India in the Empire will go the untouchability in Hinduism. I do look upon our present status as a deserved nemesis for our treatment of the so-called pariah.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 7465

[1] February 17

189. LETTER TO GANGARAM SHARMA

LAHORE,
February 21 [1921][1]

DEAR GANGARAMJI,

This is what is averred against you:

1. You and Mr. Gaurishanker have misappropriated monies.
2. Your schools are mostly bogus.
3. You have a bogus committee.
4. You have published no accounts.
5. You do not collect from those who are said to benefit by your schools.
6. You were charged with misappropriation, but acquitted. The public belief is that the charge was not ill-founded.
7. You are keeping a woman by whom you have children.

There seems to be strong ground for believing these things. If you desire an inquiry, I would ask some of the friends you mention to conduct the inquiry.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 7441

190. TELEGRAM TO CHHOTANI[2]

February 22, 1921

YOU MAY GO PROVIDED NO SURRENDER OF MINIMUM TO BE ACCEPTED AND PROVIDED ALSO ANSARI ACCOMPANY YOU AS AUTHORIZED SECRETARY ADVISOR INTERPRETER HAKIMJI DR. ANSARI REACHING THERE THURSDAY IMPOSSIBLE FOR SELF LEAVE PUNJAB.[3] POSTPONE DEPARTURE SATURDAY WEEK FOR FULL DELIBERATION.

Bombay Secret Abstracts, 1921, p. 208

[1] In this year Gandhiji was in Lahore on February 21.

[2] Mian Mahomed Haji Jan Mahomed Chhotani

[3] Gandhiji, who was in the Punjab from February 15 to March 8, reached Bombay on March 10.

191. LETTER TO C. F. ANDREWS

LAHORE,
February 22 [1921][1]

MY DEAR CHARLIE,

I have your two letters. You must get well.

The Sikh tragedy[2] absorbs me. Please tell me whether the extract in *Young India* referring to Gurudev's pronouncement is correctly reported.

I want to suspend all other activities means that any other activity will be rendered fruitless without the people realizing themselves. It is like 'seek ye first the kingdom', etc. I would any day have the boys going to the villages rather than learning Hindustani. But you have no idea of their helplessness. Very few are able to live the village life. And so I say during the transition period of 10 months let them spin, let them assimilate their knowledge through their mother tongue and let them learn Hindustani. Those boys who cannot or will not do this for 10 months with the promise of resumption of normal studies at the end of the year had better not come out of their colleges. The[y] must only come out if they consider it sinful to remain in Government colleges, not otherwise.

With love,

Yours,
MOHAN

From a photostat: G.N. 959

[1] In this year Gandhiji was in Lahore on February 22.

[2] About one hundred and fifty Akali Sikhs were killed when, on February 20, 1921, they entered the *gurudwara* at Nankana Saheb, about 40 miles from Lahore. The *gurudwara* was in the possession of Mahant Narandas who was allegedly abusing his trust; *vide* "Speech at Nankana Saheb", March 3, 1921, and "Sikh Awakening", March 13, 1921.

192. LETTER TO A. F. FREEMANTLE[1]

[Before *February 23, 1921*]

DEAR SIR,

I have just received your letter of the 12th instant. You will please excuse me if I do not reply to your letter in detail.

[1] This was written in reply to a letter dated February 12, 1921, from the addressee, a member of the Indian Civil Service. The following are the relevant excerpts from Freemantle's letter :

"I have not had the pleasure of perusing in full the open letter to Europeans in India which I understand you indited last year, and am aquainted with its contents merely through a Hindi translation which I have partly read.

You began, I believe, by some detail of the services you had rendered to the British Empire. Have you ever asked yourself . . . how far you can hope to impress us with them . . . Between August 4, 1914, and November 11, 1920, . . . thousands of Englishmen joined the colours merely for justice' sake . . . Many were wounded again and again. Many . . . reduced to indigence. And all this not for a particular motive, but, I repeat, to establish a universal principle. . . What have you lost that you should presume to place yourself upon the eminence on the strength of any losses or sufferings, and to lecture others? . . . There is another thing which distinguishes you, your "idealism". I do not myself think great things of that shallow quality, that miscalled idealism which turns from history and experience to evolve a misty Utopia out of the inner consciousness . . . you have not that higher idealism which looks hard at the facts . . . On truth you appear to set a peculiar value . . . It would be a mistake however . . . not to realize that practice toils painfully behind . . . truthful yourself in the main, you are not—if newspaper reports are correct—scrupulous about lies uttered in your presence. Witness the disgusting aspersion on a British officer now recognized as the Kachagarhi fable . . . you made a feeling allusion to the story, treating it as accepted truth. The *Tribune* apology is published; we await yours and are likely still to await it. . . . I suspect you of being at heart a co-operator waiting only for a suitable time to come to terms with this Satanic Government. . . . you are already on the right path, . . . You have right ideas . . . But it is necessary to strip off unworthy motives. Cease even to recognize Government by struggling against it. Take a step further and ignore it. Those of us who love learning for its own sake . . . would be glad indeed to see educational institutions which are really independent of Government. . . . Empty our law courts, not because you are under the fond impression that Government likes them full, but simply because litigiousness is bad. Another idea is that of home industries. It is puerile to connect the spinning-wheel with swaraj . . . But you are on the right road if you teach your fellow-countrymen . . . the dignity of manual labour, and to discard shoddy machine-made goods . . . " *Young India*, 23-2-1921.

You have hardly done justice to yourself in criticizing a letter[1] you have never seen, whose translation you have only partly read. If you had read the letter, you would have seen that I did not mention my services to demonstrate my sufferings, much less to show that they were selfless. I mentioned them merely to show how consistently loyal I was to the British connection even in the midst of adverse conditions. My services were not selfless, because I believed that I would by those services be assisting my country's progress towards freedom. Your mention of British bravery and selflessness is therefore irrelevant. British bravery and capacity for suffering are beyond question. The claim to national selflessness, you will permit me to deny *in toto*. I did not believe then, the world does not believe today, that the late War was one for justice or was selfless. You wanted to crush the Germans, and for the moment you have succeeded. I do not believe that the Germans are the fiends the English Press has made them out to be, nor do I believe that the world would have come to an end if they had won.

You think that I am on an eminence. I assure you that I am unaware of that. I am however on the top of a volcano which I am trying to turn into hard incombustible rock. It may erupt any moment before I have succeeded. That unfortunately has always been a possible fate for a reformer.

My idealism worries you. If you had taken pains to read my writings, you would have known that it is intensely practical.

You have rightly guessed that I am at bottom a co-operator. How would I be otherwise having been that for nearly thirty years? I am certainly waiting for the first opportunity to co-operate, but believe me my co-operation will not be tendered until Englishmen have realized the necessity of settling the Khilafat terms in accordance with the Muslim sentiment, until they have repented of the calculated torture of the Punjab, and until they have ceased to consider themselves as our patrons and rulers. India will gladly have Englishmen as friends, fellow-workers and equal partners in India, but if they desire to exploit the country for their own gain, they must do so, if they can, without our co-operation.

You have seen fit to accuse me of deviation from truth. Here again your amazing ignorance is to blame. You were rightly informed that I believed the statement about the Kachagarhi incident, made to me upon oath by persons whom I had no reason

[1] *Vide* Vol. XVIII, pp. 373-5.

for doubting. I published over my signature a denial as soon as I received it. I refer you to the file of *Young India*. Lastly may I ask you to try to study and understand the movement of non-co-operation? You will find that it is not anti-English in spirit. It is a religious movement, it is a purifying movement. It is a movement intended to resist injustice, untruth, terrorism and to establish swaraj in India. You will admit that it is better to replace mutual distrust and fear by trust and fearlessness.

This movement is an attempt to end that unhappy state. And I seek your co-operation in the effort.

I am,
Yours faithfully,
M. K. GANDHI

Young India, 23-2-1921

193. NOTES

HOW MANY LAWYERS AND STUDENTS HELP?

Everywhere I have been asked whether lawyers and students who do not carry out the Congress resolution affecting them can help the movement in any other way. The question is rather strange for it assumes that if a lawyer or a student cannot non-co-operate as such he cannot help at all. There are undoubtedly hundreds of students and scores of lawyers who are not suspending their normal studies or their practice, as the case may be, only out of weakness. A lawyer who cannot suspend practice can certainly help with money, he can give his spare hours to public service, he can introduce honesty and fair dealings in his profession, he can cease to consider clients as fit prey for his pecuniary ambition, he can cease to have anything to do with touts, he can promote settlement of cases by private arbitration, he can at least do spinning himself for one or two hours per day, he can simplify the life of his family, he can induce the members of the family to do spinning religiously for a certain time daily, he can adopt for himself and his family the use of khaddar. These are only some of the things that can be done by every lawyer. Because a man cannot or will not carry out a particular part of the non-co-operation programme, he need not be shy about the other items. One thing a practising lawyer may not do: he may no longer figure as a leader on public platforms. He must be content to be a silent worker. What I have said about practising lawyers applies

to students also who cannot or will not withdraw from schools. Most of our volunteers are drawn from the student world. Volunteering is a privilege and a student who has not been able to withdraw from Government schools cannot receive privileges from the nation. They too must be content to be unambitious servants of the nation. Even if we cannot completely boycott schools and colleges, we must destroy their prestige. That prestige has almost gone and is daily decreasing. And we must do nothing that would restore their prestige till they are nationalized and answer the requirements of the nation.

ROWDYISM

Certainly, non-co-operation has received a rude shock by disgraceful behaviour at the Bombay and Poona meetings towards Messrs Shastri and Paranjapye. I have seen the explanation that the hooliganism was resorted to not by non-co-operation students but by those who wanted to discredit the movement itself, and to rouse prejudice against non-co-operation students. The explanation is likely to be partly true for there are undoubtedly men who would for the sake of killing the movement even create violence. For non-co-operation to be speedily successful, we must be able to provide even against such contingencies. A soldier cannot plead difficulties in defence of his defeat. When General Buller[1] failed to relieve Ladysmith, he was superseded[2]. When Lord Roberts[3] failed to finish the South African War, Lord Kitchener[4] took over command. This Government will live on only so long as it can circumvent non-co-operation. If non-co-operation students did not want to be discredited why did they attend the meeting either in Bombay or in Poona? The notices clearly stated that only those who wished to hear the other side of the question were to attend. There was, therefore, no excuse for the scenes that were enacted in Bombay and Poona. Moreover, it is often forgotten that Messrs Shastri and Paranjapye are among the ablest and the most public-spirited men we have in the country. They are as much lovers of their

[1] Sir Redvers Henry Buller (1839-1908); British Commander-in-Chief during Boer War before Roberts

[2] By Roberts. Buller had failed to relieve Ladysmith in December 1899; in the following February he succeeded

[3] Frederick Sleigh Roberts, 1st Earl Roberts of Kandahar (1832-1914); Commander-in-Chief in India, 1885-93, in South Africa, 1899-1900

[4] Horatio Herbert, 1st Earl Kitchener of Khartoum and of Broome (1850-1916); Chief of Staff to Lord Roberts in South Africa, 1899; organized forces to combat guerilla warfare of Boers, 1900-2; Commander-in-Chief in India, 1902-9

country as non-co-operators themselves. We may consider them to be mistaken in their view as they consider us to be mistaken. But we shall grievously err if we refuse to listen to the arguments of our opponents.

Nor need we seek to justify rowdyism on the strength of English precedents. We may not call the movement religious and continue still to copy the bluster and violence of English meetings. Our strength lies in not copying foreign or other precedents without discrimination. This movemet, if it is to be non-violent in essence, as it must be to be successful, has to retain its distinctive character at every step and at all times.

Young India, 23-2-1921

194. THE CONDITIONS OF SWARAJ

Swaraj is easy of attainment before October next if certain simple conditions can be fulfilled. I ventured to mention one year in September last because I knew that the conditions were incredibly simple and I felt that the atmosphere in the country was responsive. The past five months' experience has confirmed me in the opinion. I am convinced that the country has never been so ready for establishing swaraj as now.

But it is necessary for us as accurately as possible to know the conditions. One supreme indispensable condition is the continuance of non-violence. The rowdyism, hooliganism, looting that we have recently witnessed are disturbing elements. They are danger signals. We must be able to arrest their progress. The spirit of democracy cannot be established in a year in the midst of terrorism whether Governmental or popular. In some respects popular terrorism is more antagonistic to the growth of the democratic spirit than the Governmental. For the latter strengthens the spirit of democracy, whereas the former kills it. Dyerism has evoked a yearning after freedom as nothing else has. But internal Dyerism, representing as it will, terrorism by a majority, will establish an oligarchy such as will stifle the spirit of all free discussion and conduct. Non-violence, therefore, as against the Government and as between ourselves is absolutely essential to speedy success. And we must be able to devise means of observing it on our part in spite of the gravest provocations.

The next condition is our ability to bring into being the Congress organization in terms of the new constitution[1], which

[1] *Vide* pp. 190-8.

aims at establishing a Congress agency in every village with a proper electorate. It means both money and ability to give effect to Congress policies. What is really needed is not a large measure of sacrifice but ability to organize and to take simple, concerted action. At the present moment we have not even succeeded in carrying the Congress message to every home in the 7½ lakhs of villages of India. To do this work means at least 250 honest workers for as many districts, who have influence in their respective districts and who believe in the Congress programme. No village, no circle need wait for instructions from headquarters for founding their respective organizations.

There are certain things that are applicable to all. The most potent thing is swadeshi. Every home must have the spinning-wheel and every village can organize itself in less than a month and become self-supporting for its cloth. Just imagine what this silent revolution means and there would be no difficulty in sharing my belief that swadeshi means swaraj and *swadharma*[1].

Every man and woman can give some money—be it even a pice—to the Tilak Swaraj Fund. And we need have no anxiety about financing the movement. Every man and woman can deny himself or herself all luxury, all ornamentation, all intoxicants at least for one year. And we shall have not only money but we shall have boycotted many foreign articles. Our civilization, our culture, our swaraj depend not upon multiplying our wants—self-indulgence—but upon restricting our wants—self-denial.

We can do nothing without Hindu-Muslim unity and without killing the snake of untouchability. Untouchability is a corroding poison that is eating into the vitals of Hindu society. *Varnashram* is not a religion of superiority and inferiority. No man of God can consider another man as inferior to himself. He must consider every man as his blood-brother. It is the cardinal principle of every religion.

If this is a religious battle, no argument is necessary to convince the reader that self-denial must be its supreme test. Khilafat cannot be saved, the Punjab inhumanity[2] cannot be redressed, without godliness. Godliness means change of heart—in political language, changing the angle of vision. And such a change can come in a moment. My belief is that India is ripe for that change.

[1] One's own duty

[2] The original has "humanity".

Let us then rivet our attention on:

1. Cultivating the spirit of non-violence.
2. Setting up Congress organizations in every village.
3. Introducing the spinning-wheel in every home and manufacturing all the cloth required for our wants through the village weaver.
4. Collecting as much money as possible.
5. Promoting Hindu-Muslim unity and
6. Ridding Hinduism of the curse of untouchability and otherwise purifying ourselves by avoiding intoxicating drinks and drugs.

Have we honest, earnest, industrious, patriotic workers for this very simple programme? If we have, swaraj will be established in India before next October.

Young India, 23-2-1921

195. "DID CHRIST NON-CO-OPERATE?"[1]

The reader will perhaps agree with me that the Rev. Gillespie has made a bad case worse. Every non-co-operator will, I am sure, be prepared to co-operate on the same terms that he mentions in connection with the prodigal son[2]. Let this prodigal Government return like the Biblical son and all non-co-operators will rejoice exceedingly. The incoming Viceroy[3] will have all the assistance he may expect from the non-co-operators if he means to do well. As to untouchability, Rev. Gillespie is on safe ground. No one who hugs untouchability has any right to denounce this Government. 'He who seeks equity must come with clean hands' is a maxim of universal application. And the Rev. gentleman will find that those who want to retain untouchability are certainly among the co-operators. Non-co-operation is nothing if it is not reformation from within.

Young India, 23-2-1921

[1] In this article, Gandhiji comments on a letter dated January 22, 1921, from the Rev. Gillespie at Rajkot; the letter is not reproduced here.

[2] The Rev. Gillespie had said in his letter : "While we must not 'countenance a son who disgraces himself by a life of shame and vice', yet we should co-operate with him—and this is true co-operation—by waiting for the prodigal in 'anguished love' and with prayerful soul-energy, and, when he returns, receive him with open arms."

[3] Lord Reading, who assumed office in April, 1921

196. SPEECH AT SIKH CONFERENCE AT SHRI[1]

February 25, 1921

I admit that we should have the control of our sacred places in our hands. We can secure that control in a single day. But how is that to be done? If not a single person visits a *gurudwara*[2] and if no money is put into the impure hands of impure *mahants*[3], you can get them to do your bidding right today. If you now believe that the control of the *gurudwara* at Nankana Saheb is in your hands, you are mistaken. Its control has been given to you by the Government's army. I do not wish you to have it in this manner. I do not mean to say that you should relinquish the control which you have obtained. But there certainly is some humiliation in the way you have got it.

I am much grieved on account of those who died as martyrs.[4] But I know that this is not the time to weep. This is the time to die. I wish that at this time we should all be able to meet death, taking blows on our chest. It seems this courage was shown by the martyrs of Nankana Saheb. But I cannot help seeing our own fault either. We do not have any right to acquire control of a *gurudwara* by intimidation. If the *mahant* had slain Lachhmansingh after coming to Lyallpur, he would not, thereafter, have been able to retain that control even for a moment. But by going to Nankana Saheb, we actually gave him a chance. We can acquire control of *gurudwaras* only through patience. We kept quiet all these years. Would it have been wrong to wait a year more?

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 17-4-1921

[1] Extracted from Mahadev Desai's account of Gandhiji's tour
[2] Sikh place of worship
[3] Priests in charge of *gurudwaras*
[4] At the time of Nankana Saheb tragedy, which occurred on February 20; *vide* footnote 2, p. 378.

197. SPEECH AT KHILAFAT CONFERENCE, LUCKNOW

February 26, 1921

Speaking in Urdu at the Khilafat Conference yesterday Mr. Gandhi said that within the remaining seven months up to October they would decide the Khilafat question and attain swaraj. They could not draw the sword but would produce the power of drawing the sword after swaraj was attained. The Viceroy used to laugh at them but now he wanted to co-operate with them.[1] He advised the boycott of British goods and the giving up of foreign cloth, by which means they could get swaraj the next day.[2] [Gandhiji continued :]

We have done our best to persuade lawyers and students. It is not necessary any further to busy ourselves over this aspect of the movement. I am satisfied with the measure of success we have achieved in conveying our message. Those whom we have failed to win over may start non-co-operation when they choose. The lawyers who still practise and the students who attend Government schools and colleges enjoy no respect. Most of them admit, themselves, that they are going wrong. This is enough for us. To the extent that the lawyers, and the students attending Government schools, have lost prestige, the Government's prestige also is lowered.[3]

Amrita Bazar Patrika, 2-3-1921; *Navajivan*, 17-4-1921

198. PERVERTED REASONING

I continue to receive anonymous letters. Many people, even now, lack the courage to come out with their names. Whether one's name should be published or withheld from a newspaper may be a matter of choice; but to look forward to the publication of an article without disclosing one's name even to the editor is another story. I have with me two such letters. In one of them, a student of Gujarat College casts some aspersions on non-co-operators. I shall not publish this letter. The second letter is from a sister. This, too, contains some allegations. But the correspondent being a woman and the allegations deserving of notice, I quote from the letter here.

[1] This is presumably a reference to the Viceroy's speech on the Khilafat issue; *vide* Appendix II.

[2] This paragraph is from *Amrita Bazar Patrika*.

[3] This paragraph is from the Gujarati report in *Navajivan*.

This anonymous correspondent writes :

> The atrocities perpetrated in the Punjab by the autocratic officials of the British Government have moved me very strongly and, for the past four months, I have been thinking of giving up my job. With the passing of time, however, I find that the urge to give up the job is slackening. This has happened because I am as much shocked at the doings of dishonest leaders working in your name as I had been shocked at the doings of autocratic officials. It is imperative somehow to ensure that such dishonest persons do not use your name to their profit and that nothing but truth prevails. Is it not improper to start national schools at every place where municipal schools exist and to seek to enroll larger numbers of children in them? Why not convert municipal schools into national schools as has been done at Nadiad?

This sister has employed perverted reasoning. If she felt an urge to give up her Government job, that urge should quicken instead of slackening because of dishonesty among non-co-operators. The dishonesty of non-co-operators will not be reduced by honest persons getting disheartened and clinging to their Government jobs. Whoever gives up a Government job or non-co-operates in any other way, should do so not to oblige the non-co-operators but as a matter of duty. How does it matter if all non-co-operators are sinners? Rather, if that be really so, stray individuals, upright in character and determined non-co-operators, should employ far mightier non-co-operation. If the impulse of this sister is genuine, this is the right way.

If all the non-co-operators had been honest, swaraj would have been an accomplished fact long ago. It is wrong to hope that we shall at once be cleansed of all the dirt that has covered us through the years. If we keep away from an unclean Government, to that extent at any rate we shall have been cleansed. It is not right for an alcoholic to cling to his drink because he notices other vices among the abstainers. Whatever others may do, the right course for such a person is to get rid of his drink habit and to endeavour to liberate others from their vices.

Moreover, if what this sister has said about municipal schools is all that she means by dishonesty, it is simply her error. It is the obvious duty of non-co-operators, where the municipalities do not convert their schools into national schools, to start new schools and to seek, if possible, to take away students from municipal schools.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 27-2-1921

199. *RAWALPINDI SISTERS*

I have been receiving the blessings of sisters from Bengal and other regions for the cause of swaraj. I have seen young girls handing over all their ornaments. Those who were moving in very fine muslins in the past, are seen wearing khadi saris. When this has become a common thing, I wonder which experiences I should narrate and which I may pass over.

Rawalpindi is considered to be mainly a town of soldiers. Its residents are wealthy people. The sentiments which I observed among the women of Rawalpindi were, however, beyond my imagination. The women's rally was held at eleven in the morning.[1] Its venue was an open ground in a garden. Menfolk were prohibited from entering the garden while the meeting was going on. The sisters were seated around a dais. I was accompanied by Lalaji[2]. The sisters sang a couple of songs composed by themselves. Quite a large number joined in the chorus. One of the songs related to Amritsar and the other was about swadeshi. This was about their resolve to ply the spinning-wheel, not to idle away time, to chant God's name while plying the wheel, to give up fine cloth in favour of khadi and to make our land happy by encouraging carpenters, smiths and cobblers. The song-leader seemed to be a girl of about twenty years. She was in a white dress. She was rich, but I did not notice on her person any ornaments except a ring. There is no custom in the Punjab that an unmarried girl or a woman whose husband is alive must wear bangles. The sisters had also brought yarn and khadi as gifts.

Our speeches were hardly listened to in the midst of all their happy chatter. They simply didn't wish to listen, since the appeal we were going to make was already imprinted on their hearts. We must end *Ravanarajya* and establish *Ramarajya*. The way to do that was indicated by Sita. She had rejected all sweets, ornaments and other temptations offered by Ravana, and the daughters of India should act in like manner. The hearts of the poor will not pour out blessings as long as they are hungry. This hunger can be satisfied only by the spinning-wheel. The blessings of only pious women can bear fruit. Therefore, women should become more virtuous, simple and upright. These simple truths were al-

[1] Of February 20, 1921

[2] Lala Lajpat Rai

ready imprinted on their hearts. Why, then, should they listen to us? They started bringing out money and ornaments. The white-clad sister became envious of her ring. She struggled to remove it but it would not come off. Only when she had succeeded and dropped the ring in my sack did she feel relieved. The sisters spread out all around us. Some collected money and ornaments in their scarfs. Some collected money and threw it with such skill that another sister would neatly gather it in the fold of her garment. This commotion went on for about an hour and there was a shower of rupees and notes.

These sisters knew why I needed money. They knew what swaraj meant and what the Khilafat meant, and knew all about the atrocities in the Punjab. The sisters were donating money for these causes. Why, then, should I not feel confident that swaraj can be attained within a year? The fact is that I don't believe swaraj will be won by any individual. If any good deeds of India are ripe for their reward and if the country as a whole has taken to the path of virtue, swaraj is bound to come. The conditions are clear enough, but I have made them a little clearer. They are:

(1) Peace, (2) Swadeshi (popularizing spinning-wheel and khadi), (3) Co-operation among ourselves, (4) Donating of necessary funds and (5) Arrangements in every region to work in accordance with the constitution of the Congress.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 27-2-1921

200. NOTES

Repression Galore

I have devoted a special article to the Bihar repression. Since writing it I have come across more news in the Press about Bihar. And if there is no second Jallianwala in Bihar, it will be due, not to want of goading by the authorities, but to the exemplary self-restraint of the Biharis. What is there to prevent an officer from shooting an unsuspecting crowd which he may allege, and believe, to have collected in defiance of an order? Such a thing may easily happen, and the catastrophe may go down to history, written by a Government historian, as an "error of judgment".

Repression is assuming definite shape in the United Provinces also. Public speakers are being restrained.

The Calicut Magistrate has rendered himself famous by imprisoning Mr. Yakoob Hassan and his companions.[1]

But it is the expected that is happening. Swaraj cannot, must not, be cheaply attained. Why should not all, young and old, suffer imprisonment? It is common suffering that will indissolubly bind us together. As non-co-operation begins to tell, the authorities are bound to lose their heads.

For, it is clear that as yet there is no real desire to repent. The Duke[2] has spoken sonorous sentiments, and it is said that, whilst H.R.H. was pronouncing these sentiments, he was visibly affected. The Council has accepted a resolution recording its regret over what happened during the fateful April of 1919,[3] and, as if to mock us, almost at the time that these empty sentiments were being uttered, the magistrates in various provinces were hatching plots of repression. It was a most telling illustration of what is meant by wordy repentance.

India today wants no magnanimous speech nor, for that matter, any magnanimous action. What she is thirsting for is the barest justice. She is entitled to demand the stoppage of pensions from the Indian treasury to Sir Michael O'Dwyer and General Dyer. She cannot be satisfied so long as officers who have misbehaved are still in the enjoyment of high offices.

But so long as this elementary justice is withheld, so long must India continue the battle of non-co-operation, and so long must the Government continue its policy of repression.

What to Do

We must treat repression as the touchstone wherewith we are to be tested. If we can stand it without wincing or without losing self-control, it will do us good and bring us nearer the goal. If we are in earnest we shall go through the ordeal without losing temper. After all, we are trying the temper of the Government by refusing co-operation, but its instinct of self-preservation keeps it sober up to a point. It loses balance after that point is reached. As a rule, we respond by becoming angry in turn and so the Government feels stronger for our weakness. Non-violence teaches us that we make no response to the Government's temper.

[1] *Vide* "Speech at Gujranwala", February 19, 1921.

[2] The Duke of Connaught

[3] In the Council of State this resolution was moved on February 15, 1921, by Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas. It was accepted after its third clause, calling for deterrent punishment to officers who had been guilty, was withdrawn by the mover.

And, if we carry out the lesson in practice, the Government must lose. Repression will have lost its edge because of our non-response, even as an arm swung in the air becomes dislocated for want of response.

Young India, 2-3-1921

201. REPRESSION IN BIHAR

Bihar is a province in which the most solid work is being done in connection with non-co-operation. Its leaders understand the true spirit of non-violence. They are trying to curb, and are succeeding in curbing, the zeal of those who would cross the boundary-line, even in speech. There is no danger of an outbreak of violence in Bihar. The province has a splendid record of purifying work. The temperance movement has made such rapid strides that the excise revenue is likely to be very considerably affected. The educational movement is making great progress. Many pleaders have suspended practice. The people are settling their disputes by arbitration. There are signs on every side of a national awakening of which any popular government would have been proud. Not so the Bihar Government. And, yet, people had high hopes of Bihar, for, had it not an Indian Governor[1], one of the ablest of India's sons, an ex-president of the Congress? Even Lord Sinha has his limitations. He has become part of a machinery which is grinding the people, and his abilities can only be utilized to run that machinery, or he must fall out.

Repression is most rampant in Bihar because the officials have become daring under the cover of an Indian Governor. Lord Sinha has become a shield for official offenders.

Let the reader judge from the following facts. Maulana Mazharul Haq and Babu Rajendraprasad, both well known in Bihar, were prevented from going to Arrah.[2] A letter from a friend says :

> In the districts of Muzaffarpur, Saran, and Champaran, notices under sections 144 and 107 are being continuously served. Those who decline to be bound over are imprisoned. Thirty such persons have already gone to gaol. Action against others is pending. It is a matter of pleasure

[1] Lord Sinha

[2] The order forbidding them to enter Arrah was served on February 16, 1921.

> that some of these are old men and that the womenfolk, instead of being downcast over these imprisonments, have felt unconcerned, if not elated.

Maulana Safi and Babu Ram Binod have received the following notice:

> Whereas I am reliably informed and I am satisfied that you intend addressing a public meeting in Hajipur, in which you will exhort your hearers to suffer imprisonment even, in the cause of non-co-operation, and will also speak on other matters in connection with non-co-operation, which exhortations are likely to cause excitement amongst your hearers and a breach of the public tranquility may reasonaby ensue, I therefore by virtue of the powers vested in me under Sec. 144 Cr.P.C. hereby order you to abstain from delivering any speech on non-co-operation in any of its forms within the limits of my jurisdiction.

The Sub-Divisional Officer who has signed the notice claims to have known beforehand what the gentlemen were going to speak! And it was non-co-operation! Speakers all over India have been asking people to prepare themselves for imprisonment. It has caused no breaking of public tranquility anywhere. All the most popular organizations have preached non-co-operation, and it is being peached daily from a thousand platforms. The terms of the order virtually prevent the speakers from speaking on swadeshi, temperance, untouchability and Hindu-Muslim unity. they are all 'forms' of non-co-operation.

Another order runs as follows:

> Whereas it has been reported to me that Brahmachari Ram Raksha of Bangra, P.S. Gopalganj Saran, addressed a meeting yeasterday in which he denounced the Government and the British people as treacherous, pledge-breakers and tyrannical, and stated that the policy of the British Government was to set one race against another in order to rule both; and that the Government is bound to disappear on account of its *zulum* and that if all Indians responded to the call of Gandhi they could expel the British Government within ten days, and it has further been reported that this speech caused great excitement; and that another such speech is likely to cause a breach of the peace, and whereas it appears that the said Brahmachari Ram Raksha intends to make a similar speech again today, I hereby forbid him under Sec. 144 Cr. P. C. to abstain [*sic*] from making any speech whatever to any gathering of five or more persons in any part of the Sitamarhi Sub-Division in any open place during a period of one month from the date of this order.

Again, what the Brahmachari has been gagged for has been uttered by thousands of lips. The charge brought against the

Government by the Brahmachari occurs in the preamble of the Special Congress Resolution[1]. I have myself had the honour of denouncing the Government as 'treacherous, pledge-breakers and tyrannical.' It was left to the magistrate of Sitamarhi to discover that it was a crime to denounce the Government in those terms.

Now the question is : what can Lord Sinha do short of resigning?[2] He cannot supervise the orders of even magistrates. If he did the magistrates would non-co-operate, strike and make his position intolerable and government impossible. Therefore, for the sake of, some day and in some way, serving his country as Governor, he makes himself believe that it is better for him to hold on to his post than make room for an English Governor. This is but the beginning of his rule. The public will find that the Civil Service under his regime will have consolidated its power more thoroughly than under an English Governor. And this for two reasons : the Civil Service will make a greater grievance of every restraint under Lord Sinha than they would under an English Governor, and the people would submit to wrongs more cheerfully because they would naturally want to make his regime successful. And thus the strongest Indian who could possibly have been selected for the high post of a Governor will fail not because of want of effort or ability but because of the inherent evil of the system his Excellency has been called upon to administer. It gives me no pleasure, thus, to have to criticize the rule of one for whom I entertain very high regard. But even a Gokhale would have failed had he been called upon to administer the system with its existing spirit.

Young India, 2-3-1921

[1] The resolution on non-co-operation adopted at the special session of the Congress held at Calcutta in September 1920

[2] Lord Sinha resigned on November 21, 1921.

202. LETTER TO C. F. ANDREWS

ON THE WAY TO LAHORE,
March 2 [1921][1]

MY DEAREST CHARLIE,

I thought of you the whole of Monday but was not able to reach the letter. I wanted to write to you. I wanted to tell you how forcibly I felt the truth of what I have said in one sentence in my Tibbia College speech. The crime against the untouchables I feel, the exploitation of the dumb millions I feel, but I realize still more clearly our duty to the lower animal world. When Buddha carried that lamb on his back and chastised the Brahmins, he showed the highest measure of love. The worship of the cow in Hinduism typifies that love.

And what does that love demand? Certainly not hospitals for cattle ill-treated by fellow-beings, though they are not to be destroyed, but promotion of kindness to beasts. Our love consists in our getting off the necks of our dumb fellow-creatures. The more helpless the lower life, the greater should be our pity.

Thus thinking I see a newer meaning in the spinning-wheel and my statement that its destruction marked the subjection of India and her decay. The work among the poor will be profitless and devoid of religion without the spinning-wheel. We must help the poor to feed and clothe themselves. We can never succeed unless we reintroduce the spinning-wheel. No other industry can solve the problem of the mass poverty in India.

I have given you my thoughts at random but you will probably have no difficulty in seeing my meaning. I am trying to answer the difficulties that underlie some of your questions. I feel that you have not seen clearly the message of the spinning-wheel or the working of the spirit of non-co-operation. Somehow or other the women of India appear to have caught it instinctively.

I appreciate Gurudev's rebuke but I do not feel guilty. Somehow or other I imagine that with my knowledge limited as it was at that time I did right in not judging the Government. My hearty association up to the time of the Amritsar Congress has given me a confidence and power which I could not have

[1] The year is indicated by the reference in the text to the speech at Tibbia College, which was published in *Young India*, 23-2-1921.

possessed otherwise—nor was there a spirit of bargaining behind it. I did what I held was right without bargaining for reward.

In Lahore I may have to stay a week. I shall know on reaching.

Mahadev is at Sabarmati installing Vakil as Sub-editor for *Young India*. Lalchand leaves *Young India*.[1] I wanted a more capable man. Lalchand is a good, honest worker, but does not understand his limitations. Mahadev will return after he has done.

I do hope you are keeping better health now.

Please give my respects to Baro Dada. It is a great comfort to me that he is so whole-heartedly with me in this struggle.

With love,

Yours,
MOHAN

From a photostat: G.N. 960

203. SPEECH AT NANKANA SAHEB

March 3, 1921

The following is the substance of Mr. Gandhi's Hindustani speech delivered at Nankana Saheb *Gurudwara* when he visited it together with Maulana Shaukat Ali:

I have come as a pilgrim to tender you my sympathy. I received a wire[2] of the tragedy[3] from a Sikh friend at Ghurkha. I showed it to Lala Lajpatrai and friends. The news was so staggering that they would not believe it without confirmation. We hastened back to Lahore to find that the news was all terribly true. I cancelled my visit to Multan and awaited further information. The next day I proceeded to Lyallpur and thence to the Sikh Divan[4] at Shri. I heard there that the cremation[5] was taking place that day. It was too late to attend when the news was received. I could not make this pilgrimage earlier as I was bound to keep important appointments at Amritsar and Lucknow. Meantime I have heard much about the immolation.

[1] *Vide* "Letter to Lalchand", January 29, 1921.
[2] On February 20, when Gandhiji was at Rawalpindi
[3] *Vide* footnote 2, p. 378.
[4] Held on February 25, 1921
[5] Of those killed at Nankana Saheb

I need hardly give you my assurance that your grief is mine. I am so constituted that the sufferings of others make me miserable. And were it not for the futility of suicide to end grief, I should long ere this have done away with my life by suicide. And so when I heard of the tragedy of Nankana I felt like wanting to be among the victims. As it is I can but show my sympathy to those that are left behind.

I must confess that I have not yet been able to come to any final judgment as to what actually happened. It seems almost unbelievable that not a man died at the hands of the Akali[1] party. Did not the brave men who were armed with *kirpans*[2] and battle-axes retaliate even in self-defence? If they did not, it is an event that must electrify the whole world.

I can imagine three possibilities.

One is that the Akali party came to take possession of the temple. They lost their lives in the act. The world will not blame the party for having come to take possession. You believe the *mahant* to be unworthy of the trust. You are puritans. It was natural for you to take possession. But it is impossible for me to defend the action of taking possession by a show of force. My creed forbids me to use violence or to make a show of it even against an evil-doer. I know that there exists this difference between your creed and mine. I hope that I am capable of forgiving one who may do me or mine an injury. I always pray to God that should such an occasion arise, He would give me the strength to forgive such a wrongdoer. But History will hold you free from blame even if it is found that the martyrs had come to take possession by a show of force.

The second possible position is that the party came merely to worship and was assassinated without the opportunity of defending themselves.

The third possibility is that the party came to worship, although it had knowledge that the *mahant* was fully armed for destroying them and that, although they were capable of defending themselves, they allowed themselves to be butchered.

In every case the event will live in history.

I hope that you will not take the credit of the bravery for the Sikhs only, but that you will regard it as an act of national

[1] Reformist Sikhs

[2] A *kirpan* is a knife with a curved blade which every Sikh is enjoined by religion to carry.

bravery. The martyrs have died not to save their own faith merely but to save all religions from impurity.

You and I must live and die for Hindustan as her sons and daughters. I have dedicated my life to the cause of the Khilafat because it means the defence also of my own faith and country. I claim to be *Sanatani* Hindu. And I want to live at peace with my neighbours. I can only do so by serving them. I have no desire to save my country or my religion by killing others. I know that God will hold me blameless if He finds me capable of dying for either.

I would ask you therefore to dedicate this martyrdom to Bharat Mata[1] and believe that the Khalsa[2] can remain free only in a free India. You cannot be free and enslave India. And yet the temptation in the hour of your triumph is almost too great. This Government is quite capable of harnessing your aid to keep India under bondage. I mean no reflection on the present Governor or any other official. If I was satisfied of their complicity I would not hesitate to say so. But just now I am speaking of the genius of the Government. It has not hesitated to divide Hindus from Muslims in order to be able to retain its hold on us. And it is quite capable of dividing you from the rest of India. I ask you to resist any such temptation with all your might and to unite with the rest of India to end this Satanic system of Government.

A friend has just now said that the Sikhs have passed their examination in suffering. I join issue with him and suggest to you that your examination has only just commenced. How are you going to use this newly acquired strength? The same friend drew my attention to the fact that your *kirpans* and your battle-axes were part of your dress. So let them be. But I assure you that the time has not come for their use, if it is ever to come. All the national associations have recognized the present necessity of non-violence. Your *kirpans* must therefore remain scrupulously sheathed and the hatchets buried. If you and I will prove worthy of the martyrs, we will learn the lesson of humility and suffering from them; and you will dedicate all your matchless bravery to the service of the country and her redemption.

Young India, 16-3-1921

[1] Mother India
[2] The Sikhs

204. MESSAGE TO LAHORE SIKHS ON NANKANA TRAGEDY

March 4, 1921

DEAR FRIENDS,

Having made my pilgrimage to Nankana Saheb yesterday I would like to say a word to my Sikh friends. The traces that I saw of the massacre at one of the greatest of your temples and the stories related to me have left an indelible impression on my mind.

There seems little doubt that nearly one hundred and fifty men of the Akali party were foully murdered and their bodies mutilated on that fateful Sunday, the 20th Feb[ruary], whilst not a single one of the murderers was apparently hurt by the Akali party. There is no doubt that at least one Akali was tied to a tree in the temple ground and probably burnt alive. There is still less doubt that many of the corpses were soaked in paraffin, and, in order probably to hide the fact that only men of one party were killed, they were burnt. No one of the Akalis that gained entrance to the temple seems to have escaped to tell the tale of the butchery.

The temple presents the appearance of a fort. The walls of the rooms that surround the shrine are pierced to admit of shooting through them. The partition walls have connecting holes. The main door has massive steel plates evidently of recent make. The Granth Saheb[1] bears bullet marks. The walls of the sanctuary and the pillars tell the same tale. The Akali party seem to have been treacherously admitted and the gates closed on them. Everything I saw and heard points to a second edition of Dyerism more barbarous, more calculated and more fiendish than the Dyerism at Jallianwala. Man in Nankana, where once a snake is reported to have innocently spread its hood to shade the lamb-like Guru[2], turned Satan on that black Sunday.

India weeps today over the awful tragedy. I am ashamed to find that there are men today who are capable of the crime committed by sons of India in that holy temple. Information is lacking to show why the Akali party went to the temple and whether they offered resistance to the murderers. They had all their *kirpans*

[1] The holy book of the Sikhs

[2] Guru Nanak

and mostly their hatchets. There are three possibilities that could have happened :

1. The party went by a show of force to take possession of the temple but were overwhelmed by superior force and died fighting bravely.

2. The party went merely as worshippers, had no intention of taking possession and were treacherously murdered without being able to defend themselves.

3. The party went as worshippers, as in the second case, and were mercilessly attacked; but though able to defend themselves would not retaliate and willingly died being under a vow not to use violence in connection with the *gurudwara* movement.[1] The contention of my informants, who can only speak from hearsay, is that the party went and died as supposed in the third alternative. If it is so, the martyrs have showed courage and resignation of the highest order of which the Sikhs, India, and the whole world have every reason to be proud. It is a matter of the greatest satisfaction that the Sikhs with whom I have discussed the possibilities persist in believing the last.

In the second instance, the bravery of the defenders was as unquestioned as in the last.

In the case I mentioned first, the bravery was great, but the morality of the act, i.e., the taking possession by a show of force must remain open to question and ordinarily speaking, made the Akalis a party of trespassers whom the party in possession was entitled in law to use sufficient force to repel.

The Akalis are a great party of purists. They are impatient to rid the *gurudwaras* of abuses that have crept in. They insist upon uniformity of worship in the *gurudwaras*. The movement has been going on for some years. Both co-operating and non-co-operating Sikhs have, since the movement of non-co-operation, been acting in concert so far as the *gurudwara* movement is concerned. And even if it is discovered ultimately that the Akali party went to Nankana Saheb by show of force to dispossess a *mahant*[2] who had abused his trust, History will still call the immolation an act of martyrdom worthy of high praise. Judged by the highest standard and that of non-violent non-co-operation, if the first supposition turns out to be true, the act of entering to take possession must bear the taint of violence and as such is worthy of

[1] Started by Akali Sikhs to take over control of *gurudwaras* from the hands of *mahants* protected by the Government

[2] Narandas

censure. But the original taint can never be held as in any way justifying or excusing the fiendish barbarity of the crime committed by the murderers. The law courts were open to them—no man using violence can plead non-co-operation for not seeking the assistance of the law courts.

Time, however, for adjudging the exact value of the martyrdom is not yet. It is more to the point to consider the immediate steps that should be taken. I can only think of the tragedy in terms of Indian nationality. The merit of the brave deed must belong not merely to the Sikhs but to the whole nation. And my advice, therefore, must be to ask the Sikh friends to shape their future conduct in accordance with the need of the nation. The purest way of seeking justice against the murderers is not to seek it. The perpetrators, whether they are Sikhs, Pathans or Hindus, are our countrymen. Their punishment cannot recall the dead to life. I would ask those whose hearts are lacerated to forgive them, not out of their weakness—for they are able in every way to have them punished—but out of their immeasurable strength. Only the strong can forgive. You will add to the glory of the martyrdom of the dear ones by refusing to take revenge.

Moreover those who are non-co-operationists may not have recourse to British law courts even for getting murderers punished. If we will be free within one year we must have the courage to suffer even the murderers to go scot-free[1] till we have established a government in accordance with our will and which can vindicate justice.

Let the Sikhs beware. The Government will no doubt try to win them over to them by showing that they alone can punish the guilty. Law courts of a civil government [*sic*] are traps into which the unwary run unwittingly.

But if we have not yet visualized the wickedness of the system under which we are governed, and therefore at a crucial moment will not avoid the existing law courts, let us not thoughtlessly blunder into having our own Committee side by side with the Government Committee of Inquiry. Let us frankly admit our imperfection or weakness and avail ourselves of the law courts or boldly face the possibility of murderers being let loose upon us. It is dangerous to conceal our weakness, it is still more dangerous to make a pretence of courage.

It was common knowledge that the *Mahant* had been preparing for a long time, and practically openly, to give battle. He

[1] "act-free" in the source

had arms. He had collected ammunition, he was surrounding himself with ruffians. Government officials could not but have known of the preparations. You, therefore, naturally suspect that high officials contemplated with equanimity, if they did not encourage, the perpetration of a heinous deed. You are anxious to find out the exact truth. A moment's reflection must convince you that even if it is found that some Government officials were guilty of such complicity, the discovery takes you and India no further than where we stand today. You, and practically the whole of India, want to sweep the whole of the Government out of existence unless the system under which it is being carried on is radically altered. It would be wrong to divert the attention of any section of the nation from the main or the only issue which is before the country.

So much for the tragedy.

The whole of the *gurudwara* movement requires overhauling. There is no doubt that a large party proceeding to a *gurudwara* to take possession does constitute a show of force even though no violence is contemplated or intended. And in a well-ordered society, no individual, except under a process of law, is permitted to dispossess by a show of force or any undue pressure, even a wicked man who has been ostensibly in possession of public property such as temples. If such individual action were permitted there would be an end to all good government and the weak would be left without the right of protection. Such attempt, therefore, on your part will be a negation of the Khalsa Dharm[1] whose basis is protection of the weak. No one can be more eager for real reform in our temples and removal of all abuse than I. But let us not be party to measures that may be worse than the reform sought to be brought about. There are two ways open to you: either establishing arbitration boards for settlement of possession of all *gurudwaras* or temples claimed to be *gurudwaras* or postponement of the question till the attainment of swaraj. If you would let the martyrdom at Nankana bear fruit, exemplary self-restraint and suspension of the movement to take possession of *gurudwaras* by means of Akali parties are absolutely necessary.

I am,
Your faithful friend,
M. K. GANDHI

Young India, 16-3-1921

[1] Sikh religion

205. LETTER TO VARMA

MULTAN,
March 5 [1921][1]

DEAR MR. VARMA,

Your letter has followed me in my travels.

I am doing all I can to overtake the unruly tendency in the boys. I am hoping that the unseemly exuberance will pass and things will settle down and take their proper shape. Are we not all in the melting-pot today? Perhaps we are not able to appreciate merits and demerits of actions or their proper value. However I must do what little I can to avoid a repetition of the disgraceful scenes of Kashi.[2] I am asking Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru to attend to the matter.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 7978

206. SPEECH AT MULTAN

March 5, 1921

Mahatmaji started by apologizing for having twice failed to keep his promise to go to Multan; once it was because of the news that the Government wanted to arrest him and Maulana Shaukat Ali, so they had to hurry back to Ahmedabad; and the second time the sudden and tragic news of Nankana Saheb compelled him to give up his programme of coming to Multan from Lyallpur; and even for the present visit he was greatly dissuaded from coming to Multan on account of the prevalence of plague. But in spite of that, he had gone there owing to the affection they cherished for him. While congratulating the Seva Samiti for the relief given by them to their plague-stricken brethren, he could not help accusing the people of Multan and the Municipality of being partly responsible for the prevalence of the scourge on account of the extremely insanitary condition of the city. Cleanliness and

[1] During 1921 Gandhiji several times referred to students' disturbances in his writings and correspondence. He was in Multan on March 5, 1921.

[2] Here Gandhiji presumably refers to a recent incident in which disrespect was shown by students at Banaras to Malaviya.

purity of body, mind and soul was their primary duty without which attainment of swaraj was impossible. From the discussion of the plague, Mahatmaji proceeded to refer to a 'greater plague', the subjection of the nation.

From the persistent invitation of the Multanis he had thought that they were anxious to show him the progress they had made towards swaraj, but he regretted that he could not congratulate them on their achievements. At first he had thought that his brother Maulana Shaukat Ali had missed a great deal by not coming to Multan and witnessing what the Multanis had done towards the national movement; but after coming to Multan he was no more sorry on that account. He found that the Multanis had held a great meeting. It was possible to have a bigger meeting, but he regretted they had done practically nothing to combat the greater plague. Not one lawyer had suspended practice,[1] nor had any school been disaffiliated, or any national school started. He had nothing to commend about the achievement of Multan. He felt very grieved at these signs of national weakness. The Viceroy was partly right when he spoke about the failure of non-co-operation although he should have known that they had achieved a great deal. Swaraj was attainable even if no school was disaffiliated and no lawyer suspended practice, or no rich men made sacrifices.

Again, while congratulating Bhai Mul Chandji[2], he was sorry that he was still retaining the Government medal. If he feared that by returning the medal Government would stop him from doing his humanitarian work and people would die in consequence they should not mind. Similarly he exhorted the lawyers sitting on the platform to give up practice though he held that swaraj did not depend on a Mul Chand giving up his medal or a lawyer suspending his practice. Several lawyers in other parts of the country had nobly responded to the call and Mahatmaji referred tothe noble sacrifice of [C.R.] Das, Pandit Motilalji and Lala Lajpat Rai. Students too in other parts of the country had given up Government-aided schools and colleges and title-holders had lost all position in public affairs. But these were not all and there were further conditions for attaining swaraj.

He then proceeded to enumerate and discuss those conditions, those being non-violence and unity amongst all classes of the Indians. Following one's religion in all strictness should lead to still greater unity amongst the followers of different religions. He cited the case of the Ali Brothers and himself loving each other as brothers in spite of differences in religion. They should all be one in love was the highest teaching of the Hindu shastras. The third condition, Mahatmaji said, was swadeshi, and the charkha was to be their shield

1 After the speech was over Bodh Raj and Keval Krishen, local Congress workers, announced that they would suspend practice for one year.

2 Manager of the Seva Samiti plague camp. At the end of the meeting he promised to return his Kaiser-i-Hind gold medal.

as well as the aeroplane and the machine-gun. Even those who ridiculed them before were now realizing the truth of this statement. And for authority he cited no other person than O'Dwyer. India's position as a nation had been falling more and more as the charkha fell out of use. Even during the earliest stages of British occupation there was no crawling on their bellies, no rubbing of the ground with their noses and no saluting of the Union Jack as long as the charkha was used in their homes. The more the charkha fell out of use the greater grew Lancashire and the more they sank into slavery. He then exhorted the audience to take to the charkha and introduce the same into their homes and to give up all luxuries. The fourth condition was the purity of mind and soul. They should follow truth and religion and give up corrupt habits like drinking, dissipation and lying, if they wanted to save Islam, Hinduism and Sikhism. The last condition, Mahatmaji said, was to subscribe handsomely to national funds. He saw before him a large number of rich people and Sikh landholders. He could also recognize from their turbans the Shikarpuri merchants. Though Lala Lajpat Rai had estimated subscriptions for Swaraj Fund from Rs. 50,000 to a lakh, and Lala Duni Chand[1] a lakh and a half, Mahatmaji thought even ten lakhs was not a big amount to be collected in one year. They should all subscribe to their best, so that he might be able to convey a much more hopeful message to Lala Lajpat Rai. He asked them to organize themselves for collection work and to keep proper accounts.

The Tribune, 8-3-1921

207. *TELEGRAM TO HANS RAJ*[2]

[*March 7, 1921*][3]

SHALL GLADLY RECEIVE ADDRESS IF EARLY MORNING SO AS NOT INTERFERE HARIANA, HOSHIARPUR AND RETURN LUDHIANA.

The Tribune, 8-3-1921

[1] A popular municipal commissioner of Lahore

[2] Sent in reply to a telegram from Jullundur from a local public worker, Raizada Hans Raj, which read: "Jullundur Municipal Committee unanimously resolved presentation of welcome address tomorrow morning. Please wire acceptance. Inform Press."

[3] The address referred to in the text as well as in addressee's telegram was presented by the Jullundur Municipal Committee on March 8, 1921.

208. SPEECH AT JULLUNDUR[1]

March 8, 1921

Mahatmaji, replying to the address, thanked the Municipality that this committee had shown the courage to present an address to a national servant. He deplored the absence of Maulana Shaukat Ali and expressed thanks to the lady who had lent khaddar for printing the address and expressed pleasure at receiving it and said that to obtain swaraj peacefully we must use khaddar. There was no other way. Rich and poor, all should use khaddar. Today the Indian population in crores in villages had no clothes with which to cover themselves. They should not be deceived because they had puggrees and fine muslin clothes. He appreciated the presentation of Rs. 629 in a khaddar purse by the people of Jullundur and of Rs. 100 by Sardar Kesar Singh. Mahatmaji expressed pleasure that the address was in Urdu. He regretted that the Indians even in their private life used English. He was no enemy of English, yet we could not attain swaraj unless we adopted the national language. He appealed for funds saying that the money presented was not sufficient. Lala Lajpat Rai would not be satisfied. He asked them to send more money so that schools and colleges could be nationalized. He opposed the use of ornaments and appealed to pleaders to suspend practice and serve the nation for one year and requested that all men and women should use khaddar.

The Tribune, 9-3-1921

209. SPEECH AT HOSHIARPUR

March 8, 1921

Mahatmaji in his speech regretted the absence of Maulana Shaukat Ali who was his brother and had common cause with him. He said he was a staunch *Sanatanist* and Maulana Shaukat Ali was a staunch Mohammedan, but still they were like brothers, which showed that Hindu-Muslim unity was possible. He congratulated Hoshiarpur on having hand-made cloth factories, but regretted that still people had foreign cloth on them. There was no shame for men and women in weaving and spinning for themselves. To be able to kill was no courage. The perpetrators of the Nankana Saheb tragedy were denounced, while the martyrs were honoured, which showed that courage lay in

[1] Delivered in reply to the address presented by the local municipality

dying for truth and the nation, and not in killing. All religions had decided that to remove the Khilafat and Punjab wrongs they must win swaraj within 8 months, which could only be obtained by non-violent non-co-operation. It was their duty to stop the pensions of O'Dwyer and Dyer, which could only be done by attaining swaraj. To win that they must stand united, adhering to their religion. They should non-co-operate with Government and adopt swadeshi. Pleaders should leave practice and schools should be nationalized. Mahatmaji appealed for funds.

The Tribune, 10-3-1921

210. SPEECH AT HARIANA[1]

March 8, 1921

Mahatmaji in declaring these institutions[2] open congratulated Hariana on its achievements, and asked them to do more for swaraj, the only remedy for Khilafat and Punjab wrongs. Mahatmaji declared that he was not a barrister any more but a weaver and a peasant. There was no shame in weaving and spinning. Mahatmaji laid special stress on non-violence in speech and action and denounced the present system of Government and declared it the duty of every Indian to work for swaraj, which could be attained within 8 months by non-violent non-co-operation. Violence would mean failure. Sikhs wanted to hang the Nankana Saheb murderers. They wanted Government help. He wanted them to leave those murderers if Government wanted to release them, but not co-operate with Government. His message to the panchayats was not to use social boycott against those who did not conform. He urged Hindu-Muslim unity based on religious tolerance. Mahatmaji specially asked ladies to wear khaddar, to spin and weave and pray for the success of the national movement, telling them they had no right to wear ornaments when crores of Indians were naked and starving.

The Tribune, 10-3-1921

[1] Delivered at a meeting presided over by Syed Habib in place of Rambhuj Dutt Chowdhari who could not attend owing to a Government order

[2] Several panchayats and national schools which Gandhiji had been requested to declare open

211. SPEECH AT AMBALA

March 8, 1921

Mr. Gandhi finished his present Punjab tour at Ambala where in the course of his speech he said that Ambala was the last place to be visited by him. He hoped to return and visit other places in the near future. He was sorry that Maulana Shaukat Ali was not with him during the latter part of his tour. People had been accustomed to look upon them as inseparable but, when every available worker had to give his best attention and time to the service that needed him most, it was not possible even for two to be together except when it was absolutely necessary. They wanted to gain swaraj during the year and they wanted to see the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs redressed within that period. He believed it to be possible if certain elementary conditions were fulfilled. He had dilated upon them from many a platform. They knew that it was necessary for them to observe non-violence in the strictest manner possible. They must not only control their hands but their tongues and their minds also. Thus, and thus only, would they be able to restrain themselves at critical moments. If they claimed theirs to be a religious movement, they were bound to purify themselves and therefore avoid drink and intoxicating drugs, observe chastity and cleanse their hearts by being truthful in thought, word and deed. There must be a real unity of hearts between Hindus, Mohammedans, Sikhs, Parsis, Christians, Jews and all others who composed the Indian nation.

But the speaker said he would not dwell further upon the essential conditions of swaraj. He would like rather to sum up the result of his experiences. He was going to Ahmedabad[1] and he would be asked what the Punjab was doing. And though the Punjab was the land of puritans it had not kept pace with the other parts of India in non-co-operation. The Punjab had produced reformers like Guru Nanak and Guru Govind Singh[2]. The Punjab was the home of Dayanand's[3] activity. The Punjab had suffered as no other part of India in 1919. It was in the Punjab that India was made to crawl on her belly. It was in the Punjab that stalwart Punjabis were made to draw lines with their noses. It was in the Punjab that innocent men were hanged and sentenced to transportaion for life. It was in the Punjab that little schoolchildren were made to walk long distances and to salute the Union Jack. He hoped that if terrorism was repeated, not a Punjabi would be found who would crawl or

[1] Gandhiji reached Ahmedabad on March 11, 1921.

[2] The spiritual head of the Sikh community in the seventeenth century, who made the Sikhs militant

[3] Dayanand Saraswati (1824-83); founder of the Arya Samaj

rub his nose on the ground, and that not a child would be found who would against his will salute the Union Jack. He hoped that they would be shot rather than do under compulsion any of the things he had mentioned.

What had the Punjab done for non-co-operation to vindicate India's honour and the honour of Islam? He would have sorrowfully to tell his inquirers that the pleaders of the Punjab had made a poor response to the call of the nation, that not many college boys had given up colleges conducted under the Government patronage and that very few titled men had given up their titles. The speaker hoped that the Punjab would soon show better results. So far however as financial help was concerned he would be able to testify to the fact that the land of five rivers had organized the Tilak Swaraj Fund in an effective and business-like manner. Everywhere the speaker noticed the readiness of the audience to pay. Their financial contribution, be it little or much, was a token of their association with the movement. Whilst the Punjab stood at the top in point of swaraj finance, he wished to warn them against being satisfied or being remiss in their effort. They should relieve Lala Lajpat Rai of all anxiety on that score. In the matter of swadeshi too the Punjab was by far the most progressive. The spinning-wheel was nowhere so popular as in the Punjab. It was to the speaker a stirring sight to find women belonging to the highest station in life spinning daily in a religious manner. He congratulated the women of the Punjab on their industry and patriotism. The devotion, the simplicity, and the faith of the Punjabi women was a sight that filled him with the highest hope. The women were not behindhand in paying their quota of money either. The speaker however added that he would not be content until the Punjab manufactured the whole of its yarn and cloth and was dressed in khaddar. The Punjab might easily lead India.

It had the living memory of the Gurus[1] and Swami Dayanand. The Punjab had faith and devotion. The Arya Samajists[2] and the Sikhs had a splendid organization. They had wealth too. They were both small and compact communities of puritans, and if they would but dedicate their puritanic zeal to the country's cause, they would contribute not a little to the movement for gaining swaraj during the year. They could easily nationalize all their educational institutions, their vakils could without difficulty suspend practice. The essence of puritanism was progress. Let it not be said of these organizations that they could not march with the times. They needed the bravery of Lachman Singh and Dulip Singh,[3] but they needed still more the bravery of commonplace, sustained, steady sacrifice such as the programme of non-co-operation was

[1] Spiritual heads of the Sikh community; they were ten in all.

[2] Members of the Arya Samaj, a reformist Hindu denomination following the old Vedic religion

[3] Leaders of the Akali Sikhs who were killed at Nankana Saheb on February 20, 1921; *vide* "Sikh Awakening", 13-3-1921.

calculated to evoke. Whilst these two communities must be at the front the vast Hindu and Mohammedan population of the Punjab must not lag behind. They being the most numerous, the ultimate salvation of India must ultimately depend upon an awakening and response among the Hindus and Mussulmans of India. In concluding, Mr. Gandhi thanked the Punjabis for the affection with which they had overwhelmed him. Their desire for processions, their demonstrative nature, their desire to touch the feet seriously embarrassed him and hampered his movement. He asked them to refrain from the demonstrative character of their great and wonderful affection and translate it into action such as the nation required of them.

Young India, 16-3-1921

212. NOTES

Telegraphic Embargo

A message was required by my assistant at Ahmedabad regarding the Duke's visit to Bombay.[1] I sent the following wire: "Bombay should certainly boycott Duke's visit like other cities." The message was sent on the 18th ultimo. I received the following reply dated the 24th ultimo at the Lahore Telegraph Office:

> Your telegram addressed to Anandanand, Navajivan, Ahmedabad, on the 18th has been held up at Ahmedabad as objectionable under rulings of the Department. A refund will be granted on your applying for same.

Nobody can seriously object to the prevention of the telegraph line being used for destroying a system in whose interest, chiefly, it is run. Only, the embargo further discredits the system. If one man alone thought it evil, the embargo would enable the thinker to hang his theme on the 'atrocious limitation of the liberty of the public'. In a case like the present, it was very like the attempt to stop with a straw an onrushing torrent. In either case the prohibition of *bona-fide* propaganda, even though it may be objectionable from the Government's standpoint, must be a useless procedure. The present embargo, however, is symptomatic of a Government tottering to its own destruction.

Its Lesson

Though I consider this embargo to be an exhibition of mere local overzeal, it has a lesson for us. Any day the Government may prohibit the use of the telegraph, the post, the rail, and the

[1] The Duke of Connaught was to visit Bombay in the last week of February 1921.

press by non-co-operationists. Will it stop the struggle for a single minute? I hope not. It has been conceived so as to be independent of Government sufferance. For it depends for success upon its universality. Non-co-operation by stray individuals is, no doubt, possible and conceivable. It has then to take a somewhat different shape. But when the spirit of it pervades the whole of India, we need not feel dependent upon the telegraph, the post, the rail, or the press. Our work can be done quite effectively without the aid of these agencies. We can send messages from mouth to mouth with electric speed. The railway train quickly transfers leaders from place to place, but it quickly transfers thousands of curiosity-mongers who serve no purpose and cause national waste. I can contemplate with perfect calmness the prohibition of the use of the rail by all except those who sign the creed of co-operation with the Government—we should have an automatic census of co-operators. So long as we have pen and paper, or even slate and pencil, we need not despair of transmitting our thoughts in writing, if we have enough volunteers. I have often been told that the independence of our printing-press is a great desideratum. I admit that it is a convenience but I was able to show during the Satyagraha Week in the April of 1919 that it was possible to issue a written newspaper.[1] Given a sufficient number of volunteer writers, we can multiply copies indefinitely. I can foresee many advantages in non-co-operationists being confined to their pens only.

THE BIHAR GOVERNMENT

When I wrote about the Bihar Government last week, I did not know half as much as I do today. I rarely get the newspapers during my incessant travels. When I do get some, I find little time to read them. It was only during my visit[2] to Lucknow that I saw the extraordinary circular of the Bihar Government practically inciting the officials to lawlessness. No wonder non-co-operation has become in Bihar almost a statutory crime. No wonder a Bihar magistrate has the impudence to assault an inoffensive sannyasi in the presence of a large crowd of admirers. I do not know that such a non-violent atmosphere was possible a year ago. No wonder such a respectable leader like Mian Mahomed Shafi of Muzaffarpur was prohibited from seeing the sannyasi and

[1] The first issue of *Satyagrahi*, a hand-written weekly edited by Gandhiji, was published on April 7, 1919.

[2] On February 26, 1921

his position as a Congress secretary ignored. I am hoping that the Government employees will answer the Bihar Government circular by attending non-co-operation meetings in a body and dare it to dismiss them. One can understand the prohibition against public servants not speaking at such meetings. But to restrain them from attending non-co-operation meetings or contributing funds to national institutions or introducing the spinning-wheel, is unpardonable restriction on individual liberty, to which, I trust, the public servants will refuse to be party by complying.

GOVERNMENT PROPAGANDA

The Bihar Government is illustrating the meaning of counter-propaganda by Government, referred to in his speech by Lord Chelmsford.[1] This Government has gagged non-co-operationists of unimpeachable character and invited its officials and other supporters to conduct an unopposed campaign against non-co-operation. I understand that overzealous chowkidars announce these Government meetings in my name. The people gather, see unfamiliar faces, and most of them retire. Those who remain to listen to the eloquence of co-operators are told that, if the law courts are abandoned and the drink shops are closed, the Government revenue will suffer. Thus, these co-operation speakers put a premium on drink and litigation. I have given the substance of a graphic description given to me by a most reliable worker. It is a highly probable picture. A moment's thought will show that the Government speakers must say what my informant has attributed to them. A non-co-operationist usually begins by describing the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs and demonstrating the Satanic nature of the system under which we are governed. He ends by asking people to be peaceful, to renounce intoxicants, law courts, schools and foreign goods, and to take up the spinning-wheel. A thoughtless non-co-operation speaker also abuses co-operators and ignorantly advises their social boycott. A Government speaker must declare the Government as almost angelic in spite of the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs, and ask the people not to give up law courts because they give justice, and not to give up drink because an occasional draught is no crime, and it brings revenue to the Government and enables it to conduct schools. The spinning-wheel, he must contend, is an antediluvian fad impossible to reintroduce in our homes, and foreign goods we cannot do without till India has become educated and industrial to the

1 *Vide* Appendix III.

extent of being able to compete with foreign markets. Thus Government propaganda must at least indirectly encourage drinking, litigation and use of foreign goods.

An honest Government responsive to the wishes of the people will seize this golden opportunity of allying itself with the people, thus getting rid of the drink curse, will encourage even indifferent experiments in national education as a lesson in self-help, will stimulate the desire for settlement of disputes by arbitration, and will welcome the revival of hand-spinning, if only as an aid to machine manufacture and industry in the place of idleness. A Government anxious for public welfare will recognize the inner meaning of the struggle, will understand its religious nature, and, conscious of its good motive and moral strength, will be indifferent to the opposition against itself and will hail the great undoubted revival of a yearning after strength, character, and purity. But that would mean a change of heart on the part of the Government, which need not be expected just yet.

The Nagpur Incident

Not only is it too early yet to expect any such change of heart, but the Nagpur prosecutions make it clear that the C. P. Government intend to take severe notice of temperance workers. Dr. Cholkar and Mr. Paranjapye are well-known workers. They are both undergoing prosecution virtually for temperance propaganda. The magistrate's notice, which I have seen in the papers, clearly shows that Government cannot look with unconcern upon a diminution in the drink revenue. They insisted upon holding their sale of liquor licences by a show of force, when it was their plain duty not to hold such a sale at all in view of public feeling but take advantage of it to abolish the drink traffic altogether.

And Madras?

Madras has not lagged behind, either, in the campaign against non-co-operation. It may be noted, in passing, that Madras has not shown even the rowdyism that has been noticed elsewhere. Mr. Yakub Hassan and his companions have rendered a great service by refusing to be bound over and electing to suffer imprisonment. A telegram has just arrived saying that four more Malabar leaders have preferred imprisonment to giving security. It is evident that this wave of repression that is passing through India is not due to accident but to design. I am inclined to believe the bazaar talk that the word has gone from the central authority that the local administrations are free to take up energetic measures to kill non-co-operation.

DUTY OF NON-CO-OPERATIONISTS

Our duty in the face of this repression is clear. We have undertaken to suffer for the sake of Islam, the Punjab, and swaraj. We must therefore welcome these prosecutions and the resulting imprisonments. Every good movement passes through five stages: indifference, ridicule, abuse, repression and respect. We had indifference for a few months. Then the Viceroy graciously laughed at it. Abuse, including misrepresentation, has been the order of the day. The provincial Governors and the anti-non-co-operation Press have heaped as much abuse upon the movement as they have been able to. Now comes repression, at present yet in its fairly mild form. Every movement that survives repression, mild or severe, invariably commands respect which is another name for success. This repression, if we are true, may be treated as a sure sign of the approaching victory. But, if we are true, we shall neither be cowed down nor angrily retaliate and be violent. *Violence is suicide.* Let us recognize that power dies hard, and that it is but natural for the Government to make a final effort for life even though it be through repression. Complete self-restraint at the present critical moment is the speediest way to success, and the easiest way of blunting the edge of repressive measures is a more extensive boycott of titles, schools, law courts, and foreign cloth, and a more intelligent activity for the revival of hand-spinning and hand-weaving.

JOURNALISTIC IGNORANCE

It has been my lot to be misrepresented and misunderstood throughout a busy life of thirty years, often by the respective governments with whom I had to deal and sometimes by the people whom I had to serve. Having been intimately connected with the Press, both as a journalist and as a public man, I have had to suffer also for its ignorance. But at no time have I so much realized the measure of ignorance betrayed by the Press as at the present moment. The cuttings that friends at times send me from England and America add even unscrupulousness to ignorance. The latest instance of careless reading and gross ignorance that has come under my notice is that of *The Leader*. It has an article on spinning which misinterprets the very article it quotes. One of the young men travelling with me showed it to me. I was pained at the ignorance and carelessness betrayed by the writer. I asked the young man in question to write out his own reply if he had

understood *The Leader*'s fallacies. His reply[1] is so effective that I give it elsewhere instead of attempting it myself.

Census Enumerators

I have been asked as to whether census enumerators should co-operate with the Government by responding to the Government's call. Not being clear myself I have hitherto shirked a public answer. The spirit of civil disobedience in me has pulled me one way, my loyalty to the existing programme has pulled me in the opposite direction. My loyalty has triumphed and I am clear that we must co-operate with the Government in the matter of the census. I am convinced that it strengthens our cause. It disciplines us in the habit of even reluctant obedience to statutory rules when they do not hurt our conscience or honour, and demonstrates the high and non-violent character of our struggle. We must resist the temptation to offer civil disobedience even when it is so great as in the matter of the census. Thousands of us have a singular opportunity presented to us of showing our dislike of the existing system of Government. But the exercise of restraint at the present moment enables us to prepare for civil disobedience in future. Let us, therefore, help the Government to complete the census operations, not because we fear the punishment of disobedience, but because we are by nature and training law-abiding, and we need not as yet disobey unmoral laws, whether by way of protest or with the view of destroying the authority of a Government which no longer enjoys our confidence. That extreme step in non-violent non-co-operation is open to us but we recognize that the atmosphere for its working has not yet been sufficiently created, and that we may not take extreme steps whilst milder measures are open to us. I hope, therefore, that all those who may be called upon in terms of the existing law to help census operations will render the required assistance to the authorities.

More Gagging Orders

Since writing the foregoing notes, I have seen the text of the orders served on Pandit Rambhuj Dutt Chowdhary and Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlew. They are orders under Rule 3c of the Defence of India Consolidation Rules, 1915, and run as follows:

> Whereas in the opinion of the Local Government there are reasonable grounds for believing that (name given) has acted in a manner prejudi-

[1] Not reproduced here

cial to the public safety, His Excellency the Governor is pleased hereby to direct that the said (name) shall until further orders abstain from attending or addressing any public meeting.

I congratulate both the receivers of[1] the orders. The Government, I hope, will find that the movement still goes on as merrily as ever. I have already suggested to the Pandit and the Doctor that they should now write out all the thoughts worth publishing and send them to the Press and to those meetings which they may wish to attend. And they may devote to spinning a portion of their enforced leisure from talking. I would advise the other speakers also to accommodate the Government by speaking as little as possible and confining their attention to quiet organizing. I know that all these gentlemen would gladly invite imprisonment by disregarding these arbitrary orders. The time for such action has not yet arrived.

But there is the other side to these orders. Now that we do not wish to seek the protection of the law courts, it would be idle to speculate as to the legality of their orders. Everything is or can be made legal for a Government that wishes to rule arbitrarily. But the co-operators may well bestow a moment's reflection on what is happening in India. The Indian members of the Executive Councils and the responsible ministers are as much privy to these orders as are the respective Governors. Grant that the non-co-operators are wicked persons. Are the co-operators satisfied with the exercise of arbitrary powers against them? Mr. Raghupati Sahay[2] of Gorakhpur might have been a deputy collector if he had chosen to be one. He is a cultured educationist. But he has the misfortune to have organizing ability and to have a hold on the citizens of Gorakhpur. He also, I just learn from the papers, has been gagged. Nobody preaches violence in the land. Mr. Raghupati Sahay is the last person to do so. But a magistrate under a 'Home Rule' Government has been able to prohibit him from speaking at public meetings!

Young India, 9-3-1921

[1] "On" in the source

[2] Nationalist worker; professor of English, Allahabad University; renowned Urdu poet with the pen-name 'Firaq'

213. THE VICEROY'S TWO SPEECHES

His Excellency the Viceroy has made two important declarations, one on the Khilafat[1] and the other on non-co-operation[2] and the policy of the Government arising from it. On the Khilafat His Excellency has given an exact indication of the Government mentality. He thinks that he has discharged his responsibility fully towards the Muslims of India by pressing their claim. Whereas the Indian contention is that, on a matter so vital to the Muslims, he should have resigned when he found that the Imperial Government had disallowed the Indian claim. Nobody accepts the plea of Britain's helplessness at the Council table of the League of Nations. The public may also recall the fact that, when the terms of the treaty of Sevres were published,[3] the Viceroy entered upon an elaborate defence of the part played by the Premier. How comes it, then, that he finds himself again pleading the Muslim cause! Would he have done so if there had been no non-co-operation? And what has he to say even now? If the claim is disallowed and non-co-operation is still pursued, he assumes that anarchy will be the result. Therefore the Government, he threatens, will step in to restore order. We know what "restoring" order means. His Excellency forgets that, if there is anarchy in India, it would be due to the criminal breach of their duty both by the Imperial and the Indian Governments towards the three hundred millions of the people of India.

A Viceroy may be satisfied with merely pleading the case of India. Can India be satisfied? Can a man who is dying of hunger be satisfied with mere sympathy, especially when he knows that the sympathizer can give more than mere sympathy? When the Indian Government pleads the duty of subordination to an immoral superior power, it must share the adverse judgment that may be pronounced against the latter. No duty devolves upon any servant of submitting to orders in breach of trust or honour. The treaty of Sevres is a breach of solemn pledges and the ordinary canons of honour. One who sincerely sympathizes with a starving man is presumed to share such sufferings, and is not expected to shoot him when the latter shows symptoms of becoming mad through

[1] *Vide* Appendix II.
[2] *Vide* Appendix III.
[3] On May 14, 1920

the pangs of hunger. The responsibility for anarchy, if it does overtake India, will therefore rest with the Indian Government and with those who support it in spite of its wrongs, not upon those who refuse to perform its wrongs, not upon those who refuse to perform the impossible task of making people forget vital wrongs and try to direct their anger in a proper channel.

His Excellency wonders at the description of the Government as Satanic. He is wrong in adopting the description for himself. For nobody has accused individuals of being Satanic. His Excellency's adroitly taking in that category his Indian colleagues is too artless to deceive anyone. But the system that the Viceroy and his colleagues, whether Indian or English, administer, possesses all the attributes of Satan—deceitfulness, hypocrisy, unscrupulousness, and unmitigated tyranny on occasion and its justification tempered by half-hearted confessions. His Excellency may rest assured that there is no partiality in non-co-operation. There is always a place of honour for an Englishman in the ranks of non-co-operationists. And no Indian co-operator will be spared the criticism that may be deserved by him for his complicity in the crimes of an evil Government.

His Excellency is on safest ground when he enunciates the doctrine of meeting non-co-operation by propaganda—by the counter-propaganda of co-operation. He is entitled to take all the comfort he can from the fact that both the title-holders and the students have made a poor response in point of numbers and that sufficient Indians have been found to act as members of the reformed legislatures. Non-co-operationists, whilst admitting that the numerical response might have been greater, manage, however, to take pleasure in the titles and the schools and the law courts having fallen into disrepute. These institutions no longer remain the objects of idolatry that they once were. Non-co-operationists are satisfied that practising lawyers and title-holders can no longer be popular leaders. They know that even those who have not given up titles, practice or schools, are at heart non-co-operators and confess their weakness.

His Excellency has been misled by his advisers in believing that non-co-operationists have only now turned their attention to the masses. Indeed, they are our sheet-anchor. But we are not going to tamper with them. We shall continue patiently to educate them politically till they are ready for safe action. There need be no mistake about our goal. As soon as we feel reasonably confident of non-violence continuing among them in spite of provoking executions, we shall certainly call upon the sepoy to lay

down his arms and the peasantry to suspend payment of taxes. We are hoping that that time may never have to be reached. We shall leave no stone unturned to avoid such a serious step. But we will not flinch when the moment has come and the need has arisen.

Young India, 9-3-1921

214. INSTRUCTIONS TO U.P. PEASANTS[1]

Attainment of swaraj or redress of grievances is impossible unless the following rules are strictly observed.

1. We may not hurt anybody. We may not use our sticks against anybody. We may not use abusive language or exercise any other undue pressure.
2. We may not loot shops.
3. We should influence our opponents by kindness, not by using physical force nor stopping their water supply nor the services of the barber and the washerman.
4. We may not withhold taxes from the Government or rent from the landlord.
5. Should there be any grievances against zemindars they should be reported to Pandit Motilal Nehru and his advice followed.
6. It should be borne in mind that we want to turn zemindars into friends.
7. We are not at the present moment offering civil disobedience; we should, therefore, carry out all Government orders.
8. We may not stop railway trains nor forcibly enter them without tickets.
9. In the event of any of our leaders being arrested, we may not prevent his arrest nor create any disturbance. We shall not lose our cause by the Government arresting our leaders; we shall certainly lose it if we become mad and do violence.
10. We must abolish intoxicating drinks, drugs and other evil habits.
11. We must treat all women as mothers and sisters and respect and protect them.
12. We must promote unity between Hindus and Muslims.
13. As amongst Hindus we may not regard anyone as inferior or untouchable. There should be the spirit of equality and

[1] During his visit to Oudh, Gandhiji addressed, presumably at Gorakhpur or Fyzabad which he visited on February 21, these instructions in Hindi to the peasants of the then United Provinces, and a "free rendering" was reproduced in *Young India*.

brotherhood among all. We should regard all the inhabitants of India as brothers and sisters.

14. We may not indulge in gambling.

15. We may not steal.

16. We may not tell an untruth on any account whatsoever. We should be truthful in all our dealings.

17. We should introduce the spinning-wheel in every home and all—male and female—should devote their spare time to spinning. Boys and girls should also be taught and encouraged to spin for four hours daily.

18. We should avoid the use of all foreign cloth and wear cloth woven by the weavers from yarn spun by ourselves.

19. We should not resort to law courts but should have all disputes settled by private arbitration.

The most important thing to remember is to curb anger, never to do violence and even to suffer violence done to us.

Young India, 9-3-1921

215. LETTER TO MEMBERS OF S.G.P.C.[1]

AMBALA,
March 9, 1921

KHALSAJI,

I have received your wire and I have also received and studied your resolution condemning the manner in which the Government enquiry into the Nankana tragedy is being conducted, expressing want of confidence in it and appointing an unofficial Committee of Enquiry. The resolution appoints me as Chairman of the Committee. Whilst I appreciate the honour done to me, I very much fear that I shall not be able to render any useful service to the Committee or the community so long as the appointment of the Committee is intended merely to counteract any mischievous effects that might be produced by the Government enquiry. The resolution of non-co-operation passed by the Sikh League and the other national organizations really precludes the Sikh community from taking part in or assisting any investigations by the Government. I should therefore have thought that you would dissociate yourself from the enquiries solely on the ground

[1] Shiromani Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee, the committee for the management of Sikh temples

of non-co-operation, even though such investigations might be calculated to bring temporary or partial relief in special matters. To me your want of confidence in the Government enquiry is one more illustration of the hopelessness of any association with a Government which we are seeking to destroy, if it will not mend. I would therefore urge you to reconsider your resolution and come to a decision in terms of non-co-operation or relieve me from the responsibility you have imposed on me.

Yours faithfully,
M. K. GANDHI

The Tribune, 13-3-1921

216. SIKH AWAKENING

Such has been the awakening among the Sikhs and so spirited is that community that either this awakening will deliver India from bondage within eight months or it will obstruct that deliverance. They have strength of both body and mind. They are brave with the sword. It may be said that they are strong of will, too.

The Sikhs are believed to number some thirty lakhs. Till today I had thought of them as a sect of Hinduism. But their leaders think that theirs is a distinct religion. Guru Nanak was its founder and Guru Govind Singh its defender. The Sikhs believe in ten gurus in all. Guru Nanak, of course, was a Hindu but, according to Sikh leaders, he founded a new religion. Outwardly their religion is symbolized by five K's. Those five things are : *kesha*[1], *kangi*[2], *kada*[3], *kachha*[4] and *kirpan*. As they do not shave their beards or trim their hair, they need the comb. The steel bangle they wear on the wrist is a symbol of self-control. The purpose of the *kachha* is easy to understand. The *kirpan* is what is called a *jambiya* and they look upon it as a sign of their strength in defending their faith and as an object of terror to the enemy. Till some years ago, not much emphasis was laid on these five things, but the younger Sikhs now attach importance to them and those who, though professing to be Sikhs, do not wear them,

[1] Hair
[2] Comb
[3] Steel wristlet
[4] Long drawers

are not accepted as such by the reformers. The latter have been persuading even women to wear the *kirpan*.

One of their elders once told me that the Sikhs do not beieve in *varnashrama*; there is no high or low among them; there is no untouchability; they look upon idol worship as a sin. Though they show reverence for Rama, Krishna and others, these do not have among them the same place as in Hinduism. They do not believe in cow protection, though they do not eat beef. They believe in rebirth and *mukti*[1]. They do not hold the Vedas or other Hindu scriptures in special regard. Their sacred book[2] is the word of their gurus and, apart from that book, they accept no other scriptures as holy books. Tobacco and liquor are forbidden among them.

Sikh temples are known as *gurudwaras*. The reformers believe that the standards in these *gurudwaras* have become lax and the *mahants* are too often impious scoundrels. Some of the *gurudwaras* have historic importance. The reformers think that it would be best to take over control of all of them. This movement, which has been going on for a number of years now, seeks to introduce changes in them and to put their management under a committee. Leading Sikhs like Sardar Sunder Singh Majithia are also associated with this movement, which has become more rigorous after the starting of non-co-operation. Organizations of Sikhs known as Akali *Jathas* or Akali *Dals* are springing up everywhere and are taking over possession of the *gurudwaras*. They have their headquarters at Amritsar. In addition to the five symbolical articles mentioned above, the Akalis wear a black turban and a black band on one shoulder and also carry a big staff with a small axe at the top. Some of them have staffs without axes. Fifty or a hundred men of such groups go and take possession of a *gurudwara*. They claim that it is not their intention to take possession by force; they suffer violence themselves but do not use any. Nevertheless, a crowd of fifty or more men approaching a place in the way described is certainly a show of force, and naturally the keeper of the *gurudwara* would be intimidated by it.

Whether or not it is true that there is display of force in an action of this kind, the biggest *gurudwaras* have fallen into the hands of the Akali *Jathas*, the latter having lost 160 men in the process.

The majority of these died while taking possession of their most important *gurudwara*, known as Nankana Saheb. It is 40

[1] Deliverance from phenomenal existence; same as *moksha*

[2] The Granth Saheb

miles from Lahore. The railway station also bears the same name. This *gurudwara* was built in memory of Guru Nanak. There is not one *gurudwara*, but there are five, at Nankana. One of these five is at the spot where a cobra with its outspread hood is said to have provided shade to Guru Nanak, intending no harm. Narandas was the *mahant* in control of this *gurudwara*. He is said to be given to sensuality. Though a professed *udasi*[1], he had kept a mistress. His annual income was estimated at Rs. 5 lakhs. The Akali *Dal* had its eye on this *gurudwara*, and had intended to make some move on the 3rd or 4th March. But the late Sardars Lachhman Singh and Dulip Singh, both millionaires, could not wait. The former decided to go to Nankana Saheb and took with him about 200 men. To Sardar Dulip Singh's attempts to dissuade him from the step Sardar Lachhman Singh replied that he had taken a pledge, when starting, that he would bow his head before the Granth Saheb and, if fate had decreed that he must die, he would. The previous night, Sardar Dulip Singh was talking to me in the presence of other Sikh friends. Death took him to Nankana. How could he allow a friend to proceed there alone? So he too went with him. It was the early morning of Sunday, February 20, when the Sikh *Dal* arrived [at Nankana].

Narandas had been apprehending an attack on the *gurudwara* for some months. He had made preparations, had collected weapons and gunpowder. A number of rooms had been built forming a kind of fort with openings for directing gun-fire. The main door was rivetted with massive steel plates. Things were so arranged that a man who had gone in could not come out alive, and that, once the gate was closed, no one could effect easy entry. The shrine stands nearly in the centre of the circle of rooms. The floor inside is of marble.

That Sunday, Lachhman Singh and his band entered the temple. It is said that they had gone only for *darshan*. They had no intention of taking possession that day.

Narandas was already possessed with fear. A guilty mind is all timidity. He had become desperate. He looked upon the Akali *Dal* as his enemy. The moment Lachhman Singh bowed his head before the Granth Saheb, the assassins hired by Narandas, who are stated to have taken up positions on the terrace of the cells, opened fire. I saw bullet marks on the Granth Saheb and on the columns of the marble cupola.

Lachhman Singh fell. It is said that, in that wounded, bleed-

[1] One who has cultivated indifference to things of the world

ing state, he was dragged, tied to a near-by tree, and burnt alive! I did see the burnt trunk of the tree and even the blood trails.

The others sought refuge in the cells, and everyone tried to save his life by hiding somewhere or other. But the *mahant* had run amuck. He had hired murderers with him. He decided to kill all the men. These brave men were sought out where they were hiding in the cells, beaten up almost to death and their arms, ears, etc., were chopped off! For a while, on this holy ground man had turned into monster. He out-Dyered Dyer. Nor was this all. As if ashamed of his cruelty or wishing to hide the shameful fact that not a single man of his had been killed, this terrible *mahant* had the corpses sprayed with kerosene and burnt. Not a single man out of all those who had entered the temple could come out alive. Not even one witness on the Akali side has yet been found. It is said that Dulip Singh, who had been left outside, pleaded with the *mahant* and urged him to desist. But was he likely to listen to reason? He took Dulip Singh's life also and had his body burnt outside!

In this way, for the sake and in the name of religion, over 150 Sikhs laid down their lives and established their title to the ownership of the *gurudwara*.

I asked one of their leaders what, according to him, was the value of this sacrifice from the point of view of the country. He said it had added to the strength not only of the Sikhs but of the whole of India. We should not be surprised if many more such sacrifices have to be made before we win swaraj. This sacrifice, he said, had shown the world what brave men the country had. He was right.

On the day on which these martyrs were being cremated, we two, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and I, were present at a meeting[1] of Sikhs. He uttered one profound sentence there. "The blood," he said, "of a hundred and fifty martyrs has purified one *gurudwara*. Should it be any wonder if all of us have to be martyrs to purify the *gurudwara* that is India?"

Let us examine a little the sacrifice of these friends. If they had intended to obtain control of the *gurudwara* by a show of force their aim was pure but their means should be considered impure. Since, however, they laid down their own lives, the world will always applaud their gallantry.

If they had gone only for *darshan* and died in self-defence, even then the world would admire their bravery and their means

[1] At Shri, on February 25, 1921

would not be called into question. If, however, they had gone only for *darshan* and, notwithstanding that they were armed, they silently and without once raising their weapons embraced death, they are to be held to have given a demonstration of peaceful gallantry the like of which no one has shown in modern times. If that is what happened, it could, in this age, happen only in India. What makes one so happy is that almost without exception everyone of the Sikhs to whom I talked on this subject believed that these 150 heroes had gone only for *darshan*, and that though it would have been possible for them to draw their swords, they refrained from doing so and perished, since they had taken a pledge to act peacefully.

If so, this is a perfect example of non-violent non-co-operation, and I firmly believe that its impact on the freedom movement will be tremendous.

As soon as a report of this reached the Government in Lahore, troops were despatched by special train and the *mahant* and those of his companions who could be found in the *gurudwara* were taken and put under arrest. On the second or third day, the *gurudwara* was handed over to a committee of the Akali *Dal*. The Sikhs, however, do not trust the Government. They believe that the *mahant*'s preparations could not have been outside the knowledge of the Government officials. But here I do not wish to consider the Government's fault.

The only thing to consider is what lesson we are to learn from the event. We cannot imagine the limit to which we can increase our strength through self-immolation. If the Sikhs had killed the *mahant* and his men or wounded them, or an equal number had died on either side, the Akali *Dal* would never have acquired the strength it now has. It is the [Akali] Sikhs who have died, yet it is the *mahants* and others who control the *gurudwaras* and selfishly wish to perpetuate their control, that have got frightened. Many sensible Sikhs understand that if, in this hour of victory, the Sikhs get excited and forget themselves, there is a danger of their losing all that they have gained and the community's losing its light.

I do not wish to go into the other serious issues besides this which arise, for they are of no interest at the moment to the Gujarati-reading public. I shall explain them to readers as and when occasion arises.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 13-3-1921

217. LETTER TO G. A. NATESAN[1]

BOMBAY,
March 14 [1921][2]

DEAR MR. NATESAN,

We got your telegram yesterday. Mr. Gandhi feels that much as he thinks he would find peace of mind only at your place[3], he should not place you in a rather awkward position.[4] He understands your position quite fully and he therefore desires that he should this time stay with those who for the time being are with him. He trusts fully well you won't mind this. You need not at all be anxious now on the score of his accommodation.

Yours sincerely,
M. H. DESAI

From a photostat : G.N. 2243

218. TELEGRAM TO C. VIJAYARAGHAVACHARIAR

[After *March 14, 1921*][5]

JUST RECEIVED LETTER. HOPE REACH BEZWADA[6] 30TH INSTANT MAIL.

GANDHI

From a photostat : S.N. 7503

[1] This letter was written by Mahadev Desai on behalf of Gandhiji.

[2] Judging from the contents the letter seems to have been written in 1921; *vide* "Letter to G. A. Natesan", April 4, 1921.

[3] During his proposed visit to Madras early in April

[4] Natesan was not in favour of non-co-operation.

[5] This telegram was sent in reply to the addressee's letter of March 14, 1921.

[6] Where the All-India Congress Committee meeting was to be held on March 31, 1921

219. NOTES

HUMANITY V. PATRIOTISM

A dear friend has drawn my attention to what he considers is an unfortunate appeal to patriotism rather than humanity in my letter[1] to the Sikhs. The portion objected to is this :

> The purest way of seeking justice against the murderers is not to seek it. The perpetrators, whether they are Sikhs, Pathans or Hindus, are our countrymen. Their punishment cannot recall the dead to life. I would ask those whose hearts are lacerated to forgive them, not out of their weakness—for they are able in every way to have them punished—but out of their immeasurable strength. Only the strong can forgive.

I have read the foregoing again and again. I feel that if I had to rewrite the letter, I should not alter a single word in it. My appeal in that letter is to the Sikhs as Indians. And it was enough for me to confine my appeal to the point that could be easily appreciated and reached by those whom I was addressing. The main reasoning would be the same for all, and at all times. My letter as addressed to the Sikhs would have lost its force somewhat if I had broadened the appeal as from patriotism to humanity. A Sikh who will want to punish a non-Sikh criminal but would forgive a Sikh may be told that to him Sikh and Indian must mean the same thing in matters such as the incident covers. The appeal to an Indian as against an Englishman will be to his humanity rather than to his patriotism.

But I am free to confess that in the present state of feeling, an Englishman may easily misinterpret the motive of the letter. For me patriotism is the same as humanity. I am patriotic because I am human and humane. It is not exclusive. I will not hurt England or Germany to serve India. Imperialism has no place in my scheme of life. The law of a patriot is not different from that of the patriarch. And a patriot is so much the less a patriot if he is a lukewarm humanitarian. There is no conflict between private and political law. A non-co-operator, for instance, would act exactly in the same manner towards his father or brother as he is today acting towards the Government.

[1] *Vide* "Message to Lahore Sikhs on Nankana Tragedy", March 4, 1921.

WHAT ABOUT GENERAL DYER?

Then why all the recalling incessantly of Jallianwala Bagh, the Crawling Lane,[1] asks the friend? The answer is simple. To forgive is not to forget. There is no merit in loving an enemy when you forget him for a friend. The merit lies in loving in spite of the vivid knowledge that the one that must be loved is not a friend. Ali, that Bayard of Islam, would not retaliate whilst the memory of a vile affront was still fresh in his mind and although he was more than a match for his adversary. India seeks not punishment of the criminals, Sir Michael O'Dwyer and General Dyer, but dismissal of servants who have proved unworthy of the trust reposed in them. And they are not fully dismissed so long as they receive any pension from the Indian treasury. A father is not only not bound to feed an unrepentant son but participates in his crime if he continues to support him.

The Congress Commissioners[2] had their choice either to advise impeachment and prosecution or mere dismissal. They chose the latter on the grounds of humanity and not on that of expedience. The reader may be let into the secret that the Commissioners passed many an anxious hour over the matter. The report was finally shaped at Kashi within a stone's throw of the waters of the Ganges. The recommendation was hotly debated among them and they came to the unanimous conclusion that India could only gain by refraining from prosecution. Mr. Das in a notable speech at Patna recently referred to the compact then made between the Commissioners that, whilst and if they reduced their recommendation to a minimum, they must solemnly resolve to enforce them at the risk of their lives. The Commissioners are therefore non-co-operators as a matter of simple duty. But they chose to waive the right of punishment. It is true that the whole of India has not yet deliberately accepted the doctrine of humanity, i.e., forgiveness. One often hears the talk of hanging the murderers and so on. But India does not yet feel strong as against British Governors and Generals. She still fears them. Forgiveness of Sir Michael O'Dwyer and General Dyer is therefore a meaningless term. But India is daily gaining strength and qualifying for forgiveness. When an Indian talks of punishment of the Punjab criminals, he talks in impotent rage. But I am

[1] *Vide* Vol. XVII, pp. 178-81.

[2] Gandhiji, C. R. Das, Abbas Tayabji and M. R. Jayakar, who were appointed by the Punjab Sub-committee of the Congress to inquire into the Punjab disorders of April 1919

convinced that if India was today free, i.e., strong enough to punish them, she would refrain. She only wants her deliverance from possibilities of Jallianwala. The whole campaign of non-co-operation has been conceived in a spirit not of revenge but of justice.

AGAINST THE SYSTEM

Moreover, the battle is not against the individuals but against the system. All the Governors are certainly not bad. Hakim Ajmal Khan, one of the greatest Indians and one of the highest of Muslims, demonstrated this clearly when he had the portraits of Lord and Lady Hardinge unveiled at the opening of the Tibbi College. Non-co-operationists have constantly invited the opinion of Englishmen, and men belonging to all nations to join this movement of purification. India in arms against the religion of superiority will not be exploited whether the system of [exploi]-tation is administered by Lord Chelmsford [or L]ord Sinha. The language of non-co-operators [may] not always be happy but their means are the choicest.[1]

PANDIT MALAVIYAJI

Writing of the means brings me to the recent happenings in Benares. The attack on Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviyaji is symptomatic of the temper of the people. If any man in India should be free from insult it is Panditji. His services to the Punjab are still fresh in our memory.[2] After all, his labour alone has brought into being that great University in Benares. His patriotism is second to no one's. He is gentle to a fault. It is India's misfortune, not his fault, that he does not see his way clear to risk the temporary giving up of his idol. That he should have been insulted in the manner reported is a matter of deep sorrow. If the Sanskrit students or the so-called sannyasis chose to block the passage of the students, Panditji certainly had the right—it was his duty—to intervene and secure a free passage for co-operating students. In my opinion, the police were perfectly justified in prosecuting the ringleaders or those whom they believed to be such. That those arrested were roughly handled I can well believe. But we may not expect gentleness from the police even when we attained swaraj. I am, therefore, unable to extend any sympathy

[1] The source is damaged at some places in this paragraph.

[2] Gandhiji evidently has in mind the tour of the Punjab undertaken by Malaviya following the Jallianwala Bagh tragedy of April 1919.

to those who so manifestly discredited a cause which they ignorantly claimed to represent.

THE TRUE AND THE FALSE

It is one thing, however, to condemn the excesses in the movement and another to condemn the movement itself. It is necessary to distinguish between the true non-co-operators and the false ones. The behaviour of the immature students and the ignorant *sannyasis* was undoubtedly disgraceful and worthy of condemnation. But the vast body of the people know the limits of non-co-operation and do not travel beyond them. I venture to claim that India has never been so tranquil as she is today, and yet it is not the inertia of the weak and the unknowing, but it is the enlightened quiet of those who are conscious of their daily growing strength. India knows the malady from which she is suffering and is preparing to throw it off by a course of inward purification.

TO BE EVER WATCHFUL

At the same time we have to take care of what we say and do. Some of the best men of India are standing aloof because they have no faith in the people remaining non-violent in the face of provocation. And every little act, even of discourtesy, on the part of non-co-operators retards the fulfilment of our purpose. We cannot be wise, temperate, and furious in a moment; we are either violent or non-violent. We must lie in the bed we have made for ourselves. Having decided to pin our faith to non-violence, we may not coquet with violence. We would therefore warn ourselves against countenancing violence in any shape or form. If we do not build our movement on the solid rock of non-violence, it may any day tumble, like a pack of cards, with a whiff. We cannot serve God and Mammon.

A JULLUNDUR CIRCULAR

The instructions of the D[eput]y Commissioner, Jullundur, on the panchayats are innocent to look at. He has laid down the law in an unexceptionable manner but he has missed the point of attack. No doubt the decisions of private panchayats are not binding in law. But only those will seek the protection of the panchayats who wish voluntarily to abide by their decisions and therefore need no process of enforcement of panchayat decrees. No doubt compounding of a felony is wrong. But no court in the world can compel a man whose property is stolen to lodge a complaint. Even in my capacity as a lawyer, I have had the

privilege of advising clients not to prosecute thieves they had known and have rescued some of them from the police. Neither the police nor I, much less did the client, compound a felony in such cases. Why should not a panchayat excommunicate a habitual thief? Society does not deprive itself of social protection when law courts are established for the punishment of offenders. The Government have their own remedy when they wish to punish thieves and other offenders. I would therefore strongly advise the panchayats of Jullundur to continue their very useful work of giving people cheap, speedy, and efficient justice. Care must of course be exercised that they resort to no punitive measures. The only penalty that is at our disposal is the force of public opinion. There is not much danger of parties who voluntarily seek the protection of the panchayat disobeying the latter's verdicts. We must run the risk of some disobedience; we must not, in impatience, resort to force or intimidation for the purpose either of securing reference to panchayats or execution of their decrees.

Impatient Cow-Protectors

During my wanderings I have come across many instances of Hindus being in a hurry to protect the cow. I would respectfully remind them of the homely proverb, 'Haste is waste.' In several municipalities, Lahore for instance, they have been trying to pass a bye-law prohibiting slaughter of calves and milch cattle. The object is laudable and unexceptionable. But these things cannot be brought about by majorities. It is entirely for the Muslims to take the initiative. Hindus cannot force the pace. And Muslims cannot be expected to take legal steps till we have attained swaraj. Hindus cannot 'have the cake and eat it' too. Either we are non-co-operators or we are not. If we are, we cannot seek the assistance of the Government even to protect the cow. I hope, therefore, that Hindu non-co-operators in Lahore as elsewhere will dissociate themselves entirely from any movement to secure legislative protection for the cow. We must recognize that the Muslims are everywhere doing most handsomely in the matter. They are trying their utmost to respect Hindu susceptibilities. No man could have done more than Miyan Chhotani and Mian Haji Ahmed Khatri at the time of the last *Bakr-i-Id*.[1] Impatient Hindus will actually injure their own cause by forcing the pace. Either we rely upon Muslim nobility or upon the force of arms or law. Having chosen the former we dare not resort to the latter. Let it be remembered that forces are still at work to

[1] A Muslim religious festival

destroy the growing friendliness between Hindus and Muslims. Mischief-makers are straining every nerve to break the tie that binds the two. They are already exploiting the Lahore incident. We must not play into the hands of 'the enemy'.

MAIL FROM MAURITIUS

I have the following cable sent by Mr. Budhan, a practising barrister of Mauritius :

> Indians Mauritius request intervention attempt reintroduction immigrants. Governor Mauritius proceeding Ceylon thereanent protest sent Viceroy.

I can only draw public attention to the scandal and urge redoubled effort to gain swaraj. Immigration can only mean indentured immigration or stimulated immigration. The first will be almost illegal and I can hardly conceive the possibility of a Viceroy agreeing to resumption of indentured emigration. The second is a possibility fraught with great mischief, for under it emigrants will go under the pretence of freedom. I hope, however, that workers in the labour districts of Madras and the United Provinces will warn the labour class against temptations that might be held out to them, i.e., if the Government foolishly permit any recruiting for the so-called re-emigration.

Young India, 16-3-1921

220. THE OLD STORY

Whenever a great movement is going on sensation-mongering becomes the order of the day. A newspaper placard in Lahore is reported to have announced in flaming letters that I had said in *Navajivan* that swaraj would not be attained because Messrs Shastriar and Paranjapye were insulted during the year. I have just read the back number of *Navajivan* and can find nothing in my writings warranting such a conclusion. Under the heading "Swaraj will be delayed"[1], I have severely criticized the conduct of the audience at Mr. Shastriar's meetings in Bombay, and I said that conduct such as this must put back the clock of progress. I have explained in the same article that but for such exhibition of rowdyism we should not take even one year to gain swaraj. No one need feel anxious about my belief. I wish people will cease to think of what I believe and begin to believe something themselves. If I

[1] *Vide* pp. 353-5.

could infect India with the intensity of my belief, she can gain swaraj today, for the will of a nation composed of three hundred million men and women acting in unison cannot be withstood by any power on earth.

But Sir William Vincent was good enough to inform the Assembly the other day that India could not become even like the Dominions because she would fall an easy prey to any power that chose to attack her, and if that did not happen she would be torn to pieces by internal strife. If it is true, it is the severest censure that can be pronounced upon British rule in India. I have however suggested before now that we need not be afraid either of foreign invasion or anarchy within. British rule has certainly emasculated us. Disarmament has reduced our fighting power, and the policy of 'divide and rule' certainly succeeded for a time in keeping Hindus and Muslims apart. Common misfortunes have however made us brothers in distress. We need not fear foreign invasion, if we refuse to wear foreign cloth and exchange with foreign nations only such produce or manufacture as we choose. South Africa has a poor standing army and no navy. It is true that every Boer is a fighter. But it is not the fighting quality that has made South African whites one nation. It is consciousness of oneness and ability to die for their country that has made them a nation. The consciousness of oneness is with us an ever-growing quality and with it must come the strength to die. This does not require training either in English schools or in Council halls, and, as I feel that India is realizing her unity with an undreamt of velocity, I believe there is every probability of evolving sufficient consciousness of unity and strength to make our demand for immediate swaraj irresistible. Let us not fear the bugbear of anarchy. In spite of a Pathan occasionally running amuck in a Bombay street and a *mahant* turning Satan in Nankana Saheb, we are essentially good and inoffensive by nature. And when the Sikhs, the Gurkhas, the Rajputs and the Pathans feel as one nation, we have, if we want it, fighting material enough to give battle to any number of bandits who may wish to despoil us without any cause being given by us. It is the poisonous teaching that we are helpless, sedulously instilled into us by our rulers, that makes my soul rise against the system they have heartlessly administered for so many years. It is this belief of ours in our helplessness which makes the clock of progress go so slow. It is strange that we are in bondage. It would be natural for us to feel free today.

Young India, 16-3-1921

221. ALL-INDIA TILAK SWARAJ FUND

The Punjab deserves the first place in having organized the Tilak memorial in a methodical manner. The new committees should now be in working order and we must dot the whole of the country with collectors for the fund. In the Punjab, the Congress Committee has isssued one-rupee receipts, thus expecting those who can to pay nothing less than one rupee. A memorial week, subsequently extended to a fortnight, was declared and trusted volunteers went round to make collections. They have collected over one lakh of rupees in that province. The Committee has already forwarded Rs. 25,000 on account of its contribution to the All-India Congress Committee.

In my opinion, the rest of us cannot do better than copy the useful example of the Punjab. It is necessary to fix the sum we should collect. One crore of rupees for the whole of India is a most modest tribute to the memory of a patriot so great as the Lokamanya. It is a trifle when we think of the object with which the memory of the deceased is to be associated. To contribute one crore of rupees towards the attainment of swaraj is not much. And it may be noted here that the money is not to be spent in foreign or other propaganda, but largely in spinning, weaving, and other educational activity. It is to be spent in educating our children. The collection has to be distributed among the twenty-one provinces and should be finished before the 30th June next. Each province will on an average be expected to collect about five lakhs of rupees. But Bombay, Gujarat, Bengal, Punjab, and such other provinces, may be expected to collect much more than Orissa or Andhra for instance.

The Working Committee has made the task easier by allowing each province to retain 75% of the collection for provincial expenditure. It is to be hoped, therefore, that not a moment will be lost in organizing the great memorial. It will be a fitting and noble tribute to the memory of one who gave his life to the attainment of swaraj and died with swaraj only in his thoughts. The Working Committee will no doubt issue authoritative instructions. But we need not await instructions in a matter of clear duty. We may safely follow the Punjabis' lead and show to the forthcoming All-India Congress Committee what we have done towards the fulfilment of our duty.

Young India, 16-3-1921

222. FAMINE INSURANCE

When I wrote about the spinning-wheel being a household instrument of famine insurance, I little realized its implications. What I then saw through the glass of reason darkly, I now see more clearly with the undimmed eye of experience. With famine staring us in the face in Bijapur, Ahmednagar and in some parts of Gujarat,[1] it behoves us to consider carefully what this spinning-wheel as an insurance agency means.

Let me give some figures. A spinning-wheel costs, say, six rupees. If we supply a family of three with two wheels and all the members work at it together for eight hours each, they will, between them, earn at least six annas per day. I claim that six annas per day for a family will keep it going during a season of distress. I can conceive it to be possible for them to work at the rate of twelve hours each, when the work has to be done in their homes at their own leisure. They add fifty per cent to the daily earning making it nine annas per day. Thus at an outlay of Rs. 12,000, we can support for four months one thousand families, or three thousand souls, and get from them a return of

$$\frac{1{,}000 \text{ families} \times 6 \text{ annas} \times 120 \text{ days}}{16} = \text{Rs. } 45{,}000$$

worth of labour. No doubt, forty-five thousand rupees will have to be found in the first instance for organizing famine relief, in addition to carded cotton and the spinning-wheels. The whole of the yarn that may be produced by the famine-stricken people would be used by the nation. There will be some little waste during the first month of learning. I use the adjectives 'some little' advisedly because cotton will not be absolutely wasted.

Suppose further that we make a present to these families of the spinning-wheels, they will never need to starve or be in need of funds. All that will be necessary for these families in future will be to be able to have a supply of cotton and a ready sale for the yarn they may manufacture. The experiment can be indefinitely multiplied, and I make bold to say that, if we introduce the spinning-wheel in every family home, we insure the nation practically against famine. I have assumed here that the famine

[1] During the early months of 1921, famine was declared by the Government in Bijapur district and scarcity in five other districts of Bombay Presidency.

is one of money and that the distressed area is able to buy corn if it has funds. Such was the case in Kheda three years ago, such was the case in Orissa[1] last year, and such is the case in Bijapur and Gujarat this year. I invite the public to try the experiment. I would ask the benevolent not to waste their benevolence by contributing funds to Government organizations which make people more and more helpless. I advise them to form their own committees of trustworthy workers and try the experiment themselves. Surely they will see that in it there is no possibility of failure or loss and every probability of the families helped becoming self-reliant and not feeling that they were living on public charity.

Let no one labour under the delusion that the spinning-wheel is a toy of the moment. Thousands of wheels have been already made and are working. Several thousand rupees are every month being distributed in poor homes. A few more months of honest and intelligent toil, and the spinning-wheel will have taken firm root. Pending organization of such committees I invite the readers of *Young India* who believe in the spinning-wheel as an instrument of famine insurance to send their contribution to the Manager, *Young India*. Every subscription will be acknowledged and will be devoted only to the introduction of the spinning-wheel in the famine area under proper supervision. In the event of a committee being formed the money will be handed over to the committee. In any case the contributions will be utilized for the purpose suggested by me.

Young India, 16-3-1921

223. THE LATE DR. RASH BEHARI GHOSE

The famous jurist, Dr. Rash Behari Ghose[2] of Bengal, died last Monday at the age of 76. His learning was unfathomable. His charity was of equal grandeur. His patriotism was not of the ordinary kind. His indefatigable diligence put to shame many a youth. His command of English was highly eulogized. Nevertheless he would be considered a man of bygone age. Dr. Rash Behari Ghose was the most striking example of how the most

[1] *Vide* Vol. XVII, pp. 396-8 & 403-5.
[2] 1840-1921; president of the Indian National Congress at Surat, 1907, and at Madras, 1908

eminent of India's men of learning become useless owing to a foreign domination and unnational education. He passed his youth in cultivating an English style which surpassed European writers, instead of devoting all his parts to his mother tongue. He expended his unfathomable erudition in elucidating law points based on Western view-points of life and occidental speculation, and in interpreting the same. All that he did after having entered the Congress was to circumscribe the objective of the national assembly. The creed that he formulated at Surat had to be modified this year by the National Congress at Nagpur. He gave a sum of ten lakhs to the Calcutta University although he coupled it with the condition that the professor who was to be maintained on the interest of this foundation must be an Indian. He made large contributions also to the Indian universities. Thus he dedicated his abilities to cultivate a foreign tongue, his intellect to assisting Government law courts, his wealth to aid that system of education of a Government in whose policy he had no confidence, and the weight of his personality in limiting the national ideal. Nevertheless had such a person been born in the epoch of swaraj, his life would have appeared golden and his services perceived by the entire world. By the two resolutions that he got passed in the Legislative Council, he demonstrated that he was perfectly conscious of the inordinate regard and affection which the people of India have for their own country. Had he received a national education, the same sentiment and love would have manifested themselves in him and he would have been in a position to render the loftiest services to the country. The people have not appreciated him to the extent that the Government did, because having received the culture confined to the Western globe, he had become almost a stranger to his people. His indefatigable industry, however, is likely even today to be worthy of anyone's emulation.

The Hindu, 16-3-1921

224. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI

ON WAY TO WARDHA,
Wednesday [March 16, 1921][1]

CHI. MAGANLAL,

Please note one thing, that the amount of Rs. 500 given by Dabholkar is meant for the spinning-wheel, the swadeshi movement, and the amount of Rs. 600 given by Vasumatibehn is for the Ashram. Both the cheques are handed over to Revashankarbhai.

Dr. Mehta[2] has offered Rs. 1,50,000 for the Ashram. The money is to be drawn in the course of two years as and when needed. The amount is for the construction account. You may draw from this Rs. 20,000 immediately from Revashankarbhai. For the present, we should merely complete what is already begun and postpone the rest. I think it necessary that the money from Sheth Rustomjee[3] and the other amounts with us should be kept apart. This sum of Rs. 1,50,000, you should know, is purely an answer to the soul's prayers. The test of the spinning-wheel is a very difficult one to pass. I saw the Surat spinning-wheel, costing one and a half rupees. I thought it was exquisite. It produces good enough yarn. Its inventor is really one of God's good men, a student who has joined non-co-operation. I have suggested to him that he should go and see you. Encourage him. I am taking one specimen with me. Shankarlal believes that our model uses too much wood. This man has ensured more revolutions with less wood. It is necessary that you should thoroughly study this matter. We wish to see the spinning-wheel introduced in five crore homes. The model, then, must be as cheap as possible, and strong as well. Give earnest thought to the problem and scrutinize the different models which people invent. It is very essential to study the work which Shankarlal is doing. You should examine very closely the one-and-a-half-rupee spinning-wheel and draw up a report on it. Give more attention to our students and see that

[1] Gandhiji left Bombay for Wardha on this date.

[2] Dr. Pranjivan Jagjivan Mehta, M.D., Bar-at-law; a friend of Gandhiji since Gandhiji's student days in England till his death in 1933; evinced great interest in all of Gandhiji's enterprises and gave them generous financial support.

[3] Parsee Rustomjee, who had donated Rs. 40,000; *vide* footnote 2, p. 157.

they produce more yarn, and of better quality. It is necessary, too, that we learn carding well. You should also write what time it takes to learn spinning. We must have among us experts for all processes. We should now let the work outside go on by itself and, concentrating more on the work among us, learn merely to watch others' work. Find out the difference between the method of spinning which Lakshmidas teaches and that which you do, and adopt the one which is scientific.

Write to me about other matters, too, in the Ashram, if there is anything important enough.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : C.W. 5791. Courtesy : Radhabehn Choudhri

225. SPEECH AT MASS MEETING, BOMBAY

March 16, 1921

Mr. Gandhi spoke in Gujarati. He said he wanted to tell them a few words about the present situation in the country. He had toured all over the country and had earned a good deal of experience during the tour, but he had no time to tell them at length all that he had known and seen in different parts of the country. He could only tell them that if they went on with their non-co-operation propaganda work as peacefully as they, in all parts of the country, had done during the last five months, they were sure to get swaraj in a year and so also the revision of the unjust Turkish Treaty and justice for the Punjab wrongs.

The great achievement that they had made during the last five months was that the ryot had realized that Government-given titles had no worth; that the education imparted by the bureaucracy was no education and that foreign goods had no value. The ryots had also realized that bureaucratic law courts were of no practical use to them.

Continuing, he said it was not only the ryots that realized this truth, the other classes also had felt it. Those students present there could not honestly say that they felt it honourable to remain in the Government schools and such was the case with the lawyers practising in bureaucratic courts. During his tours in Bengal, the Punjab and the United Provinces, he met hundreds of lawyers and students who seemed to feel ashamed, of course not ashamed of him but of themselves, because they could not shake off their bondage to those institutions which they knew to be mere shams. He also noticed that by and by they (lawyers and students) also were getting indifferent towards the present system of education and the British law courts. There were hopeful

signs that full *vairagya*[1] would come over the classes, within the next seven months. It had been an admitted fact that India could not expect greater services from any class of people than the lawyers. As for the students they had tender hearts and undeveloped minds and that was why they were hesitating to come out of their schools and colleges which they did dislike in their heart of hearts. But he could tell them that it would impede the attainment of swaraj if they did not discard a thing which they knew to be bad.

The people—the ryots and the [other] classes—had now understood that non-co-operation was also an instrument for the purification of the soul. He was greatly pleased with what he had seen in the northern parts of the country. He saw that the majority of the people there had not had a single piece of foreign cloth on their persons. The students who came out of the schools and colleges were doing national work in numerous ways and he could not understand how non-co-operating students could become "anarchists" as was said in some quarters. He was convinced that those who had the cowardly minds of the anarchists, could never so courageously non-co-operate with their schools and colleges at the call of the nation.

Proceeding, Mr. Gandhi said he was sorry to hear that Mr. Sastri and Mr. Paranjapye were insulted at public meetings. He failed to understand what they could gain by insulting those of their countrymen whose views did not agree with theirs. He was greatly mortified when he heard that at Benares, that sannyasi, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, also did not receive that treatment from his countrymen which his services to the country deserved. They must bear in mind that they would have to tolerate all that; they had no right to hate anybody. As one had to tolerate the presence of a wife, son or sister even though the wife, son or sister might differ from one in view, so they must tolerate all the views of their countrymen. They would never be able to convert anybody to non-co-operation by force if they could not do so by politely appealing to their reason. As long as they were unable to tolerate all opinions in the country so long they would remain unfit for any responsible task. Non-co-operation was their shastra which taught to hate none. If he were asked he would have told anybody that he did not hate even Chelmsford, Dyer, or O'Dwyer. What he was doing was simply to point out their blunders.

In all parts of the country the Government had made their grip tighter and stricter. At the beginning the Government were indifferent to them, then they began to ridicule and then to abuse them and now they had resorted to repression. He could only say that it was all for the best and that if they (non-co-operators) proceeded in as peaceful a manner as during the last five months, swaraj would be theirs during the next seven months. The only thing required of them was to go on in a well-organized and peaceful manner. They

[1] The spirit of renunciation

must not go to the doors of schools and colleges and then call out students, but they must convince all about the truth of non-co-operation.

Regarding swadeshi and boycott he wanted to tell them that it was impossible for them now to drive away all foreign goods from the country. They were to boycott only those goods which they could produce in the country. Cloth was chief among those goods. When they could weave cloth they could easily boycott foreign goods. In this connection he must tell them that he did not ask them to boycott Indian mills too just at present, because if they did so it would make the country poorer still. But they must see that the mills did their duty properly. Mills must not work for "capital" alone, they must work for the people too. They should now try to raise the price of their khadi. They should impress upon Lancashire that they could do without her, but he did not mean to say that they should boycott Lancashire all at once because he knew that would only make room for Japan.

Concluding, Mr. Gandhi said the 6th April[1] would be a day of searching test for them. On that day they would be tried whether they were earnest about swaraj. He wanted a crore of rupees on that day in memory of the great mahatma Tilak. Of course, he did not want that amount for his children or Lokamanya Tilak's children, but he wanted that for them and their own children. He knew that many among them would say that the money market . . .[2] and that their trade was suffering from depression. He knew others would say that they were hard up because they would have to give their daughters in marriage. But he said they could easily sacrifice the money they spend for their smoke and they could easily perform the marriage ceremony of their daughters in khadi without a heap of jewels. Men and women of India must undergo some penitence for their sins.

The Bombay Chronicle, 17-3-1921

226. SPEECH AT NATIONAL COLLEGE, BOMBAY

March 16, 1921

He said the essence of all education was kindness—kindness to all, friends, foes, men and beasts. The chief object of education was the building of character which could be done by strict observance of *brahmacharya*. Mr. Gandhi then explained to the students the necessity of learning Hindi and spinning and said that if the whole younger generation was educated in the manner in which they were trained in national schools then there would not have been any difficulty in getting swaraj.

The Bombay Chronicle, 17-3-1921

[1] The commencement of the Satyagraha Week

[2] Some words are missing here.

227. *INTERVIEW TO "THE DAILY HERALD"*

March 16, 1921

[INTERVIEWER:] Why are you against foreign propaganda?

[GANDHIJI:] Our movement mainly depends for its success not upon propaganda, but upon internal reform and internal strength. Firstly, if not a soul outside India knew what we are doing, but, if we actually evolved strength, this Government must of necessity fall to pieces. Secondly, this Government has so well organized itself that it does not allow any propaganda hostile to itself to be continued when that hostility becomes effective. Thirdly, any propaganda that we can carry on must be based upon limited resources, whereas Government's counter-propaganda commands not only unlimited resources, but is so unscrupulous that it is impossible to overtake it in time. I have, therefore, come to the conclusion that we must rely upon the truth of our movement to propagate itself.

What do you think of the repression that is going on at the present moment in India?

I welcome it as a token of the pressure of the movement that is now being felt. We in Bombay are more fortunately situated because repression in our Presidency is not so rampant as in other parts. If people will remain calm and unperturbed and respond not by agitation against repression, but by greater renunciation on their part repression will kill itself. If restrictions placed upon the liberty of men of unquestioned integrity, character and in- influence fails to cow down the people, I can hardly imagine that any Government will be so foolish as to try still greater in order to kill a movement, inoffensive alike in conception and execution, for the non-violent character of the movement has checkmated this very irresponsible Government, and has resulted in a shameless attempt to crush not violence, but opinion and character. I am hoping, therefore, that workers throughout India, conscious of the daily growing national strength, will remain perfectly indifferent and continue the work of consolidating and organizing national strength along the lines laid down by the Congress.

Are you able to give any informed opinion about the working of the new legislative bodies?

So far as I have been able to follow the working of these Councils the forebodings of pessimists are coming true. The bureaucracy has lost nothing of its real power for mischief. It is making most effective use of its diplomatic skill in order to hoodwink honest people, and of its unscrupulousness in order to meet all the other forces. The result is that we have more expensive toys than we had before in order to keep us from crying, and in no province has this come more true, I am sorry to say, than in Lord Sinha's.[1] Bihar is a province where there is the least danger of violence, where leaders have assimilated the full spirit of the movement, where the whole energy of leaders is concentrated on temperance, education and industry. If Government were simply to remain indifferent the Biharees will be teetotallers and set an example to the whole world of temperance reform without legislation and they would revolutionize education movement and bring it within the reach of the poorest without burdening the tax-payer and by reintroducing the spinning-wheel, they would make of Bihar a land flowing with milk and honey that I verily believe it was once. Let the world, therefore, know that repression in Bihar, as for that matter throughout India, means repression of these three important puritanic movements. Judged by this test, the new legislative bodies must be pronounced failures at least up to the present.

What of the future?

So far as I can judge the movement will continue its present course. We are daily increasing our concentration upon hand-spinning and hand-weaving, thus making India economically self-contained, and upon inward purification by driving out the drink habit. Notwithstanding what critics may say the boycott of law courts and educational institutions run by Government, is making steady, though slow, progress. Hindu-Muslim unity is becoming more and more a permanent part of national life and non-violence has gone beyond the stage of experiment or expedience, and is fast becoming a creed, so far as attainment of swarajya is concerned. I am a born optimist and I believe, if we continue at the rate we are going, before October is upon us, Government will find it impossible to ignore the strength of unanimous public opinion and we shall find swarajya established in India.

What do you think of the proposed revision of the Treaty of Sevres?[2]

[1] Lord Sinha was then the Governor of Bihar and Orissa.

[2] Following World War I, the draft Treaty was published in May 1920;

I have only hurriedly glanced through the new terms. So far as I can judge, they aim at pacifying Turks and not Indian Mussulmans. The two things have to be recognized as distinct. Khilafat is essentially a religious movement, being idealistic and unconnected with Turkish pacification. It derives its sanction directly from the injunction of the Prophet. Until, therefore, Indian Mussulmans are placated, there can be no peace, and the *sine qua non* of Mussulman conciliation is that what is termed the Island of Arabia must remain under the exclusive Mussulman control and under the spiritual sovereignty of the Khalifa, whoever he may be for the time being. The prestige of Islam demands rendition of Smyrna and Thrace to Turkey, and evacuation by the Allied Powers of Constantinople, but the existence of Islam demands the total abrogation of mandates taken by Britain and France. No influence, direct or indirect, over the Holy Places of Islam will ever be tolerated by Indian Mussulmans. It follows, therefore, that even Palestine must be under Mussulman control. So far as I am aware, there never has been any difficulty put in the way of Jews and Christians visiting Palestine and performing all their religious rites. No canon, however, of ethics or war can possibly justify the gift by the Allies of Palestine to Jews. It would be a breach of implied faith with Indian Mussulmans in particular and the whole of India in general. Not an Indian soldier would have gone, if Britain on the eve of war had declared even the possibility of any such usurpation, and it is becoming clearer every day that if India is to remain a free partner in a future British Commonwealth, as distinguished from the Empire, the terms of the Khilafat have to be settled more in consultation with the spiritual leaders of Mussulmans than with the political leaders of Turkey.

The Bombay Chronicle, 17-3-1921

then the efforts of the Government of India, who pressed their views upon His Majesty's Government, resulted in an abortive revision of the Treaty on lines more favourable to Turkey. The London Conference for the revision of the Treaty was opened on February 22, 1921.

228. SPEECH AT ARVI[1]

March 17, 1921

Many among you are wearing swadeshi clothes, but I find that all of you have turbans of foreign cloth. It is a sin now to wear any foreign cloth. We should give it up as early as possible and, in order that we may have swadeshi cloth to wear, everyone of us should spin. Spinning will protect our religion and our culture and, of course, our economic well-being. Secondly, we should give up drinking and persuade others who drink to give up the habit. We cannot compel those who refuse to hear us or who do not stop drinking. We should persuade people with love, falling at their feet to win them over and even if they do not listen, should entreat them again and again without any resentment. Women can do this better. We should give up stealing, adultery and deceit. We should improve our behaviour towards the untouchables.

If untouchability is a part of Hinduism, I would say that, to that extent, there is Satanism in Hinduism. But it is my firm conviction that there is no such thing in it. It is not dharma but *adharma* to refuse to touch persons of a particular community. We have committed many sins by taking untouchability as a part of dharma. We have got to atone for them. I am not advocating interdining or intermarriage; I am only suggesting that the idea that there is harm in touching anybody should be abandoned. We have allowed one of our limbs to rot by treating it as untouchable, and our entire body is suffering pain in consequence. Today Englishmen look upon us as *Bhangis*. In the Colonies, they allot us separate areas for carrying on business. Our residential localities and railway coaches for our travel are segregated. We are considered untouchable, pariahs. We must end the long-standing injustice of our behaviour towards the untouchables. When we have changed our behaviour towards them, the life of the untouchable communities will become cleaner. It has been my experience that the homes and surroundings of many untouchables are much cleaner than those of quite a few belonging to the so-called higher castes. The work of a *Bhangi* is not low. It is essential for the existence of society. It is not impure. I have myself often

[1] Extracted from Mahadev Desai's account of the tour. Arvi is a village near Wardha, in Maharashtra.

cleaned the latrines of patients both in South Africa and here, but nobody ever said that this work was unclean or low; on the contrary, it was praised. Every mother removes the stools of her child. There is service and an element of nobility in her work. Will anybody ever dream of looking upon the mother as an untouchable? Consolidation of Hindu-Muslim unity is as important as removal of untouchability. It is not at all necessary, for this purpose, that Hindus should become Muslims or that the latter should become Hindus. The right course for each community would be to remain loyal to its own faith and, at the same time, respect the faith of the other.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 3-4-1921

229. SPEECH AT NAGPUR[1]

March 18, 1921

I am sorry that my friend Maulana Shaukat Ali is not present at this big meeting. Until now, both of us kept together while moving all over India. But after the Congress session in December we thought that the hearts of Hindus and Muslims had been purified to such a degree that it was no longer necessary for us to move together. If we want to win swaraj within seven months, if we want that the pain felt by the Muslims on the Khilafat issue should be healed and that justice should be secured for the Punjab, we should tour different places separately and finish the work in time. I hope nobody will demand that both of us must go together to every place. There are seven and a half lakh villages in India. One person cannot visit them all.

I am glad to see such a huge gathering here. I congratulate you on your having Asahayoga-Ashram [Non-co-operation Institute] and the National School which are running here. A leader of your city, Bhagawandin[2], has gone to jail. Another leader, Dr. Paranjapye, has been served with an order restraining him from public speech for one month and a third leader, Dr. Cholkar, is being prosecuted.[3] I congratulate you on these developments also. But

[1] Extracted from Mahadev Desai's account of Gandhiji's tour

[2] Honorary Principal of Asahayoga-Ashram who, along with Dr. Cholkar, organized picketing of liquor shops

[3] In connection with a speech made by him; *vide* "Notes", 30-3-1921 (p. 486).

you transgressed the order of the Congress and the League—you pelted stones—and that has grieved me. Recently, an English guard assaulted my friend Ashvat who works as secretary to Maulana Shaukat Ali, and he even sustained an injury. Friend Ashvat, thereupon, pushed the guard. According to the Government's law he had every right to do so. The Government's law says that there is no crime whatever in using force in self-defence. That is the law of the Government, but the law of the Congress and the League is different. Friend Ashvat, therefore, felt sorry for what he had done. He went out and protected the guard from the wrath of the public. You have committed a very wrong thing in Nagpur. Whatever the provocation, you should pick up no stone for pelting. If, again, anybody insists on drinking, he cannot be compelled to desist. We want swaraj. Under real swaraj, no man, even if he commits a crime, should be subjected to arbitrary compulsion. It was also an error to have obstructed the burial of the dead body of a person. It has harmed our movement and lowered our prestige.

There should be no compulsion against a person even if he obstinately persists in drinking or similar vices. Such compulsion would mean an offence against the Congress and the League. You could have, in September last,[1] decided on another path for yourself if you had wished. But you have pledged to carry on a peaceful fight. You cannot now swerve from that path. We cannot profess peaceful intentions and commit breach of peace. The reports of our fight have spread throughout the world. This peaceful fight is winning praise. If we deceive the world by using violence while we talk of peace, we shall lose all that we have gained. We should feel penitent for our errors. The whole world has observed that India has gathered more strength during these five months than she did during the past fifty years. The Government has invited Mr. Chhotani to participate in the Allies' Conference for negotiations with Turkey and Dr. Ansari has also been nominated a member; this is a clear victory for non-co-operation. I am not saying that we should sit quiet out of fear. It is not necessary to fear anybody except God. Not to be afraid is, however, one thing and not to get angry is another. If you cannot check your anger, you should sit quietly at home or undertake *hijrat*. *Hijrat* means renouncing. Both Hindus and Muslims can undertake it. If, however, you want to be brave soldiers of non-co-operation, you should resolve that you will not defile your hands by picking up

[1] When the special session of the Congress was held at Calcutta

stones or other things for pelting, that you will not defile your tongue by uttering filthy words. We want to win swaraj within seven months. It will not matter, if, for this purpose, students do not leave schools and lawyers do not give up practice in larger numbers. That will not altogether prevent the coming of swaraj. However, you will certainly prevent it if you abandon restraint. The other condition for swaraj is Hindu-Muslim unity.

The third condition for swaraj is swadeshi. You should ply the spinning-wheel instead of playing with the tennis racket. Everybody should have a spinning-wheel. If you want to boycott foreign cloth, all of you should take up the spinning-wheel. There was a time when the idea of boycotting foreign cloth was considered ridiculous, was considered impracticable. That fear has vanished today. The pledge of swadeshi is one which everybody can implement. If we cannot do even this, we should give up the hope of swaraj. We should move about in a loin-cloth rather than wear foreign cloth. Nagpur has a large number of weavers. They should give up weaving polluted foreign yarn and resolve to weave the pure yarn spun by their own mothers and sisters. It is not the hand-spun yarn that is weak, but our hearts which are so. This is why we are reluctant to weave it.

Many friends ask me whether we shall win Palestine[1] also. I say, certainly we shall win even Palestine if you are prepared to turn yourselves into fakirs and if you remain peaceful. You will not win it if you remain content with persuading others to become fakirs. No matter who is imprisoned, we must remain peaceful. Let them be imprisoned, prepare yourselves also for imprisonment. You should not, however, be imprisoned for resorting to violence; be imprisoned for sincere work. If the Government throws you into jail for such work, that will be the day of our victory. When it tries to rule in this manner, it will come down like a dry leaf. Creating disorder when somebody is imprisoned is a sign of weakness, of fear.

And now one last thing. You love Tilak Maharaj. They shout 'victory' to his name everywhere. There is a picture of his here. His spirit also is present here, a witness. His life was dedicated to the cause of swaraj. It is our duty to strive to win it. The Swaraj Fund which is being collected in his name is not meant for erecting his statue or creating a park in his name, but is intended for promoting activities calculated to win swaraj.

[1] After World War I, Turkey was dispossessed of Palestine and the territory was placed under British mandate.

This is a business deal. It is to our own profit. The sum of one crore must be collected before June. This is not a big task. I hear that spinning-wheels are not plying because there is no money. This is a matter for shame. If everybody contributes his share, we can have any amount of money. If from nowhere else, you may contribute money to this fund out of the savings effected by giving up the bad habits of drinking, smoking, etc.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 3-4-1921

230. SPEECH AT AMRAOTI[1]

March 19, 1921

Shri Yadwarkar[2] had dedicated his all to the country. He had all those qualities which the Congress, the [Muslim] League and other public organizations expect from us. If we possessed his qualities, we would have already won swaraj. At one time he did believe in violent methods for securing swaraj, but subsequently his views changed. He had become a confirmed satyagrahi and he was convinced that the programme of the Congress and the League alone was for the good of the country.

We are bound by the resolution of the Congress to preserve peace under all circumstances; but both we and Englishmen doubt our ability to preserve peace. We should show that we remain peaceful in obedience to the dictates of dharma and not because we are deterred by fear of arms. I have had differences of opinion with Dadasaheb Khaparde from the very beginning. He prefers one path and I another. I know that the path which he wants to follow will not lead to swaraj. I do not, however, speak ill of him on that account. It is a breach of Congress discipline to prevent his people from drawing water from a well. If anyone is opposed to us, we should so behave towards him that he will have no fear of us though he be in a minority of one against us. Of course, we should not ask Dadasaheb Khaparde for any services in the Council and elsewhere, but should certainly offer him ours. If he falls ill, we should nurse him. If Lord Chelmsford becomes ill, we should offer our services to him too, but we certainly may not accept titles from him.

[1] Extracted from Mahadev Desai's account of Gandhiji's tour

[2] Yadwarkar Patwardhan of Amraoti, who died in January 1921; *vide* "In Memoriam", 12-1-1921.

Our fight aims at self-purification. What is self-purification? Those who are addicted to drink should give it up. Drink yields revenues to the tune of Rs. 17 crore to the Government. Obviously the Government will not allow us to rest in peace if there is fear of its losing this money. The education provided to our children from funds derived from drink should be unacceptable to us. Under swaraj, income from drink ought to be considered dishonourable. I am convinced that we can provide education without these revenues. I have read the speech delivered by Dr. Cholkar. The magistrate may or may not deal him justice, but I assert most emphatically that Dr. Cholkar has said nothing that was not discussed openly in the Congress. He has used the word 'republic'. To have a republic, however, is our birthright. India has had village republics from time immemorial. The Government of Bihar is trying hard to break up the panchayats[1]. Did we get justice at the hands of General Dyer or Sir Michael O'Dwyer? I testify that we got injustice instead of justice. You need not, however, be sorry for the sake of Dr. Cholkar. You should congratulate him. You should plead with drink-addicts to give up drink. Entreat the owners of liquor shops not to sell drink; persuade those who intend to take out licences for such shops not to do so. But at no stage should you resort to compulsion. You should not even use the word 'Satanic' to describe the Government. Do not get infuriated over the Punjab. Leave criticism on these matters to me alone. You should strive to put a stop to the consumption of liquor but do not condemn or abuse anybody while doing so. The days of harsh words are past. It is time to put in solid work. If you are imprisoned not for speech-making but for solid work—and the Government is welcome to treat refusal to drink as a sin—it will be utterly exposed and will be destroyed by its own misdeeds.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 5-4-1921

[1] Establishing panchayats for settling disputes through arbitration was part of the non-co-operation movement.

231. THE SATYAGRAHA WEEK

April is nearing. Can any Indian forget the inspiring Sunday of 6th April[1] and the terrible one of the 13th?[2] There is no exaggeration in saying that the new life of India commenced on the 6th of April. It is our duty to celebrate the two days.

On the 6th, India awoke, shook off her sloth, and the first thing she saw on being fully awake was the fearful atonement forced on her on the evening of the 13th for the misuse of a newly-acquired strength. That night India heard Ratan Devi lamenting the death of her husband, his lustreless head resting in her lap.

How should we celebrate this week? Only by showing more scrupulous regard for truth, by strengthening our determination, by being more humble and making ourselves purer, by acquiring greater strength. It is also our especial duty during this week to take measures for preventing any possible recurrence of the terror and violence of the 13th.

This week should be spent in pure *tapashcharya*, pure devotion to God and the purest spirit of renunciation. During this week let us beg forgiveness of God for our offences and of those against whom we may have committed them. In humility lies our strength. Let us not wish ill to the British or others who act in opposition to us; we shall not talk offendingly to them. On each of those seven days we should repeat: 'This very year we shall secure swaraj, this very year we shall have the Khilafat question settled and this very year we shall secure justice in regard to the Punjab.'

We should think about the means of achieving these aims and make a big effort towards that end.

1. Title-holders should give up their titles.
2. Lawyers should give up practice.
3. Students should quit Government schools.
4. Litigants should boycott law courts.
5. People given to drink and other vices should give up drink and other addictions and sins, stealing, gambling, etc.
6. Everyone should take a vow always to act truthfully.

[1] Of 1919, on which day hartal was observed throughout India to protest against the Rowlatt Bills

[2] Of 1919, on which day the Jallianwala Bagh tragedy occurred

7. All should introduce the spinning-wheel in their homes and every man and woman should spin for a given number of hours every day.

8. All should boycott foreign cloth and wear only hand-spun and hand-woven cloth.

9. All Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Christians, Parsis and Jews born in India should behave towards one another as brothers or sisters.

10. No Hindu should look upon another as an untouchable and all people should be held in equal regard.

11. Everyone should contribute to the Tilak Swaraj Fund according to his means.

While doing any of these things or persuading others to do it, no one should use harsh words.

It can be seen from this that the most important things we have to do are to popularize the spinning-wheel, to wear khadi and to collect funds.

We should observe hartals on the 6th and the 13th. No compulsion should be used on anyone. Mill-hands too should arrange in advance to take leave for these two days. Those who may not get leave should certainly not stop work.

On the 6th and the 13th, a 24-hour fast should be observed, commencing from the previous evening.

At places where there may be no official ban, we should hold meetings and pass suitable resolutions.

Contributions should be collected at every meeting and sent to the Tilak Swaraj Fund of the province.

On all the seven days, and especially on the two days of fasting, part of the time should be spent in complete silence and in devotions and in this way we should demonstrate that our fight is a sacred one.

There should be no village in India which will not have received the message of the Satyagraha Week. On the 14th, every man and woman must feel that he or she has done something in the service of the country and of dharma, that he or she has become purer.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 20-3-1921

232. *MY LAST VISIT TO THE PUNJAB*

The Punjab "versus" Gujarat

The Punjab has become a second Gujarat to me. I have to go there so many times. There remain only a few districts in the Punjab which I have not visited. I have captioned this article "My Last Visit", but it does not mean that it is the last visit I shall ever make. It seems likely that I shall have to go there again in a little while. This time I visited Rawalpindi, Gujranwala, Multan, Lyallpur, Shri, Lahore, Amritsar, Jullundur, Hoshiarpur, Hariana, Khanna, Ludhiana, the [North-West] Frontier, Ambala, Rohtak and Bhiwani. And so I find it a little difficult to say whether I know Gujarat better or the Punjab.

Sisters of the Punjab

It is not my intention to give a regular account of the tour. I am writing this article only to give some rewarding and sacred memories. The sisters of the Punjab have captivated me. A women's meeting was held almost at every place, and these meetings were by no means thinly attended; crowds and crowds of them came. Their patience, their simplicity, their innocence are above praise. I experienced unsurpassed love from them. At every place, they blessed me from their hearts. They believe that swaraj is but *Ramarajya*. They have showered on me sacred balls and garlands of yarn. They did not stint in giving money. The sisters of the Punjab have disproved Lala Lajpat Rai's fears about funds. Nor was the money given out of false regard for me; they vied with one another in giving it. They sing sweet songs in chorus, and those songs are also historical. Thousands of Punjabi sisters have the story of Dyerism by heart through songs. In the art of spinning the sisters of the Punjab today beat their other sisters in the country and I believe they will always do so. Two daughters of a barrister competed with me on the spinning-wheel. My hands simply would not function. As I lengthened a yarn, it would snap. These girls just went on and on. I felt abashed. I had confessed my defeat at the very beginning. The father consoled me and said that my spinning-wheel must have been defective. But the consolation was unavailing since I knew my ignorance well enough. The music that issued from the spinning-wheels of those girls sounded to me sweeter even than that of a fine musical instrument,

This battle of spinning-wheels began at 11 o'clock at night but, if I had not some other work to attend to, I would certainly have gone on watching the turning of the spinning-wheels, for my faith that India's swaraj will be won through the spinning-wheel grows day by day.

FLAG OF SWARAJ

A wise friend[1] has suggested that the picture on our swaraj flag must be that of the spinning-wheel. This idea has appealed to me as very beautiful. We use all manner of flags. A gentleman[2] from Andhra Pradesh has suggested many designs for a flag. But I find no other idea as attractive as that of having a spinning-wheel on the flag of swaraj. I commend this idea to the leaders who will be in charge of the forthcoming Congress session[3].

WIDESPREAD ACTIVITY

In some districts in the Punjab, there is not a home without a spinning-wheel. Jullundur, Hoshiarpur and Hariana are spinning-wheel centres. They produce the best spinning-wheels and other articles of indigenous craftsmanship. A gentleman from Hoshiarpur has given me two spinning-wheels. Anyone who wants to see them may come to the Ashram. Those spinning-wheels are made of a variety of ebony. Their handles are made on the lathe and are skilfully designed. They are even painted. Some are very artistically made. Expensive models have handles inlaid with ivory. Some have even small mirrors in their wheels. Some have small tinkle-bells. I was told in Hoshiarpur that the price of the spinning-wheel had doubled within six months. Generally a good painted spinning-wheel costs about Rs. 15/-. The demand for spinning-wheels is so great that the craftsmen are unable to meet it.

AN UNUSUAL ADDRESS OF WELCOME

I have been given a good many kinds of welcome addresses, but I have not received till today any address like the one I got in Jullundur. Generally, our municipalities do not honour public workers. A beginning was made by Bareilly when Maulana Shaukat Ali and I visited that place.[4] Gorakhpur followed[5]

[1] Lala Hansraj of Jullundur

[2] Venkayya of the National College, Masulipatam. *Vide* also "The National Flag", 13-4-1921.

[3] Which was to be held in December 1921 at Ahmedabad

[4] On October 17, 1920

[5] On February 8, 1921

and this time Jullundur.[1] This was rather a bold step that the Jullundur Municipality took, but, treading the signs of the times, it dared. The welcome address was certainly not in English, it was in sweet Hindustani, printed in the Urdu script. It was not printed either on silk, calico cloth or paper. That welcome address was printed on khadi. That khadi had been sent to Mecca Shariff and hallowed. The mother of a Jullundur lawyer, Nazir-uddin Shah, had supplied a piece from the khadi she had preserved for many years for use as her own shroud and the welcome address was printed on it. Today one hears stories of Muslims purposely using khadi for the bier.

When I arrived in Ayodhya, I was taken to a small temple that stands at the place where Shri Ramachandra is believed to have been born. The devout among non-co-operators had suggested to me that I should request the temple priest to use khadi for dressing the images of Rama and Sita. I did make the suggestion, of course, but it is hardly likely to have been acted upon. When I went for *darshan*, I saw them dressed in ugly muslin with brocades. If I had Tulsidas's strength of profound devotion, I too would have been as insistent as he had been. Tulsidas had vowed, in a Krishna temple, that unless Lord Krishna took visible form as Rama with bow and arrow, he would not bow [to the deity]. Devout writers say that when Goswami [Tulsidas] took this vow, his eyes saw images of Ramachandra standing on every side and he bowed his head most readily. I often feel like insisting that I would bow my head only when the officiating priests made our Thakoreji[2] swadeshi by dressing him in khadi. But I must first do the *tapashcharya* which Tulsidas did and acquire his unique devotion. Meanwhile, I wish that, just as the Muslim brethren have started using khadi for holy occasions, the Hindus too should begin to use khadi in the temples and for other sacred purposes. It is the law of the universe that when an important thing is well done, other related issues will get solved suitably. The biggest item in the country's imports is cloth, though at one time this import did not exist. Therefore, when we have boycotted foreign cloth altogether, we shall most certainly have won swaraj and our strength will have grown so much that no one will be able to resist it.

A Rehearsal

I have attended hundreds of meetings. Chairs are now hardly used on the dais. There was no chair for anybody at the

[1] On March 7, 1921

[2] Image of Lord Krishna

Khilafat conference[1] in Lucknow. Maulana Mahomed Ali was the President. He had come in his khadi pyjamas and shirt. He was seated on a cotton mattress. Others, from aristocratic families, religious teachers and members of the educated classes, were seated on the ground. But I saw everything swadeshi at the conference[2] at Hariana, as if it was a small-scale rehearsal of the forthcoming Congress as I imagine it. The conference *pandal* was made wholly of khadi cloth. In the middle was a high dais on which many members sat cross-legged. At the rear, there were hundreds of women. On the right was a khadi exhibition. There, beautiful embroidered scarves, handkerchiefs woven from hand-spun yarn and long pieces of khadi were spread on the ground. Prizes had been awarded to those who had made the thinnest khadi and produced the thinnest yarn. The thinnest khadi was of three grades, which I have brought with me. I have also brought woven handkerchiefs and embroidered scarves. They can be inspected at the Ashram. The volunteers had put on khadi pyjamas, shirts and caps. The pupils of the new national school[3] were all in khadi dresses. I did not see a single foreign article in this conference. The slogans displayed on every side were also written in Urdu, the mother tongue of the region and the resolutions, too, were about what should be done by all people and on similar subjects. The expenses for this *pandal* were only those by way of rent for the rafters and other pieces of wood that had to be hired. The khadi will all of it remain in stock. The flags also were of khadi.

A Friend of the Oppressed

Jullundur, Hoshiarpur, Hariana, etc., are close to one another. They are situated in eastern Punjab. From there I now wish to take the reader to Multan in the west. The plague is endemic in this town. Prahlad is believed to have been born in this place. It has even a temple to Prahlad. The native place of Diwan Mooldas[4] was Multan. It is said that the Pandavas spent the period of their incognito residence in Hariana. Multan is a dirty town. There is no limit to the dust there. The Multan Municipality is considered to be irresponsible. The plague brought forth

[1] Held on February 26, 1921

[2] The Hariana District Rural Conference held at Bhivani on February 15, 1921

[3] Of Rohtak in Hariana district

[4] Chief minister of the last Sikh ruler of the Punjab. The latter was defeated by the British in the Second Sikh War in 1849.

a good man, Bhai Moolchand. Financially he was well-to-do. Even now he probably has a little. He is unkempt to look at. Like the old-fashioned people in Gujarat, this man wears a jacket, made of khadi. He dons a khadi cap and a khadi dhoti. His efforts have brought into existence a hospital for victims of the plague. Bhai Moolchand and his brother have both dedicated themselves to it. There are three doctors with them, two of whom work honorarily. All plague cases are brought to this hospital. The patients are nursed by Bhai Moolchand, his brother and other volunteers. They are made to sleep in the open air as far as possible. The townspeople have told me that when mothers fled, frightened at the sight of their plague-stricken children, Bhai Moolchand took charge of the helpless victims and nursed them. Thanks to his efforts, hundreds have been saved and hundreds had a peaceful death. As a result of his efforts, the people have less fear of the plague. I was taken to see this hospital. There were about forty patients. I saw them all. How shall I describe the satisfaction they feel? As for me, I felt myself blessed by the *darshan* of these patients at Multan.

A Bhangi Friend

Bhai Moolchand arranged for my meeting everyone and did not omit the *Bhangi* either. "This friend, too," he said, "gave us much help at a critical time." He was standing a bit away. I advanced to meet him. The poor man moved further away. I stopped him and patted him on the back. There were many *sanatani* friends with me. I did not notice that they were displeased by this act of mine; on the contrary, I actually saw that many of them were glad at my touching the man. The *Antyaj* friend felt very pleased and said, "I have, of course, done nothing much." It is true certainly, that the practice of untouchability has no great hold in the Punjab. I did not find that any Punjabi *sanatani* ever considered himself polluted by a *Bhangi*'s touch.

Remedies for Plague

I told the persons in charge of this hospital that I had experience of three epidemics of the plague,[1] the story of one of them being that I had a hand in eradicating the plague completely and of the other two that, though the epidemic could not be arrested immediately, it could be controlled fairly well. Upon this they asked me to tell them the remedies. I give them here, though we already know them:

[1] In Rajkot (1896), Johannesburg (1905) and Ahmedabad (1917-18)

1. The victim of the plague should be, if possible, totally segregated and those who nurse him should not come in contact with others.

2. A house in which a case of plague has occurred should be sprinkled with lime and should not be used for at least ten days.

3. If it is full of moisture, ill-lighted and ill-ventilated, all the three defects should be removed.

4. If it is infested by rats, necessary repairs should be carried out so that they cannot stay on.

If these remedies are kept in mind, there is no doubt that the plague will stop spreading. I know it is easy to enumerate these remedies but difficult to adopt them. That is precisely why the plague has made a home in India. But we must adopt as many remedies as possible despite our poverty. The steps to prevent the plague are simple and I wish to set down those I once suggested:

1. We should cultivate the habit of living in properly ventilated and well-lighted houses.

2. We should see that our houses are so built as to make it impossible for rats to make their home in them.

3. Fæces should not be allowed to drop on the ground but only into a pot and, whenever the pot is used, a lot of dry earth should be thrown over it, so that all the excreta would be covered up and only the dry earth would be visible.

4. Even urine should drop into a pot.

5. Latrines, like other parts of the house, should be clean.

I have no time to write on the importance of these rules, but it is my emphatic view that, though we observe the rules of cleanliness in regard to natural functions, in so far as they concern individuals, we do not know the rules which concern society as a whole or, even if we know, we do not observe them and, therefore, suffer from a number of diseases.

MEDAL RETURNED

While writing about this hospital, I must not omit to mention that Bhai Moolchand decided on that day[1] to return the gold medal that he had received for his services. The same day, two well-known lawyers, Lala Kevalkrishna and Lala Bodhraj, announced their decision to give up practice for a year. The public services of these two lawyers had a good impact on Multan's life. They realized that their sticking to legal practice had checked

[1] *Vide* "Speech at Multan", March 5, 1921.

the progress of public life. In how many places is the same thing happening at present? Wherever the leaders have not understood non-co-operation or, having understood it, do not go along with it, the movement can make no advance, since "as the eminent ones act, so do the others"[1].

SIALKOT'S EXAMPLE

In my wanderings, I notice that wherever there is at least one sincere worker, the work of non-co-operation proceeds very well. One man by himself, Aga Sufdar, has greatly lifted up Sialkot's life. He is a brave and noble Muslim lawyer. He gave up practice before September, at the same time as Dr. Kitchlew, that is, immediately the Khilafat resolution was passed. His sacrifice, his simplicity and his truthfulness can be seen in every one of his actions. This gentleman, Aga Sufdar, used to take a big part in Sialkot's life even prior to non-co-operation. Through his example, therefore, non-co-operation work is making excellent progress in Sialkot. A big Muslim school has been converted into a national school. The spinning-wheel movement is going on apace. I saw his wife, and the other women too in Sialkot, all clad in khadi. I have had such experiences in many places. While narrating my Punjab experiences, I recalled the beautiful one in Sialkot. I have also observed that those who had been sincere in their sacrifices have added to their prestige and lost absolutely nothing. One cannot say that they have lost even money. They earn enough for their livelihood. Has anyone a right to earn more? A public worker certainly has none. His hands must be clean, he should have very few private concerns and his wants should be the fewest.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 20-3-1921

[1] *Bhagavad Gita*, III, 21

233. *THE NATIONAL TILAK SWARAJ FUND*

An indirect reference to this Fund was made in my note on the Punjab tour. It is necessary for us to raise a fund worthy of the memory of the Lokamanya. Those who had assembled after his death and joined the funeral procession will have some idea of the unique regard in which he was held by the people. Is that devotion still alive? The people have an opportunity to answer this question in the next few months.

And what kind of memorial is it to be? There will be no statue. With that Fund, we are to win swaraj; it is to be utilized chiefly for providing education to children, for promoting the spinning-wheel movement and remunerating public workers, that is to say, the contributions we shall make to the Fund will be used entirely for us. I at any rate cannot imagine a better use for our money than this.

I hope no one will consider it too much that the country should raise a crore of rupees for a memorial to the Lokamanya. It should be an easy thing to collect this amount so that we may be able to win swaraj. If we cannot even collect the money we need, we have no right at all to demand or gain swaraj. If the people are not ready to boycott foreign cloth, are reluctant to spin and do not donate money, what right can they have to demand swaraj? The amount of one crore, therefore, is in my view the very minimum. This sum must come from the 21 provinces. Some of these provinces are poor and some are very small, and one cannot expect them to be able to pay their share. One may certainly expect more [than their share] from Bombay, Gujarat, the Punjab and other parts.

We should complete the collections by 30th June. If we collect sums from many people, no one will feel the burden and we shall find it easy to collect the amount of one crore. I suggest that we should start the collection immediately, and complete the work by the end of June. All that is needed is determination and a band of honest volunteers. In this matter, other provinces would do well to follow the example of the Punjab.

Everyone will remember that the collection is to be separate for every province and that 25 per cent of the amount collected by each province is to be made over to the All-India Congress Committee. No one should give his contribution to any person

not authorized by the local Congress Committee. If we follow this simple rule, we shall probably escape a good many difficulties.

While this Fund is being collected, no demand should, as far as possible, be made for any other fund.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 20-3-1921

234. CONGRESS CONSTITUTION

It is necessary for us to understand the meaning of the Congress constitution. This constitution[1] has been so drawn up that we may be able to win swaraj at an early date. If, in accordance with that constitution, we can form a Congress Committee in every town, and succeed in having the name of every man and woman of twenty-one years [and over] on our register, it will mean Congress authority respected in everything simultaneously with the Government's. The latter is maintained by force. When, in one and the same place, another authority comes to be voluntarily respected by the people, the authority of the Government, if it is not accepted by the people, will not last even a moment. That is to say, if we can see the Congress constitution functioning on a country-wide scale, we may take it that swaraj will have been established that very day. This will test our capacity for organization. If we do not possess even that, what right do we have to ask for swaraj?

The Congress constitution is an answer to the pessimists. They believe that we do not even have organizational ability, that it will take years to acquire it. The Congress has placed in the hands of the optimists a weapon with which they can prove that this pessimism is unwarranted. No sacrifice is needed for successful implementation of the plan; all that is needed is ordinary honesty in us. Nor does it require much money, and as much as we need we shall get from the subscription fee of four annas a member. Just as we should have the capacity to collect a crore of rupees by 30th June, so also should we have the capacity to enrol one crore members of the Congress. One crore is one-thirtieth part of the population. The population of Gujarat is put at 96 lakhs, so that we should have on our register not less than 3 lakh members before June 30. We had some 25,000 names on our register by the

[1] *Vide* pp. 190-8.

28th of February. We shall succeed in our task only if our speed increases. During the Satyagraha Week, we should work hard and raise the number of members and the amount of collections so that we may complete this simple job.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 20-3-1921

235. SPEECH AT SIVNI[1]

March 20, 1921

I specially wanted to stop here as Bhagwandinji had come here to address a meeting and was arrested. That the Government should arrest the innocent is a certain sign of our victory. We should rejoice at such arrests.

* * *

It is much better to consume sewage water than to drink liquor. Sewage water is merely dirty and causes bodily illnesses, but liquor defiles the soul.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 5-4-1921

236. LETTER TO C. F. ANDREWS

JUBBALPORE,
March 21 [1921][2]

MY DEAR CHARLIE,

I am today in Jubbalpore and shall presently entrain for Calcutta on my way to Orissa. That will practically finish my tour throughout India. The poorest province will be the last to be visited.[3] The present activity of the Government fills me with unutterable distress. India is passing through a wave of purity. The people want to do away with the drink and the opium traffic. The Government is doing its best to thwart the purpose. People want to be simple. A subtle attempt is being made to prevent it. But I think the tide cannot be turned. It must go on. It almost

[1] Extracted from Mahadev Desai's account of Gandhiji's tour

[2] In this year, Gandhiji was in Jabalpur on March 21.

[3] Gandhiji was in Orissa from March 24 to March 29.

seems however as if the determination is to anticipate Lord Reading[1] and create for him an atmosphere in which it will be impossible for him to do any real service unless he brings with him a stout heart and scales of gold to weigh justice.

Today is my sacred day[2] and I cannot help sending you a line. I saw a line in the Press somewhere that you were again down with influenza. I hope you are better. Do send me a wire at Cuttack to say how you are. I shall be in Orissa six days.

I am sorry to have to tell you that Lalchand[3] appears to have been a broken reed. Mahadev tells me—and I have little doubt about the truth of his investigation—that Lalchand has misappropriated large sums of money. I have asked for his explanation. I have heard nothing as yet from him. He behaved very badly towards Mahadev. He will not part with your article on opium saying it was meant for himself, not for the Editor of *Young India.* I write this to warn you against trusting him. He is likely to make money out of anything he gets from you or anyone else of authority.

Such discoveries make me sad and despondent at times. We cannot make much headway with this battle of non-co-operation if we do not have clean instruments. Lalchand I believed to be absolutely straight and above suspicion.

I shall be in Bezwada on the 31st or even 30th and be in the Andhra province for about five days.

With love,

Yours,
MOHAN

From a photostat: G.N. 961

237. *TELEGRAM TO CENTRAL KHILAFAT COMMITTEE, BOMBAY*

March 22, 1921

WIRED KARACHI IF NON-CO-OPERATORS TRY NATIONALIZE EDUCATION THEY NEED NOT BE STOPPED.

Bombay Secret Abstract, 1921, p. 350

1 Then Viceroy-designate of India

2 March 21, 1921, was a Monday, Gandhiji's day of silence.

3 Who had shortly before been removed from the editorial staff of *Young India*; *vide* "Letter to Lalchand", January 29, 1921.

238. *NOTES*

'For God, King, and Country'

During my peregrinations I once came across boys in uniform and asked them what their uniform meant. I observed that their uniform was made of foreign cloth or cloth woven out of foreign yarn. They said it was scouts' uniform. They whetted my curiosity by the answer. I was eager to know what they did as scouts. The answer was that they lived for God, King, and Country. 'Who is your King?' I asked. 'King George,' was the reply. 'How about Jallianwala? Supposing you had been in that place on the 13th April 1919 and were asked by General Dyer to shoot your terrified countrymen, what would you have done?'

Of course I would not have obeyed the command.

But General Dyer wore the King's Uniform ?

Yes, but he belongs to the bureaucracy and I have nothing to do with it.

I suggested that he could not separate the bureaucracy from the King, that the King was an impersonal ideal existence which meant the British Empire and that no Indian could remain loyal, in the accepted sense, to the Empire as it was at present represented and be loyal to God at the same time. An Empire which could be responsible for the terrorism of the Martial Law regime, that would not repent of the wrong, that could enter into secret treaties in breach of solemn obligations, could only be reckoned as a godless Empire. Loyalty to such an Empire was disloyalty to God.

The boy was puzzled.

I continued my argument: 'Supposing our country becomes godless in order to enrich itself, exploits other people, trafficks in intoxicants, goes to war for the sake of extending its trade and resorts to fraud in order to sustain its power and prestige, how can we be consistently loyal to God and country? Must we not forsake the country for the sake of God? I suggest, therefore, that you should bind yourself to be faithful and loyal only to God and none else in the same sense and in the same breath.'

There were many of his companions who were deeply interested in the conversation. Their chief too came in. I repeated my argument to him and asked him to tax himself and stimulate the

inquiring spirit of the grown-up young men whom he was guiding. Hardly was the absorbing topic exhausted, when the train steamed out of the station. I felt sorry for the splendid lads and understood better the deep meaning of the movement of non-co-operation. There can be but one universal creed for man, that is loyalty to God. It includes, when it is not inconsistent, loyalty to King, country and humanity. But it equally often excludes all else. I hope that the youth of the country as well as their tutors will revise their creed and set themselves right where they are convinced of their error. It is no small matter for tender minds to have formulas presented to them which cannot bear scrutiny.

Satyagraha, Civil Disobedience, Passive Resistance, Non-co-operation

It is often my lot to answer knotty questions on all sorts of topics arising out of this great movement of national purification. A company of collegiate non-co-operators asked me to define for them the terms which I have used as heading for this note. And even at this late day, I was seriously asked whether satyagraha did not at times warrant resistance by violence, as for instance in the case of a sister whose virtue might be in danger from a desperado. I ventured to suggest that it was the completest defence without irritation, without being ruffled, to interpose oneself between the victim and the victimizer, and to face death. I added that this (for the assailant) novel method of defence would, in all probability, exhaust his passion and he would no longer want to ravish an innocent woman, but would want to flee from her presence for very shame, and that, if he did not, the act of personal bravery on the part of her brother would steel her heart for putting up an equally brave defence and resisting the lust of a man turned brute for the while. And I thought I clinched my argument by saying that if, in spite of all the defence, the unexpected happened, and the physical force of the tyrant overpowered his victim, the disgrace would not be that of the woman but of her assailant and that both she and her brother, who died in the attempt to defend her virtue, would stand well before the Throne of Judgment. I do not warrant that my argument convinced my listener or that it would convince the reader. The world I know will go on as before. But it is well at this moment of self-examination to understand and appreciate the implications of the powerful movement of non-violence. All religions have emphasized the highest ideal, but all have more or less permitted departures as so many concessions to human weaknesses.

I now proceed to summarize the explanations I gave of the various terms. It is beyond my capacity to give accurate and terse definitions.

Satyagraha, then, is literally holding on to Truth and it means, therefore, Truth-force. Truth is soul or spirit. It is, therefore, known as soul-force. It excludes the use of violence because man is not capable of knowing the absolute truth and, therefore, not competent to punish. The word was coined[1] in South Africa to distinguish the non-violent resistance of the Indians of South Africa from the contemporary 'passive resistance' of the suffragettes and others. It is not conceived as a weapon of the weak.

Passive resistance is used in the orthodox English sense and covers the suffragette movement as well as the resistance of the nonconformists. Passive resistance has been conceived and is regarded as a weapon of the weak. Whilst it avoids violence, being not open to the weak, it does not exclude its use if, in the opinion of a passive resister, the occasion demands it. However, it has always been distinguished from armed resistance and its application was at one time confined to Christian martyrs.

Civil disobedience is civil breach of unmoral statutory enactments. The expression was, so far as I am aware, coined by Thoreau to signify his own resistance to the laws of a slave state. He has left a masterly treatise[2] on the duty of civil disobedience. But Thoreau was not perhaps an out-and-out champion of non-violence. Probably, also, Thoreau limited his breach of statutory laws to the revenue law, i.e., payment of taxes, whereas the term "civil disobedience" as practised in 1919 covered a breach of any statutory and unmoral law. It signified the resister's outlawry in a civil, i.e., non-violent manner. He invoked the sanctions of the law and cheerfully suffered imprisonment. It is a branch of satyagraha.

Non-co-operation predominantly implies withdrawing of co-operation from the state that in the non-co-operator's view has become corrupt and excludes civil disobedience of the fierce type described above. By its very nature, non-co-operation is even open to children of understanding and can be safely practised by the masses. Civil disobedience presupposes the habit of willing obedience to laws without fear of their sanctions. It can therefore be practised only as a last resort and by a select few in the first instance at any rate. Non-co-operation, too, like civil disobe-

[1] In 1908; *vide* Vol. VIII, pp. 131-2.
[2] For a summary of it by Gandhiji, *vide*, Vol. VII, pp. 217-8 & 228-30.

dience is a branch of satyagraha which includes all non-violent resistance for the vindication of Truth.

Young India, 23-3-1921

239. SATYAGRAHA WEEK

April 6th and 13th will be soon upon us. The 6th[1] saw India one and awakened. The 13th was a black Sunday, when a diabolical attempt was made to crush the spirit of a nation that had just become awakened. India observed the anniversary of the two days last year in a fitting manner, and the whole week commencing from the 6th was treated as a week of consecration. Would that the coming April will find us ready for greater consecration. We have every reason and every occasion for it. Last year we concentrated merely on securing subscriptions for paying the purchase price of the ground hallowed by innocent blood.[2] It was a necessary and pious act. But greater things have happened since then. The nation has affirmed and reaffirmed its determination to redress the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs and to establish swaraj. The December Congress went further and declared its intention to acquire swaraj within one year.

We cannot, then, do better than consecrate ourselves for greater national effort in this direction. The school and the courts movements continue. No special endeavour is now necessary on that score except on the part of those who have left educational institutions or law courts. They must search within and see how they are utilizing their time. But there are six things in which we certainly need to make a very special effort.

Firstly, we must acquire greater mastery over ourselves and secure an atmosphere of perfect calm, peace, and goodwill. We must ask forgiveness for every unkind word thoughtlessly uttered or unkind deed done to anyone.

Secondly, we must still further cleanse our hearts and we Hindus and Muslims must cease to suspect one another's motives; and we should believe ourselves to be incapable of wronging one another.

[1] April 6, 1919

[2] The reference is evidently to the Jallianwala Bagh Memorial Fund; *vide* Vol. XVII, pp. 27-8 & 304-5.

Thirdly, we Hindus must call no one unclean or mean or inferior to ourselves, and must therefore cease to regard the 'pariah' class to be untouchable. We must consider it sinful to regard a fellow being as untouchable.

These three things are matters of inward transformation and the result will be seen in our daily dealings.

The fourth is the curse of drink. Happily, India seems to have voluntarily and spontaneously resolved to get rid of the curse. A supreme effort should be made during the week to induce, by respectful entreaty, the liquor-sellers to give up their licences and the habitual visitors to these shops to give up the habit. Every caste knows its own offenders and can handle them much more effectively than others. But I have suggested to the women of Ahmedabad that they should organize temperance bands and approach the liquor-sellers and the drinkers. In any case, no physical force should be used to attain the end. A determined peaceful campaign of persuasion must succeed.

The fifth thing is the introduction of the spinning-wheel in every home, larger production and use of khadi, and complete giving up of foreign cloth.

The sixth thing is the systematic and ceaseless collection of subscriptions for the Tilak Swaraj Fund. If an organized endeavour is made in this direction, we should be able to finish the collection of even one crore rupees during the Satyagraha Week. My incessant touring has convinced me that India is ready to pay much more than one crore. Only there are not enough honest collectors. Every district of India should be able to organize itself for this work to be done during the Satyagraha Week.

Hartals have become cheap, and are easily organized and, therefore, have lost much of their original value. But hartals for the two days have a significance all their own. And I would certainly advise hartals for both the sixth and the thirteenth April accompanied by fast. Needless to say that there should be no compulsion. The employees whether in mills, or elsewhere, should not stop work if they cannot secure leave, and no undue pressure should be brought to bear on the tram management. We must rely upon the public not using public vehicles on the two days without just and urgent cause. The two days of fast should be utilized for special prayers and worship.

I would dissuade the public from passing any resolutions as to our demands. The week of consecration must be a week of self-examination and purification. We must rely upon our work to bring about the desired result. As soon as we have rendered

ourselves fit no person on earth can prevent our establishing swaraj and securing redress of the two great wrongs.

Young India, 23-3-1921

240. TO THE PARSIS

DEAR FRIENDS,

I know that you are following with considerable interest the present non-co-operation movement. You may know, too, that all thoughtful non-co-operators are anxiously waiting to see what part you are going to play in the process of purification through which the whole country is passing. I, personally, have every reason to have full faith in your doing the right thing when the moment for making the final choice comes to you. And I address these few words to you because I feel that, probably, that moment has now arrived.

Apart from your being fellow-countrymen, I am bound to you by many sacred ties. Dadabhai[1] was the first patriot to inspire me. He was my guide and helper when I did not know any other leader. It was to him that I bore, when yet a boy, a letter of introduction.[2] It was the late uncrowned king[3] of Bombay who led me in 1896 and showed me the way to work. It was he who, when I wanted to give battle to a Political Agent as far back as 1892,[4] restrained my youthful ardour and taught me the first practical lesson in ahimsa in public life. He taught me not to resent personal wrongs if I would serve India. A Parsi merchant in Durban, Rustomjee Ghorkhodoo, was among my most valued clients and friends in South Africa. He gave freely to the public cause, and he and his brave son were the first among my fellow-prisoners. He gave me shelter when I was lynched,[5] and now, too, he is following the swaraj movement with considerable interest and has just donated[6] Rs. 40,000 to it. In my humble opinion,

[1] Dadabhai Naoroji

[2] This was in 1888 when Gandhiji went to England to study for the Bar.

[3] Sir Pherozeshah Mehta

[4] This was at Rajkot when Gandhiji attempted to intercede with the Political Agent on behalf of his elder brother and was rudely rebuffed. For a detailed account of the incident by Gandhiji, *vide An Autobiography*, Part II, Ch. IV.

[5] In Durban, on January 13, 1897; *vide* Vol. II, pp. 165-6.

[6] *Vide* footnote 2, p. 157.

probably the first woman in India today is a Parsi woman[1] gentle as a lamb, with a heart that holds the whole humanity. To have her friendship is the rarest privilege of life. I would love to multiply these sacred memories, but I have given you enough of them to enable you to understand and to appreciate the motive of this letter.

You are a very cautious community. You are compact, and you rightly insist on abundant proof of the stability and the morality of any movement before you would take to it. But there is now danger of your becoming over-cautious, and your success in trade may make you oblivious of the wants and aspirations of the multitude of your countrymen. I dread the Rockefeller spirit that seems to be overtaking the great House of the Tatas. I dread to think of the consequences of their appropriating poor people's properties for the doubtful benefit of making India industrial. But I do believe that this is a passing phase. Your shrewdness will show you the suicidal nature of such enterprises. Your quick wit will tell you that what India needs is not concentration of capital in a few hands, but its distribution so as to be within easy reach of the 7½ lakhs of villages that make this continent 1,900 miles long and 1,500 miles broad. I know, therefore, it is a question of time when you will throw in your lot as a community with the reformers who are hungering to free India from the curse of an Imperialism which is bleeding her to death.

But there is one thing for which it will be criminal to wait. A temperance wave is passing over India. The people want voluntarily to become teetotallers. Society is fast developing a public opinion that would consider drinking an unpardonable vice. Many Parsis make a living by running liquor shops. Your whole-hearted co-operation can sweep out of existence many of these plague-spots in the Bombay Presidency. The Local Governments almost all over India are making a discreditable attempt to thwart the movement which bids fair to succeed even to the point of destroying the whole of the Abkari[2] revenue. Will you help the Governments or the people? The Bombay Government has not yet been seized by panic. But I can hardly imagine that it will have the courage and wisdom to sacrifice the drink revenue. You have to make your immediate choice. I do not know what your Scriptures say about drink. I can guess what the Prophet, who

[1] Presumably Gandhiji refers to Mrs. Jaijee Petit, wife of Jehangir Bomanjee Petit, a Bombay millionaire.

[2] Excise

separated good from evil and sang the victory of the former over the latter, is likely to have said. But apart from your own religious belief, you have to make up your mind as to whether you will forward the cause of temperance in a whole-hearted manner or whether you will supinely and philosophically watch developments. I shall hope that you as a practical community of India will actively and thoroughly associate yourselves with the great temperance movement which bids fair to outshine every such movement in the world.

I am,
Your faithful friend,
M. K. Gandhi

Young India, 23-3-1921

241. THE KHILAFAT

The proposed change in the Treaty of Sevres[1] cannot satisfy Indian Muslims. And that is saying a great deal. It is not Turkey merely that Great Britain has to placate. It is India that has to be pacified. In my opinion, if the demands of the Muslims of India are conceded it will not much matter whether Turkey's are satisfied or not. And this for two reasons. The Khilafat is an ideal and when a man works for an ideal, he becomes irresistible. The Muslims, who represent the ideal, have behind them the opinion of the whole mass of the Indian people.

It is wrong to say that Muslims are fighting merely for Turkey. They will abandon her today, if she went wrong, if, to take a foolish illustration, she demands her restoration to the status that she occupied during the reign of Suleiman the Magnificent. Similarly, the Muslims cannot abandon a claim based on the Koranic injunctions because a weak and helpless Turkey cannot sustain it.

Whilst every good Muslim must strive to retain the temporal power of Turkey, it is obligatory on him to see that unequivocal Muslim control is retained over the 'Island of Arabia' which includes Mesopotamia, Syria, and Palestine as well, and the spiritual sovereignty over them of the Caliph, whoever he may be for the time being. No other terms, however good otherwise they may be, can possibly satisfy Muslim opinion. They will not tolerate

[1] Signed on August 10, 1920

any non-Muslim influence, direct or indirect, over the holy places of Islam.

The most thorny part of the question is, therefore, Palestine. Britain has made promises to the Zionists. The latter have, naturally, a sacred sentiment about the place. The Jews, it is contended, must remain a homeless wandering race unless they have obtained possession of Palestine. I do not propose to examine the soundness or otherwise of the doctrine underlying the proposition. All I contend is that they cannot possess Palestine through a trick or a moral breach. Palestine was not a stake in the War. The British Government could not dare have asked a single Muslim soldier to wrest control of Palestine from fellow-Muslims and give it to the Jews. Palestine, as a place of Jewish worship, is a sentiment to be respected and the Jews would have a just cause of complaint against Mussulman idealists if they were to prevent Jews from offering worship as freely as themselves.

By no canon of ethics or war, therefore, can Palestine be given to the Jews as a result of the War. Either Zionists must revise their ideal about Palestine, or, if Judaism permits the arbitrament of war, engage in a 'holy war' with the Muslims of the world with the Christians throwing in their influence on their side. But one may hope that the trend of world opinion will make 'holy wars' impossible and religious questions or differences will tend more and more towards a peaceful adjustment based upon the strictest moral considerations. But, whether such a happy time ever comes or not, it is clear as daylight that the Khilafat terms to be just must mean the restitution of Jazirut-ul-Arab[1] to complete Muslim control under the spiritual sovereignty of the Caliph.[2]

Young India, 23-3-1921

[1] The 'Island of Arabia'

[2] Here follows a short extract from a review of Israel Zangwill's *The Voice of Jerusalem*, dealing with the Jewish claims on Palestine.

242. TRUE AND FALSE[1]

I fear I shall be unable 'to dispel the clouds that are gathering round' but I shall try to throw light on the points raised by the correspondent. Whilst this is a mass movement, everyone is expected to respond irrespective of others because it is also a purifying movement. We leave schools or courts because it is sinful to countenance them, not because individual action can paralyse the Government. Such withdrawal on the part of many, however, does result in paralysis of the Government. Students who withdrew merely in response to the Congress call, but without inner conviction, did wrong and should rejoin their respective schools and brave the derision of their fellows. Those, however, who have seceded from conviction, must stand true even though they be a handful. One true coin is worth its full face value. A million false coins are so much dead weight and perfectly valueless. When the few true non-co-operators have *proved* their worth the movement will automatically become a mass movement. The spirit of it pervades the masses even today. Mass action is a matter of time. My belief is that India will be ripe by October. Those who have faith ought not to wait. I know that the students who have not withdrawn have refrained out of weakness, and not because they believe it to be wrong to leave the schools dominated by a Government which they would fain destroy.

Young India, 23-3-1921

[1] In this article Gandhiji comments on a letter from a correspondent in Poona. The following are excerpts from the letter :

"It is three months since the Congress Resolution on Non-co-operation was passed but there is no adequate response from the student world . . . They are not convinced how the boycott of colleges will paralyse the Government. . . . They look upon it as a mass movement, and if non-co-operation is to succeed, it must be brought into practice by a majority of the people. Till now only 200 students from the Poona colleges have responded . . . to obey the Congress mandate, but not at all to satisfy their conscience . . . should a minority which has non-co-operated suffer for nothing and ruin their careers? With this idea many are going to return to their colleges and are being abused as "moral lepers" by some enthusiasts. You will kindly throw light on all these points and dispel the clouds that are gathering round." *Young India*, 23-3-1921.

243. SPEECH AT CUTTACK

March 23, 1921

After apologizing for the absence of Maulana Shaukat Ali, he [Gandhiji] appealed for Hindu-Muslim unity which he regarded as the first condition of swaraj. He laid stress on the dismembered state of Oriya[1]-speaking tracts, the necessity of a separate Utkal Province and the chronic famine of Orissa. He remarked that these were the problems to be solved easily when we attained swaraj. Swaraj could easily be gained within seven months if we could carry out the Congress resolution on non-co-operation. He appealed to the people of Orissa to organize their villages, enroll 3 lakhs of Congress members, spread one lakh of charkhas and collect three lakhs of rupees in Orissa by the 30th June. The moment Orissa did this, she contributed her share to Indian swaraj. He advised his hearers to exercise self-control and self-discipline in morals, manners and habit. He said that those who were ready for self-sacrifice could fear no man but God; swaraj was our goal and birthright, to attain which we were to destroy the political Satan. As we were not possessed of any sword and, if we had a sword, it would not be useful, he said that non-violence must be the governing principle in non-co-operation. Referring to the backwardness of Orissa, he remarked that though the English-knowing people in Orissa were comparatively backward the masses were never so; the masses were far ahead. He would try to collect a pie even from the famine-stricken people of Orissa. The Oriyas[2] should devote their time to penance. Finally, he appealed for funds for the memorial of Lokamanya Tilak. The Oriyas who demanded Ganjam, Contai, Singhbhum and C. P. Oriya tract[3] must show that they were able to attain swaraj for Orissa in harmony with other provinces and to govern their province by organizing their tract and collecting their funds.

Amrita Bazar Patrika, 31-3-1921

[1] The language spoken by the majority of people in the now separate province of Orissa, also called Utkal

[2] The people of Orissa

[3] For inclusion in the separate Oriya-speaking province which they wished to have

244. SPEECH TO MARWARIS AND GUJARATIS, CUTTACK

March 23, 1921

On the same day at 8 p.m. he addressed a meeting of Marwaris and Gujaratis and appealed for funds. He explained that as these had identified their interest with Orissa and took much profit from the Oriyas, they should help them in collecting their funds. He dwelt largely upon interprovincial sympathy and goodwill and asked the audience to boycott foreign cloth and popularize the spinning-wheel through their customers. He asked them to follow the example of their brothers in other cities and in contributing funds to the province in which they were domiciled.

Amrita Bazar Patrika, 31-3-1921

245. SPEECH AT MEETING OF MUSLIMS, CUTTACK

March 24, 1921

Mahatmaji addressed a gathering of Mussulmans and described to them the Khilafat wrongs and the means to redress them. He asked them to live in amity and goodwill with the Hindus. He did not want to make a bargain with the Mussulmans with respect to cow-killing. He wanted to keep the honour of Islam, Hinduism and India, and asked the Mussulmans not to be satisfied until the Khilafat question was satisfactorily decided.

Referring to the Khilafat delegation and Chhotani's work, he assured the Mussulmans that Hindus must continue to be the friends and brothers to Mussulmans till the final solution of the problem and he himself was ready to die. He appealed for funds on the spot.

Amrita Bazar Patrika, 31-3-1921

246. SPEECH AT MASS MEETING, CUTTACK

March 24, 1921

In the evening he addressed another huge mass meeting where the students and lawyers were given separate seats to the right side of the platform. He first dwelt upon the necessity of learning the Hindustani and Oriya languages. He of course did not discourage the study of English literature. He appealed to the students not to have any contact with the polluted system of education and demoralizing influence of the Government. The students were asked to handle the spinning-wheel for eight hours a day and spin out swaraj for themselves. He then invited questions from the audience.

Q. If the non-co-operation movement fails, what are we to do?

A. Even if it fails it is sure that if you give up your studies you have then done your duty, by avoiding the contact of sin and Satan.

Q. If I give up my studies my father's property will be forfeited in the native state. So should I throw him into trouble, and be disobedient to the father?

A. Ramachandra[1] did his duty when he gladly went to the forest for 14 years. He did not care for Dasaratha's[2] anxieties. I can't comprehend how any Chief can forfeit a father's property for the son's conduct. The boy should take the risk upon himself even if such forfeiture be the case. Such arbitrary rules in the native states must come to an end by swaraj only.

Q. What about the medical students?

A. We are preparing medicine for the healthy life of Mother India. Thirty crores of poverty-stricken people want medicine.

Q. English education has gone to the bottom of our national life, brought about unity among various Indian peoples and it can abolish untouchability. So is it an extra evil? Are not Tilak, Ram Mohan Roy, yourself products of English education?[3]

A. This is a representative view being expressed by several people. We must conquer the battle of swaraj by conquering this sort of wilful ignorance and prejudice of our countrymen and of Englishmen. The system of education is an unmitigated evil. I

[1] The hero of the *Ramayana*

[2] King of Ayodhya and father of Ramachandra

[3] The answer that follows is from *Young India*.

put my best energy to destroy that system. I don't say that we have got as yet any advantage from the system. The advantages we have so far got are in spite of the system, not because of the system. Supposing the English were not here, India must have marched with other parts of the world and even if it continued to be under Mogul rule many people would learn English as a language and a literature. The present system enslaves us without allowing a discriminating use of English literature. My friend has cited the case of Tilak, Ram Mohan and myself. Leave aside my case; I am a miserable pigmy.

Tilak and Ram Mohan would have been far greater men if they had not had the contagion of English learning. (Clapping.) I don't want your verbal approval by clapping but I want the approval of your intellect and reasoning. I am opposed to making a fetish of English education, I don't hate English education. When I want to destroy the Government I don't want to destroy the English language but read English as an Indian nationalist would do. Ram Mohan and Tilak (leave aside my case) were so many pigmies who had no hold upon the people compared with Chaitanya[1], Sankar, Kabir and Nanak. Ram Mohan, Tilak, were pigmies before these saints. What Sankar alone was able to do, the whole army of English-knowing men can't do. I can multiply instances. Was Guru Gobind a product of English education? Is there a single English-knowing Indian who is a match for Nanak, the founder of a sect second to none in point of valour and sacrifice? Has Ram Mohan produced a single martyr of the type of Dalip Singh? I highly revere Tilak and Ram Mohan. It is my conviction that if Ram Mohan and Tilak had not received this education but had their natural training they would have done greater things like Chaitanya. If that race has even to be revived it is to be revived not by English education. I know what treasures I have lost not knowing Hindustani and Sanskrit. I ask you to consider an value the glamour of education at its true worth. English education has emasculated us, constrained our intellect and the manner of imparting this education has rendered us effeminate. We want to bask in the sunshine of freedom, but the enslaving system emasculates our nation. The pre-British period was not a period of slavery. We had some sort of swaraj under Mogul rule. In Akbar's time the birth of a Pratap was possible, and in Aurangzeb's time a Sivaji could flourish. Has 150 years of

[1] A sixteenth-century Hindu religious reformer of Bengal who taught that caste was subordinate to faith in Lord Krishna

British rule produced any Pratap and Sivaji? You have got several feudatory Native Chiefs everyone of whom bends the knee before the Political Agent and admits his slavery. When I find young men complaining against Native Chiefs, my sympathy goes to them. They are doubly oppressed. When the Native Chiefs do so I ascribe it to the British conquerer not to the Chiefs. They are victims to the slave-owning system. So my appeal to you all is : "Fly from this monster." Never mind if you beg from door to door. Rather die begging than live in bondage. We must be able to hold the country. Who holds the country now? It is not the English. It is we the Indian people who have accepted bondage. I refuse to shed a single tear if the English retire at this moment. I ask them to help us as our servants, equals and friends. I shall not allow them to lord it over us with our consent. They may use aeroplanes, army, navy, but not our consent. Realize your own dignity even though India was infested with robbers. You must do your duty. What can be nobler than to die as free men of India? It is a Satanic system; I have dedicated my life to destroy the system.

Amrita Bazar Patrika, 31-3-1921; *Young India*, 13-4-1921

247. *MY NOTES*

THE CONGRESS CONSTITUTION

My experiences in the course of my travels over the country have increasingly convinced me that even if, in accordance with the constitution of the Congress, we could but form a committee in every village and in this way establish Congress authority, we would not be far from swaraj. No one will think this a difficult task; if it is considered so, we should give up all talk of attaining swaraj this year. Wherever new life has come into the people and a few leaders have started working honestly, these things are being done. In the district of Jabalpur alone, 50,000 people are said to have enrolled themselves. In some villages, almost 90 per cent of the men and women have got themselves enrolled on the Congress register. Those who saw this done were not lawyers, but two young sons of wealthy zemindars. They have been sacrificing their time and money for the service of the people. In fact, the lawyers, by and large, have kept away from this activity. Where the people still cling to ideas of position and status, look to lawyers and other old workers and do not have the courage to

break away from them and go ahead with the work, the movement makes no progress. In Gujarat, 25,000 members of the Congress had been enrolled by February 28. This is in no way an impressive record. Just as by June end we should have collected from all over India a crore of rupees, we should within the same period have enrolled one crore Congress members. That is to say, we have still to collect one and a quarter crores and to make arrangements for enrolling a crore of members and for such other work. The total population of Gujarat is placed at 96 lakhs. At the rate of a crore for 30 crores, we should have enrolled three lakh members by the end of June and the Provincial Committee should have Rs. 75,000 as membership fee from these three lakhs in addition to the contributions to the Tilak Swaraj Fund. The enrolment of members will be of some advantage only if the work is properly organized. We should have on our record the full name, occupation, address and age of every member. He should have a general idea of the Congress constitution and should also be familiar with the main principles of non-co-operation. A worker should be specially appointed to supervise this work and he should watch all the time how it is progressing at each place. Detailed and authentic information should be published every week on behalf of every district. To attend to this, some persons will have to give all their 24 hours to swaraj work. Not only that, they should use intelligence and judgment, and be truthful, in all that they do. I still find everywhere personal jealousies, standing on prestige, excessive self-regard and love of power. My faith is shaken when I think of all these things. As I look, however, at the general awakening and the purification of the people, it returns. Nevertheless, it is necessary for us to learn to attend to the minutest detail. There is a saying in English, "Take care of the pence and the pound will take care of itself." Drop by drop fills the lake.

Spinning-wheel and Khadi

I saw in Jubbalpore those [two] young zemindars do this work; they have not been doing only this work but have also taken up energetically the work of swadeshi. They are introducing the spinning-wheel in village after village. They have bought a stock of cotton, got it made into slivers and distributed these among the people. Where six months ago not a single spinning-wheel was being plied, hundreds are now working and khadi is being produced. Both the cousins wear khadi and, for the required yarn, they themselves spin daily.

Prohibition

Prohibition work has been going on in full swing. In some places, there was no applicant for a liquor licence. If we can show courage and see that consumption of liquor is stopped, we can retain 17 crores of rupees in the homes of the poor in India. The Government has at present an annual income of Rs. 17 crores and this comes from our own homes.

Appeal to Women

If the women of Gujarat undertake this sacred work, we shall succeed before June in rooting out this evil of drink from Gujarat at any rate. They should go to the liquor booths in every district and appeal first to their owners and, if they do not oblige, to the customers. I am sure women at any rate will not use any harsh words. "You are like a brother to us, and our brother should not drink liquor in God's name, therefore, give it up." This is all the speech I would expect from them. I am sure many addicts will feel ashamed and turn away. Even if they do not go away, or do not show respect to the ladies but abuse them, it does not matter. Our sisters should bear a few abuses for the sake of Bharatvarsha[1]. If women in any town give the lead, I am sure women elsewhere will take up the work.

But What about Education?

If, however, an income of 17 crores is thus written off, what would happen to our education? For the Government asserts, and we foolishly believe, that our education is financed out of the revenue from liquor. If this is really so, I would in fact say that we have two reasons to reject the education provided by the Government. One reason is the general Satanic policy of the Government and the other the fact of that education being financed with income from tainted sources. Can we provide pure education to our children with income from liquor and opium? As is the source of money, so is its fruit. If it is the owner of the liquor booths who finances our children's education, do what we will, shall we ever succeed in getting his booth closed down?

Why should the Government credit the income from liquor to the head of education? Why should it not credit land revenue to that head? Let it credit the income from liquor to the military account so that, when it stops, the army will be proportionately reduced. When we have swaraj, we shall certainly not spend

[1] India

crores on the army. A saving of 17 crores can easily be effected from the expenditure on the army. We should not, therefore, be alarmed by the possible disappearance of the income from liquor and opium.

Resources for Education

Under swaraj, the resources for education cannot come either from liquor [revenues] or from land revenues. The beautiful spinning-wheel is the right source. If the spinning-wheel and the loom are introduced in every school, our education will never be a burden to us. Today, of course, we should expect children to give all their time to the spinning-wheel, but even after independence, they should give at least an hour daily to it. Swaraj will be swaraj only if its effect is felt in every department of life. Today education is intended only to train slaves—to produce servants. Education under swaraj should aim at making the pupils self-reliant right from their early years. Hence we would necessarily teach them spinning and weaving. If desired, they may also be taught some other trade or profession besides this, but spinning and weaving should be made compulsory. The spinning-wheel should become the "refuge of the hapless and support of the poor". No other profession can serve our needs as well as this, for it is the only work which can be made universally available and an alternative or a supplementary employment to agriculture. All cannot be carpenters or blacksmiths, but all should know spinning and should spin a little for the sake of the nation or for supplementing their income. All need food and clothing and that is the reason why the spinning-wheel can be adopted as a universal employment. Our national education should be planned on the lines above suggested, right from today. Otherwise this will be the cause of the very first conflict among us under swaraj. It may be argued by some that there should be no teaching of crafts as part of education. Let us make the learning of a craft a part of education right from now on in order that public opinion be sufficiently moulded to leave no room for argument at a later stage.

Beginning of the Era of Action

I have been observing everywhere that the era of talking is over. We still love to hear speeches and speakers love to speak but, all the same, the people have realized that what is required now is action, that swaraj cannot be won by talking. If those who are eager for action do not take advantage of this age of action,

they will miss the opportunity which has offered itself. The Government has started gagging us. Why not we ourselves shut our mouths? What do we hope to gain by talking? Instead of maligning the Government, would it not be more interesting to engage ourselves wholly in the concrete task of devising ways and means of destroying a political system which has become an evil? Is it necessary now to probe what kind of a Government this is?

It is, therefore, my earnest advice to all who go about making speeches to stop speaking and engage themselves wholly in work. If they must speak, let them criticize the people for their lethargy, their selfishness, or inspire them to greater effort by admiring, wherever seen, their courage and their self-sacrifice. We are slowly bringing about a situation in which the Government will not punish people for criticizing it, but will treat it as an offence to ply the spinning-wheel and to refuse to drink liquor. In fact, the arrests which are taking place everywhere these days are on account of our work to stop consumption of liquor. It just does not suit the Government that we should not use foreign cloth or consume liquor. It did not fear our speeches, but it fears the effects which our speeches are now producing. We may be sure that the day the Government starts arresting us for plying the spinning-wheel or for refusing to drink liquor, we shall have won a complete victory. We must give it no other excuse than our giving up of liquor and acceptance of the spinning-wheel. The earlier we take up this work, the sooner shall we get swaraj.

Ban on White Cap

I understand that in some places an order has been issued, asking employees not to attend office in white khadi caps. I would welcome such offences. Under the rule of Ravana, keeping a picture of Vishnu in one's house was an offence. It should not be surprising if in this *Ravanarajya* wearing a white cap, or not going to law courts or not drinking liquor or not using foreign cloth, or plying the spinning-wheel came to be considered as offences. We shall have swaraj only when all of us take to committing these offences; or, maybe, this Government will then change its policy. For, if we learn to follow truth, only one of three things can happen: (1) the Government may change its policy and respect public opinion; (2) rather than not change its policy, the Government may look upon [advocacy of] policies favoured by the people as a crime and make the futile attempt of sending countless men to jail; or (3) unable to accept such policies and also unable to suppress the people, it may leave India.

Any of the three possibilities should be welcome to us. One more, the fourth, is beyond my imagination. It is that, on the arrest of the handful of leaders, the people will give up their moral standpoint, and submit to the Government's policy which they are denouncing today. I hope that the time when this could happen has gone for ever.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 27-3-1921

248. LETTER TO C. F. ANDREWS

PURI,
March 28 [1921][1]

MY DEAREST CHARLIE,

I have just received your letter. I do hope you are better. You must not get ill so often. Kallenbach used to tell me that it was a crime for a German soldier to have a bad foot. Must it not be a crime for a God's soldier to be bed-ridden? I wish you would agree with me that such is the Law. I know what you said when I got ill. But I willingly agreed that I must have committed some breach of the Law.

That brings me to Gurudev. Even if I agreed unreservedly that my illness was a just punishment for my recruiting campaign,[2] I am unable to agree with the implications of Gurudev's letter reproduced in the *Tribune* and sent to me by a friend for reply in *Young India*. I have glanced through it once and I could not help thinking that he had not understood the simple beauty and the duty of non-co-operation.

I heard from a Fiji man all about the recent arrivals. Yes, I have seen the recommendations of the S[outh] A[frican] Commission. Nothing good can come without radical amelioration in India. This campaign against the temperance crusade on the part of the Government officials makes me sick. I see nothing but sham and humbug behind everything.

Did you see how I dealt with the Sikh letter and the objection raised by you? I feel that that letter was quite perfect. But your caveat enabled me to drive the point of forgiveness still further.

[1] From the postal cancellation mark on the envelope

[2] From June to August 1918, to help the cause of the Allies in World War I

I wish you were with me when I met the famine-stricken people of the Puri District yesterday. It was a heart-rending sight. I assure you that there is nothing but the spinning-wheel for their deep distress.

Yours,
MOHAN

C. F. ANDREWS, ESQ.
SHANTINIKETAN
BOLPUR, E. I. RY.

From a photostat : G.N. 2608

249. SPEECH AT MUNICIPAL RECEPTION, BERHAMPUR[1]

March 29, 1921

[Gandhiji said that] he was unprepared for receiving an address in English which was considered out of place in our national evolution except as a medium for international commerce and diplomatic relations. He commended Surat, Nadiad and Ahmedabad as model municipalities and said that a well-conducted municipality must bear the seeds of swaraj. He said that mere rejection of Government grant or control was not enough and the national form of education was not complete without the spinning-wheel and Hindustani. He said that the noble traditions of Gokhale should be copied and that Gokhale's supreme work consisted in spiritualizing the politics of the country. He said that we were also now introducing the religious spirit in all our national affairs. He referred to the sweating industry of Gokhale, who, born economist that he was, wanted to economize every moment of the nation. He wished all prosperity to the Berhampore Municipality ahd hoped it would give all its best towards national uplift.

The Hindu, 1-4-1921

[1] Delivered in reply to an address of welcome presented by the Municipality of Berhampur

250. SPEECH AT MASS MEETING, BERHAMPUR

March 29, 1921

He [Gandhiji] reiterated his regret that the Madrasis were not able to follow Hindustani, an elementary knowledge of which ought not to be difficult. He saw that Hindustani should permeate the masses from the classes. He referred to the district problem between the Andhras and Oriyas and said that it should be solved in a statesmanlike manner and in the Indian way.[1] He asserted that the masses were untouched by this problem. Though he was for linguistic distribution and provincial development he was determinately opposed to them at the expense of the national advancement. The battle for freedom was the battle for real legal equality with the strongest on earth. He was aware of the difficulties that faced him in obtaining swaraj but considered that in the few months of probation we were now undergoing, we should have thrown away the want of faith in ourselves. He should have the capacity to die for India, not live as witness to her shame. He exhorted that we should in the twinkling of an eye set our houses in order and settle matters like the district excision question, by living for others and not for ourselves. He asserted that we should get swaraj immediately. He referred to the Khilafat peril and reminded that Hinduism had been in peril all these years. He emphasized that the Punjab wrongs should be redressed and that as the national awakening had given a new courage, if there be again martial law, no Indian would crawl. He asserted that non-co-operation was a means of attaining swaraj and that he was indifferent as to how the scheme of swaraj was evolved. His recent trip to Orissa showed him that the masses cared only for their food, that the masses must feel the benefit of swaraj. He said that the masses would not recognize us, if Englishmen allowed them rice free of charge. He enjoined that lawyers should suspend practice till the Government had repented and till swaraj was attained. He held that those events which sent the innocent people of Punjab to the Andamans were not fit for practice [*sic*].

Swaraj in his view hung on a thread, the spinning 'thread'. He emphasized that if we could not effectually boycott British goods within a year, the opportunity would pass. He referred to the trap laid by the East India Company. He appealed strongly that we had to purify ourselves and must not be Satanic to get out of an unsympathetic, Satanic Government. He claimed to be a

[1] A controversy was then going on regarding the delimitation of Berhampur district on a linguistic basis and, earlier in the afternoon, Gandhiji had met deputations representing the two language groups.

practical idealist. He was pleased that India was carrying on a mighty campaign against the drink evil and had forestalled even the Congress. He considered that, to purify ourselves, we needed no university training. He referred to the accomplished fact of the Hindu-Muslim unity and urged strongly the elevation of the depressed classes. He pleaded that money was necessary to obtain swaraj, that the Tilak Swaraj Fund should be strengthened and that it should flow as it gave life to India.

The Hindu, 1-4-1921

251. *NOTES*

Repression and Its Lesson

I had the pleasure, whilst at Nagpur, of studying Dr. Cholkar's speech[1] which is the subject matter of prosecution against him. Even as it stands reported by the C. I. D. reporter, it is extremely inoffensive. It is, to use Lord Chelmsford's expression, 'pruned of epithet'. It is a reasoned speech. But it discusses a republican form of government. If that is the gravamen of the offence, then almost every Congressman is an offender. For he will not hesitate to think of, and work for, a republic, if he could not gain his birthright without complete independence. The fact is, that the temperance movement has told on the people in the Central and other Provinces, and the Government cannot tolerate it. Bhagvandinji whom the local men delight to call Mahatma, is the respected, superintendent of the Non-co-operation Ashram—a flourishing institution in Nagpur. He is an effective speaker and worker. He must also be silenced in the cause of the Abkari revenues. That is my reading of the prosecutions in the Central Provinces and elsewhere. By all means prosecute for violence those who incite people to do, or who themselves do, violence to liquor dealers or visitors to liquor shops, but why at this late stage prosecute people under sedition sections? The answer is simple. There is no violence used by responsible persons in connection with drink. Irresponsible violence can be checked in a moment. But that is not what the Government want. They dread the approaching disappearance of the drink and the opium revenue. And they are intent upon preventing (to them) the catastrophe by every means legitimate or otherwise.

[1] *Vide* "Speeh at Nagpur", March 18, 1921.

CORNER THE GOVERNMENT

If my reading be correct, the remedy is simple. Let us not give the Government even a colourable pretence for prosecution. If sedition means disaffection towards the present system of Government, it is a virtue and a duty. But we do not need to preach it. There is no affection for the system even on the part of [titled] men. They hold their titles, as several have admitted, because they have not the courage to risk loss of their wealth. I know more than one who were threatened with confiscation of their jagirs if they gave up Government favours. I know many more who would not give up their titles or other honours because they fear loss of banking custom. So far is the influence of the Government felt! But all these would welcome the destruction of a system under which, if they gain a few lakhs of rupees, crores are drained out of the country without adequate return. I repeat, therefore, that we need not preach disaffection. We cannot paint the system blacker than it appears to the average audience today. All we need do is to show the people the way to destroy it. That way is self-purification. We shall put the Government in an uncomfortable corner when we oblige them to treat temperance as a vice, and the possession of a spinning-wheel a crime. The system can last only so far as we can afford to clothe it with an air of respectability and being, or pretending to be, enamoured of it by giving the Government even a plausible excuse for prosecution.

WHO CUT THE THUMBS?

If the Government treats the possession of the spinning-wheel as a crime, it would not be for the first time in history. During the East India Company regime, spinning or weaving had become almost a crime. The labour of these artisans was so cruelly suppressed that they were obliged to cut off their own thumbs in order to avoid imprisonment. Many speakers mix up facts and say that the Company's servants cut off the thumbs of artisans. In my opinion, such cutting off would be less cruel than the terrorism which resulted in self-mutilation.

WHITE CAP A CRIME

To make temperance a crime would be only a step removed from making the wearing of white caps a crime. And yet I heard whilst at Jubbalpore[1] that the servants of a railway department were prohibited from wearing white caps!

[1] On March 21, 1921

Revolutionary

And has not the U. P. Government pronounced the movement revolutionary?[1] Hitherto the word "revolution" has been connected with violence, and has as such been condemned by established authority. But the movement of non-co-operation, if it may be considered a revolution, is not an armed revolt: it is an evolutionary revolution, it is a bloodless revolution. The movement is a revolution of thought, of spirit. Non-co-operation is a process of purification, and, as such, it constitutes a revolution in one's ideas. Its suppression, therefore, would amount to co-operation by coercion. Orders to kill the movement will be orders to destroy, or interfere with, the introduction of the spinning-wheel, to prohibit the campaign of temperance, and an incitement, therefore, to violence. For any attempt to compel people by indirect methods to wear foreign clothes, to patronize drink-shops, would certainly exasperate them. But our success will be assured when we stand even this exasperation and incitement. We must not retort. Inaction on our part will kill Government madness. For violence flourishes on response, either by submission to the will of the violator, or by counter-violence. My strong advice to every worker is to segregate this evil Government by strict non-co-operation, not even to talk or speak about it, but having recognized the evil, to cease to pay homage to it by co-operation.

The Original Circular

The position taken up by the Government of India in its original circular was sound.[2] It conceded the right of free speech and free thought. It threatened to put down by force only actual violence. But I expressed my distrust of it at the time of its publication.[3] The framers expected to be able to kill the movement by patronizing indifference or tolerance. But as soon as it began to take effect by demolishing the prestige of Government institutions and by real boycott of foreign cloth, and diminution in the drink revenue, the Government became alarmed, and began to stop free speech and propaganda. And this repression is only by way of rehearsal. The reality has yet to come. Let us be prepared for it. Our determination to continue silent self-purification must remain fixed and unalterable. We must pass

[1] Sir Harcourt Butler, the Governor of the U.P., stated in a speech delivered in March 1921 that the non-co-operation movement was now appearing as a revolutionary movement, "playing on passions and pandering to ignorance".

[2] & [3] *Vide* "Triumph of Non-violence", 21-11-1920.

through the fire of terrorism even of the O'Dwyer type, and prove our loyalty to our country, even as Sita proved hers to her lord by the fiery ordeal.[1]

Bihar Government

If the Bihar Province promises to outdo the others in non-co-operation, its Government bids fair to stand first in devising methods of repression. It has now brought under the ban municipal councillors and servants. They are not to take part in non-co-operation meetings. I have not seen the circular, but I hear that that is its effect. If so, I advise the municipal councillors and servants to ignore the circular and challenge the Government to disband municipalities. The electors, if they have grit in them, will continue to elect the same councillors and force the Government either to supersede municipal government or withdraw the offending circular.

Practising Lawyers

The *Patrika*[2] devotes a leading article to an examination of the position taken up by me regarding lawyers, and strongly dissents from it. The *Patrika* thinks that practising lawyers may continue to lead public opinion on Congress platform. I respectfully suggest that any such deviation from the Non-co-operation Resolution will be a serious mistake. I am aware that the *Patrika* thinks that the Congress has not called upon *all* lawyers to suspend practice. I venture to differ from the interpretation. The resolution calls upon all lawyers to make greater effort to suspend practice. And, in my opinion, those lawyers who have not yet succeeded in suspending their practice, cannot expect to hold office in any Congress organization or lead opinion on Congress platforms. Will titled men be elected as office-bearers, although they may not have given up their titles? If we do not face the issues boldly, we stand in danger of corrupting the movement. We must exact correspondence between precept and practice. I hold that a lawyer president of a Provincial Committee cannot lead his province to victory if he does not suspend his practice. He simply will not carry weight. I have noticed this again and again during my tours. Lawyers who have hitherto led public opinion have either renounced practice or public life.

[1] Rama, the hero of the *Ramayana*, made Sita, his wife, pass through the ordeal to prove her chastity.

[2] *Amrita Bazar Patrika*

The *Patrika* errs in comparing practising lawyers to merchants. Not many merchants have yet led public opinion, but where they have come forward, they have certainly renounced dealing in foreign cloth. The public will not, I am glad to be able to say, tolerate divorce between profession and practice. But not to seek, or give up, public position is one thing, and to help the movement as a weak but humble follower is another. Thousands are unable to carry out the full advice of the Congress and are yet eagerly helping as silent camp-followers. That is the position that practising lawyers should take up. It will be honourable, dignified, and consistent. We may not, in our progress towards swaraj, consider the lead of any class or individual as essential to success.

The *Patrika* goes beyond the scope of the paragraph of *Young India* when it presents as an alternative to suspension, derision and insult. He would be an unworthy non-co-operator who would deride or insult a lawyer, or anyone else who is too weak or otherwise unable to respond to the Congress call. Because we may not elect such persons as office-bearers, we may not be intolerant and insulting to them. On the contrary, those who are honestly unable to follow the Congress resolution, are in every way worthy of sympathy.

Nor is the *Patrika* right in thinking that, before practising lawyers cease to be leaders, there should be a complete boycott of law courts; and as that is impossible without a rebel government, and as we do not contemplate rebellion, practising lawyers may safely lead opinion as hitherto. There is an obvious fallacy underlying this suggestion. Carried to its logical extent, it would mean that no leader need practice what he preaches. The fact is that, although law courts may not be completely boycotted, by the sacrifice of Messrs Nehru and Das,[1] and by our refusal to give any public status to practising lawyers and others who have not carried out the Congress resolution, we have successfully demolished the prestige of these institutions, and, therefore, to that extent, of the Government. If we restore titled men, lawyers, and others, to their status even though they have not responded, we commit national suicide. Lastly the *Patrika* is wrong in arguing that the Congress has called for suspension in order to secure the lawyers' services. The motive, as the preamble of the original resolution clearly states, is to undermine the Government's prestige by the

[1] Motilal Nehru and C. R. Das had given up their princely practice as lawyers.

non-co-operation of parties to the institutions on which the prestige is built.

Young India, 30-3-1921

252. THE CONGRESS CONSTITUTION

The last Congress has given a constitution[1] whose working is in itself calculated to lead to swaraj. It is intended to secure in every part of India representative committees working in conjunction with, and under willing and voluntary submission to, a central organization—the All-India Congress Committee. It establishes an adult suffrage open to men and women, subject only to two qualifications: signing of the creed and a nominal payment of four annas. It is intended to secure due representation of all parties and communities. If, then, it is honestly worked, and commands confidence and respect, it can oust the present Government without the slightest difficulty. For, the latter has no power except through the co-operation, willing or forced, of the people. The force it exercises is almost through our own people. One lakh of Europeans, without our help, can only hold less than one-seventh of our villages each, and it would be difficult, for one man, even when physically present, to impose his will on, say, four hundred men and women—the average population of an Indian village.

The problem before us, therefore, is one of opposing our will to that of the will of the Government, in other words to withdraw our co-operation from it. If we are united in purpose, the Government must obey our will or retire. It is the disturbing factors of which the Government avails itself for the consolidation of its power. When we are violent, it resorts to terrorism; when we are disunited, it resorts to bribery; when we are united, it resorts to cajolery and conciliation; when we are clamant, it puts temptations in the way of those who cry out most. All, therefore, we need do is to remain non-violent, united, and unresponsive to bribery and cajolery.

Surely, there is not much education required to accomplish this much among a people who are cultured and intelligent. It is not difficult to present to them a common purpose and a common platform which they can appreciate and understand. But this means not talking, but acting and organizing. I suggest that we

[1] *Vide* pp. 190-8.

concentrate on registering before the 30th June, in an accurate manner, at least one crore of members in the Congress organization. No registration is to be deemed complete without the payment of four annas and the acceptance of the creed. We must aim at enlisting every adult member of every family. It should be our boast to have as many women as men on our registers. We should have all the Mussulmans, all the castes, all the artisans, and all the pariahs, whom we can induce to come to our register. It will then become a most democratic register of voters that the world can show. If the suggestions made by me are acceptable, we have to concentrate our attention up to the 30th June on getting:

1. One crore rupees for the Tilak Swaraj Fund,
2. One crore members on the Congress register,
3. The spinning-wheel introduced in twenty lakhs of homes.

In order to register one crore members, I estimate that we shall have canvassed at least twenty lakhs of homes, counting five members to a family. Workers can certainly persuade Congress families to take up one wheel per family. Twenty-five lakhs of spinning-wheels in twenty-one provinces[1], is not an ambitious scheme.

Let us not waste our resources in thinking of too many national problems and their solutions. A patient who tries many nostrums at a time, dies. A physician, who experiments on his patient with a combination of remedies, loses his reputation and passes for a quack. Chastity in work is as essential as chastity in life. All dissipation is bad. We have hitherto all pulled our own way, and thus wasted away national strength in a most extravagant manner. To boycott foreign cloth within the year is a practical feasibility. To bring into being a working organization for the Congress is an easy thing for honest workers. The collection of one crore of rupees in a methodical manner will at once create confidence and will be a tangible token of our earnestness and determination.

This programme does not mean cessation of the other activities of non-co-operation. They go on. Drink and untouchability must vanish. The education movement is steadily going forward. The national institutions that have sprung up will, if they are efficiently managed, make headway and attract students who are still hesitating. The pleaders, always a cautious and calculating class by training, will, as they see the movement progressing more and

[1] Congress circles formed on linguistic basis

more, fall in line with the rest of the country. Boycott of law courts by the public is making fair progress. These things do not now require concentration of universal effort. They apply to special classes. But the three things mentioned by me are the most essential; they might be done now, and without them the movement, as a mass movement must be pronounced a failure.

Young India, 30-3-1921

253. SPEECH AT VIJAYANAGARAM[1]

March 30, 1921

He began by saying that the study of English was not absolutely necessary except for the purpose of carrying on our international trade and acquiring a knowledge of modern sciences. He emphasized that the study of Hindi was essential inasmuch as it ensured a feeling of national brotherhood in the country. It must be made the lingua franca of India. Continuing, he said that Hindi which is the language of Kasi Viswanatha[2] ought to be the language of the masses. They are longing to be a united and compact nation and so they should discard provincial pride. Hindi can be learnt, he said in three months. Referring to the lavish praise bestowed upon him by the people he remarked that he did not like it. He wanted his principles to be carried out in practical life. He believed that the charkha or the spinning-wheel would bring about the salvation of the country. In his opinion the spinning-wheel would serve the purpose of machine-guns and dreadnoughts. When the East India Company came into existence, it gave a death-blow to spinning. From that time, he said, the moral and economic degradation of India began. He advised the audience not to take to the flashy and gorgeous robes manufactured in the West but to satisfy themselves with the simplicity of homespun fabrics, however coarse they might be, for home-made cloth had a history behind it, would have a soul of its own, would possess its own aroma. He next spoke of the miserable condition of Orissa. In passing he exhorted the vakils and students to non-co-operate. If, however, they failed to follow his advice, they would be grievously neglecting a duty which they owed not only to themselves but to the country at large. By the way, he deplored the habit of drinking so prevalent in India. In conclusion, he said that the following things would achieve swaraj for them—purity of mind and body, Hindu-Muslim unity, and the use of swadeshi goods.

The Hindu, 1-4-1921

1 Delivered in reply to a public reception held in the People's Park

2 Gandhiji refers to the famous Hindu temple of Viswanatha, situated at Kashi (Banaras).

254. SPEECH ON FIRST RESOLUTION AT A.I.C.C. MEETING[1]

BEZWADA,
March 31, 1921

Mr. Gandhi in proposing the first resolution for adoption made a lucid and clear statement of the present situation. He pointed out that in respect of those aspects of propaganda upon which they had so far concentrated, namely, giving up of titles, Councils, educational institutions and courts, there was no need for further concentration as the success already achieved therein was in every way satisfactory. Whatever be the number of students who had given up college or of lawyers who had given up practice, the Congress had achieved the real object of propaganda, namely, the demolition of prestige of these institutions of the bureauctatic Government of this country. Most of those who yet continued in schools or in courts were fully convinced of the principle for which the Congress had fought although for a variety of reasons they were not able to give effect to the resolutions immediately. The Congress might therefore well trust to time for the movement to work its way fully. He therefore pointed out that in order to achieve the programme of swaraj within the time[2] mentioned in the Nagpur Congress resolution, they should now concentrate upon those parts of it which would directly lead the masses of this country to its realization.

The awakening of the masses was phenomenal and while the masses were fully alive to the urgent need of realization of swaraj the leaders were lagging behind. It was therefore necessary to give form and shape to the aspirations of the masses. Their aspirations for swaraj were based upon the very definite perception that without swaraj their condition could not improve and the direct means of improving their condition was to enable them to clothe and feed themselves. It was for this purpose that he felt the charkha movement was full of the utmost potentialities in the winning of swaraj. If the masses were enabled to perceive that situation and to realize it by receiving their economic independence through the use of the spinning-wheel in their houses so as to obtain the maximum of production and wherewithal to feed and clothe themselves, it would immediately have the effect of making them feel that they were no longer dependent on foreigners for their livelihood and progress. It would also effect a complete economic boycott of the most important of

[1] At this meeting of the All-India Congress Committee Gandhiji moved four resolutions which were adopted; for their text, *vide* "Resolutions at A.I.C.C. Meeting, Bezwada", March 31, 1921.

[2] The time limit of one year mentioned in the resolution on non-co-operation adopted by the Congress at Nagpur in December 1920

foreign imports of this country. If this was achieved swaraj could be considered to have been realized. That was why he desired that the charkha movement should be encouraged.

In order that the propaganda might succeed, workers were needed. Congress organizations should be thoroughly put into operation. If, as the resolution insisted, one crore of rupees were collected before the 30th June, as he was quite hopeful it would be, and one crore of manhood and womanhood of the country were registered as Congressmen, there could be no more patent proof of the fitness of the people for swaraj than of their ability to achieve it through the Congress orgnaization itself.

The Hindu, 1-4-1921

255. SPEECH ON SECOND RESOLUTION AT A.I.C.C. MEETING[1]

BEZWADA,
March 31, 1921

Mr. Gandhi pointed out that in deference to the ruling of the chair that civil disobedience as such was not recommended in express terms by the Nagpur Congress and was not within the four corners of the resolution on non-co-operation, he proposed that the A.I.C.C. in this matter should only express its opinion on the matter in the form of advice, in order that the country might have a lead from the Committee. The question of civil disobedience had been raised in several quarters in consequence of the action of the Government against non-co-operators. He referred at length to the entirely unjustifiable character of several proceedings taken by the authorities in several provinces and he pointed out how wonderfully the people had conformed to non-violence even under grave provocation. Nevertheless, he felt that the Committee should not recommend civil disobedience suggested in the form which was understood by those who advocated it. Though it was true that non-payment of taxes was one form of civil disobedience contemplated by the Congress resolutions, yet it was not initiated as part of a programme of civil disobedience against the Government in respect of particular laws or orders, lawful or otherwise. The scheme of civil disobedience which he had practised in South Africa and developed in his own mind was one which could not yet be put into operation. If the country was organized and restrained so thoroughly as he desired it would then be time to put it into operation. As it was he considered that notwithstanding the great progress of non-violence among the

[1] For the text of the resolution *vide* the following item.

people, there was still an element of what he would, for want of a better term, call mob law, not in the wrong sense but in the idea that the people had not yet so thoroughly disciplined themselves to the restraint that was needed when their dearest wishes were violated or when their great leaders were snatched away to prison under most provocative circumstances. Until, therefore, they were able to exercise self-control perfectly, they should not initiate civil disobedience. Of course, he was glad to note that the people were in a fair way to it. If any person took upon himself the responsibility of offering civil disobedience to particular orders or laws, which he conscientiously thought he could not obey, as for example in the case of Mr. Yakub Hassan,[1] he was at liberty to do so. But he might do so only on his own responsibility and not in the name of the Congress.

The Hindu, 1-4-1921

256. *RESOLUTIONS AT A.I.C.C. MEETING, BEZWADA*[2]

March 31, 1921

RESOLUTION I

In the opinion of the A.I.C.C. all Congress organizations and workers should concentrate their attention chiefly upon:

(a) bringing the All-India Tilak Memorial Swaraj Fund to one crore of rupees and before 30th June next each Congress province to collect in the ratio of its population.

(b) putting in Congress registers one crore of members in pursuance of the Constitution and before 30th June next each province to contribute the number of members in the ratio of its population.

(c) introducing into villages and houses 20 lakhs of charkhas (spinning-wheels) in good working order before 30th June next, each province to introduce the number of charkhas in the ratio of its population.

RESOLUTION II

(a) The All-India Congress Committee is of opinion that the orders of the officials in various provinces against non-co-operators in pursuit of the policy of repression

[1] *Vide* "Speech at Gujranwala", February 19, 1921.

[2] These four resolutions moved by Gandhiji were presumably drafted by him.

are totally unwarranted by the situation in the country and are in most cases pronounced by the highest legal opinion to be illegal.

(b) The Committee believes that the country has responded in a wonderful manner and in the face of grave provocation by Government to the principle of non-violence enjoined by Congress in the country's pursuit after swaraj and redress of Khilafat and Punjab wrongs.

(c) This Committee is of opinion that apart from the fact that civil disobedience is not expressly comprised in the Congress resolution relating to non-co-operation, the country is not yet disciplined, organized and ripe for the immediate taking up of civil disobedience.

(d) This Committee by way of preparation, therefore, advises all those upon whom orders may be served to conform to them and trusts that new workers will take the place of those who may be disabled by the Government and that the people at large instead of becoming disheartened or frightened by such orders, will continue their work of quest, organization and construction sketched by the Congress resolution.

RESOLUTION III

The A.I.C.C. congratulates the country[1] on the rapid progress made in the organization of panchayats and trusts that people will make still greater efforts to boycott Government law courts.

RESOLUTION IV

This Congress Committee congratulates the country in its spontaneous response to the principle of self-purification underlying the movement of non-violent non-co-operation by taking up the campaign against the drink evil and trusts that the habit of taking intoxicating drinks and drugs will totally disappear from the land by the persistent and continued efforts of self-sacrificing workers.

The Hindu, 1-4-1921

[1] "Committee" in the source

257. SPEECH TO MUNICIPAL COUNCILLORS, BEZWADA[1]

April 1, 1921

Mahatma Gandhi gave a suitable reply in which he emphasized the need of the municipal councils adopting the policy of the Congress for the attainment of swaraj. He showed how valuable the support and work of the municipal councils would be in the programme of work now before the country for the realization of swaraj and referred to the example of Nadiad, Ahmedabad and Surat.[2] He exhorted them to help in the collection of the Tilak Swaraj Fund and the organization of the Congress Committees.

The Hindu, 4-4-1921

258. SPEECH ON CONGRESS SABHAS RESOLUTION, BEZWADA

April 1, 1921

Mahatma Gandhi in urging the proposition observed that though the enforcing of such a resolution[3] might be difficult and unpleasant, it was a duty that had to be faced and overcome by those who had to bring into being the new constitution. It seemed to him that while the mass of the country and Congressmen were overwhelmingly in favour of non-co-operation, it was right that those who were not prepared to give effect to it in their own person and conduct should not be asked to control the working of the Congress organizations having regard to the resolution of the Nagpur Congress.

The Hindu, 4-4-1921

[1] Delivered in reply to the address presented by the chairman of the Municipal Council at the Museum Hall, the venue of the A.I.C.C. meeting

[2] The municipalities of these three towns in Gujarat had defied Government control.

[3] The resolution was to the effect that in the organization of Congress Sabhas under the new constitution, no person who did not conform to the resolution on non-co-operation, specially applicable to himself, should hold any office therein.

259. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI

[Cocanada,]
Saturday [April 2, 1921][1]

CHI. MAGANLAL,

I was pleased to read in *Navajivan* your comments on the Gandiva spinning-wheel. May not the same[2] be true of the calculations made by Shankarlal? I asked him.

He said he had remained unconvinced by your argument. He had done, he said, and also got others to do, a good deal of spinning on his model and it had been giving him the same results as the Ashram model. All that he wanted was that we should not condemn his model.

His spinning-wheel worked quite well. He said this in all humility. I advise you to consider the size of the Punjab spinning-wheel. It seems the ideal wheel to me. I am simply astonished to see the results they obtain here. You will marvel at the specimens of fine cloth which I shall bring along with me. A boy brought to me a spinning-wheel the weight of ten rupee coins,[3] sat down to spin on it and produced extremely fine yarn. But all this some other time.

I shall arrive there on the 12th, going to Bombay on the 10th. Read the letter to Chi. Chhaganlal and reflect over it.

It is plain to me that the economic condition of India depends on the capacity we show. But I cannot write anything more at the moment. I am writing this surrounded by crowds.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 5792. Courtesy: Radhabehn Choudhri

[1] The comments on the Gandiva spinning-wheel referred to in the letter appeared in the *Navajivan* of March 27, 1921, and, as stated in the letter, Gandhiji arrived in Bombay on April 10 and in Ahmedabad on April 12.

[2] Maganlal Gandhi had revised his opinion about it and said that, after further trials with it, he had found it useful. The model cost only one and a half rupees.

[3] About a quarter pound

260. SPEECH AT COCANADA[1]

April 2, 1921

MY HINDU AND MOHAMMEDAN COUNTRYMEN AND WOMEN, COUNCILLORS OF THE MUNICIPALITY OF COCANADA,

You will please forgive me for not standing up to speak to you for the reasons offered, known to you probably by this time, in common with the rest of India, namely my physical incapacity. You will also forgive me for I have not been able to bring my brother Maulana Shaukat Ali with me. You know that in order to represent to India what the real Hindu-Mussulman unity meant both Maulana Shaukat Ali and I travelled throughout the length and breadth of the land for about one year. It has not been possible recently to travel together. You and I are eager to attain swaraj in this year. You and I are eager to secure redress for the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs during this year. And so, after having travelled for one year, we divided our energies and decided to travel in different parts of the country separately. If one year of object-lesson that we both have presented to India has not been enough to convince you of the absolute necessity of the Hindu-Mussulman unity, and if one year of close insight of [*sic*] our countrymen contributing to human happiness has not been sufficient to show what that unity meant, I for one spurn the idea of convincing you of the necessity of Hindu-Mussulman unity. Maulana Shaukat Ali is a staunch Mohammedan. I claim to be a staunch *sanatani* Hindu. And each in his own views and conviction, we both have been able to live together as no two blood brothers can live. But I am aware that by this time India has realized that Hindu-Mussulman unity is as essential for our national life as eating, drinking and sleeping. And I hope you have also by this time realized that, given certain conditions, swaraj is attainable within one year.

And, as an aid to the advancement of swaraj, I have much pleasure in accepting this address from this Municipality, because it shows that the municipalities of India are now as ready to receive and welcome a humble servant of theirs as they have been

[1] Delivered in reply to an address of welcome presented by the Municipal Council

hitherto ready to receive and extend welcomes to governors and viceroys. It is the fear, it is the want of faith in ourselves, which are real obstacles in our progress towards swaraj. I am not likely to lead myself into the belief that this address is a testimonial to anything in my personal self, but I know that it constitutes an endorsement of an idea—that I for the time being represent the nation. The municipalities have now commenced to shed their fear which used to possess them and to shed the belief that municipalities were but appendages to the Government. I venture to ask this great Municipality to take a step further and copy the example of Ahmedabad, Nadiad and Surat. I ask this Municipality to nationalize education in this Municipality. If only the municipalities all over India will recognize their power and do their duty, I venture to suggest to you that these municipalities bear with them the promise of swaraj. Because, after all, swaraj is nothing but an extension of municipal government. And if every village and every town of India is found capable of looking after its own affairs, surely it follows that the villages and towns of the whole of India are necessarily capable of conducting national affairs.

The All-India Congress Committee have given us the lead and have put before the whole of India a very simple test. If the Congress is our national assembly, if the Congress is an instrument in our hands for establishing swaraj in India, it is natural that every man and woman, every Hindu and Mussulman, Christian, Parsi and Jew born in India should place themselves on the Congress register. And so the All-India Congress Committee has suggested that by the time the 30th of June arrives at least one crore of men and women should find their names on the Congress register. In a nation which has been showing the wonderful energy and wonderful cohesion that has been shown during the past months at least one-thirtieth of the men and women of India should find themselves on the Congress register before the 30th June, which is surely not a great thing.

You revere the memory of Lokamanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak Maharaj. Wherever I go I find the people naturally exposing his portrait in the home, in the windows, at public meetings. The Congress, therefore, asked you to signify your respect, your veneration, for the great departed patriot by subscribing one crore of rupees before that date in order to revere that great patriot. This one crore of rupees is not to be spent on any marble statues or memorial halls. It is to be spent as capital investment for the attainment of swaraj. And if only the men and women of Andhra

Desh[1] were to discard only a portion of the ornaments they wear, I know that Andhra Desh will find a quota within a week. I suggest to you that if you are really determined to attain swaraj during this year and redress the Khilafat and the Punjab grievances we can sacrifice everything.

And the third thing that the Congress requires the whole of India to do is that by the end of June we shall introduce into our homes not less than 20,00,000 spinning-wheels. I assure you that the foreign cloth that I see on the persons of these beautiful sisters of mine, the foreign cloth that I see on the persons of so many of you, is nothing but a badge of our slavery and for once it is my honest conviction that the men and women of India clad in foreign cloth look not handsome but ugly. And ugliness will only be termed as beauty when slavery passes for freedom. India was a free land—India was a land flowing with milk and honey when every home in India sang freedom with the spinning-wheel. Hundreds of sisters whom I have seen throughout the length and breadth of India have told me that they remembered the time when their mothers used to tell them that the spinning-wheel was a sign of plenty. It is an emblem of purity, simplicity, freedom; it is an emblem of peace to the whole world. As Mr. Das rightly said yesterday the spinning-wheel proved to us and to the whole world that we did not want to engage in the killing competition of the West. The spinning-wheel, its revival, constitutes notice to England, France, America, Japan and every other country that India cannot be subdued for their exploitation. It sends across the seas a message to the other nations of the world that India is determined to be absolutely self-contained and independent for her food and clothing. It takes a message of goodwill to the 3 crores of our countrymen who are living from day to day on only one meal per day and that containing a piece of dried bread and a pinch of salt. It is the one cement that binds the whole of India and makes it into one nation. Take away, destroy this cement, the only cohesive force that can possibly support, and the building of swaraj falls to pieces. Remember that India lost her freedom and lost very nearly her nationality when India yielded either to the force or to the rupee of the East India Company. I hope, therefore, that you, the enterprising citizens of Cocanada, will not rest content until you have put one spinning-wheel working in every home in this great town. I hope that boys, girls, men and women do not consider it beneath their dignity to turn the spinning-

[1] Province

wheel for some hours during the day. It will be a slight penance that you and I will have performed when we have turned the spinning-wheel. I hope that when my friend or any of you invite me again to the town, you will not forget to give me this assurance that there would not be a boy or girl, a man or woman who is dressed in a foreign cloth, not a boy or girl who is not dressed in khaddar. And I assure you that if the whole of India satisfies this very simple test—I call it a very simple test—by the end of June, you will find a new life pulsating through the whole of India by the 1st of July.

The National Week, the week of purification, will be soon upon us. The 6th of April, 1919, awakened India from its sleep. The 13th of April of that same year made India a witness to a massacre not known in modern times. It is a holy week; it will be crime, it will be sin for a single Indian to forget it. I hope that there will be a complete hartal, purely voluntary, on the 6th and 13th. The hartal must be purely voluntary; if a single man wants to open his shop we must protect him from any harm. Purification is purification only when it is voluntary. And the way to freedom lies not through compulsion, but sweetness, persuasion and humility. I hope that those who can will devote these two days specially to fasting and praying. For remember that this is a battle of freedom. In this we do not invoke the assistance of gunpowder but the assistance of God. During that week you will search your hearts from within. You will fight with all your might against the drink curse.

One indispensable sign of purity is that every man considers every woman as his own sister and mother and every woman considers every man as her brother and father. Having been born in a port town[1] myself I know what temptations the population of a port is always exposed to. I was told only yesterday by a friend that the life of our people in Rangoon—and I know that many are in the habit of going to Rangoon—is not all that can be desired. If we want *dharmarajya* and not *rakshasarajya*[2] you will agree with me that personal purity is as essential as national purity. Our swaraj consists not in self-indulgence but in self-restraint. I hope that you will devote the National Week to expediting the programme that has been laid to you by the All-India Congress Committee. I hope that during that week you will make still greater efforts to make Hindu-Mussulman unity a solid thing. And

[1] Porbandar

[2] Rule of demons

I hope that during that week you will for every one of yourselves and for others make it absolutely certain that India's freedom is dependent purely on non-violence. And you will understand that an angry word uttered against our own countrymen who may not hold the same view as we do, and every word uttered against an Engishman, a stick waved aginst a single person who might have harmed us, is also violence, contrary to the precept laid down for us by the Congress. And unless we remove the fear of violence from the meanest of our countrymen and from the least of the foreigners that may be residing in our midst we may not be called a nation fit for democracy. And we commit a Satanic breach of non-violence when we consider a single man as untouchable, when we consider about a single man in India, even though he may be a leper or a pariah, that his touch pollutes, that his shadow takes away *Vaishnavite*[1] or *Shaivite*[2] purity. The teaching of the *Bhagavad Gita* is absolutely as clear as daylight. It enjoins upon us to treat Brahmin and *Chandala*[3] with the same love, with the same spirit of brotherhood. A Brahmin ceases to be a Brahmin when he considers a single man as inferior to him. One of the sweetest names for God that human loftiness has invented is—*Dasanudasa*, servant of the servants. And it is time that India got rid of this curse of untouchability.

And now a word specially to the dear sisters who have assembled. Wherever I have travelled the women of India have treated me with affection. And wherever I have gone I have asked from you sisters a blessing for myself and for Maulana Shaukat Ali. And I ask you to give us the blessings that other sisters have given us. And you know what we want the blessings for. We are fighting the battle of freedom and of India's religions. We are trying to replace this *Ravanarajya* by *Ramarajya*. And you know, in that Ashokavatika the divine Sita rejected the finer ornaments. She rejected the spices and tempting foods that Ravana sent to her. She was satisfied to live on the fruits that the trees of Ashokavatika yielded to her. I ask you, the descendants of that same Sita, to follow in her footsteps. Our shastras have given me the assurance that the blessings of a pure woman can never go wrong. And I want you to be armed with the same purity that Sita possessed. And if you are fired with that same spirit of Sita you will not hesitate to tell your husbands or fathers that you don't want

[1] Of a *Vaishnava*
[2] Of a devotee of Siva
[3] A low-caste Hindu

ornaments for your pleasure, either their pleadings in the courts or services in high offices. And tell them that your strong arms and nimble fingers will work at the spinning-wheel. You will tell them that the fruits of your labours will supplement the earnings that your husbands, brothers and fathers may bring home. And you will refuse to send your children to *Ravanarajya* schools[1]. And, if with a heart pure and bodies undefiled by foreign garments you give us blessings, I know I have every confidence that we will get *dharmarajya* during this year. I want you to give me out of the fulness of your hearts, not out of shame, whatever ornaments you would, whatever money you would. This money will be spent in taking spinning-wheels to poor homes and in educating poor boys. You and I may not deck ourselves with ornaments or with fine dress so long as there is a single man or woman who has to get his or her food or clothing. I thank you for giving me such a patient hearing.

You understand now that all our speeches and our resolutions are addressed to ourselves. Unlike as of old, our speeches, our resolutions now require us to do something, rather than the Government. I would ask you to give me at least one ocular demonstration that you are all intent upon attaining swaraj. I will ask you to give whatever you can to the volunteers who will presently go into your midst, whether it is a pie or one rupee or whether a bangle or ornament—all these things will be helpful for winning swaraj if voluntarily given and with a determination to get swaraj. I want nothing out of shame, nor out of compulsion. I am satisfied with a pie as I am satisfied with millions. May God grant you courage and ability to go through the discipline that is required of you during this year.

The Hindu, 6-4-1921

1 Schools run or aided by the Government

261. MORE ABOUT PARSIS

A Parsi gentleman, Mr. Burjorji Ratanshaw Bhuri, comments from Colombo on the criticism that is being levelled against the Parsis. Here are some extracts. His Parsi Gujarati has been turned into standard Gujarati and his sentences have been shortened.

> You have become known for your truthfulness and simplicity. Be steadfast in the hopes you cherish. The non-co-operation you have started is quite different from the method of violence. If that is so, I am prepared to support it. But do all men subscribe to your views? Already, violence has broken out. I am grieved at this, and do not agree with you.

We have to learn from this criticism. As we learn the lesson of peace, we become more successful and people think more highly of the struggle. Reading some news about violence, Mr. Burjorji, being far away, assumes that violence has already started. But it can be said that there never reigned greater peace in India than what has prevailed, so far at any rate. All the same, it is essential for us to acquire [sufficient] control [over the people] for preserving peace throughout the country. Peaceful conditions are the foundation on which the struggle rests. The struggle will be weak to the extent that this foundation is weak and strong to the extent that it is strong.

Proceeding, Mr. Burjorji says :

> Our ancestors came from Iran. They came and settled in India for the sake of their holy and beloved religion. It is through that same India that we have become well known in the world. In return, we have served our fellow-communities, the Hindus and the Muslims, as much as it lay in our power. No other community has given away as much in charity as the Parsis have done. They are but a grain in a heap of wheat . . . The Parsis are certainly not against swaraj. But your hope of winning it in seven months will never be realized. If there is no unity in the country, it will be difficult to win it at all.

No one in the world is unfamiliar with Parsi charities. Undoubtedly, no other community in the world has donated in charities as much as the Parsis have done. There is also no doubt that, though small in number, the Parsis can render great assistance in winning swaraj for India, if they only decide to. I have already recorded that a number of Parsi gentlemen have been

helping [the movement]. There is no doubt that as the holy nature of the movement is demonstrated more and more clearly, the Parsis will join it in increasing numbers. The best way, I believe, to hasten the Parsis and others joining the movement is to refrain from criticizing them or using bitter language about them. It is our duty respectfully to point out a mistake whenever we notice one, but it is a sin to abuse anyone or use improper language about him.

Mr. Burjorji and some other Indians of his way of thinking believe that it will be difficult to win swaraj within seven months. It is because of such persons that even a period of seven months has had to be fixed. If all of us, acquiring self-confidence and courage, start doing our duty, we can get swaraj even today. I have been talking about winning swaraj before the end of this year because I believe that those thousands of Indians, who have pledged themselves to non-co-operation, will abide by their pledge with determination. Our want of faith in ourselves constitutes the biggest obstacle in our path.

Our Parsi brethren have served India. They possess good sense. They have made India their home. All that is theirs is in India. Their mother tongue is Gujarati, though one cannot but say that they have not done justice to this mother tongue of theirs. Had I published Mr. Burjorji's letter in his own Gujarati, many Gujaratis would perhaps not have understood it fully. Every reader of a Parsi newspaper knows that many of the Parsi newspapers simply murder the Gujarati language. If they wish to write ordinary Gujarati, it is not as if they will not be able to do so. Malbari[1] could write pure Gujarati. Khabardar has adorned Gujarati [language] by his poetry. But how can one be satisfied with that much? Will they not think it desirable that they should have love for Gujarati and, seeing that it is their mother tongue, serve it?

Some Parsi writer may ask why the Gujarati that the Parsis write should not be accepted as genuine Gujarati. It is easy to meet this argument. That Gujarati which is spoken and written by hundreds of thousands of educated people who have their home in Gujarat is true Gujarati. Having been derived from Sanskrit and being its daughter, Gujarati must necessarily lean on Sanskrit —no one can question that. Parsi writers and teachers can serve Gujarati, if only they mean to. As we grow in patriotism, our love for our mother tongue should also grow. When our love of our

[1] Behramji Malbari (1854-1912); poet, journalist and social reformer

language has grown, when all our regional work is carried on in Gujarati, what sort of Gujarati shall we use then? In what sort of Gujarati shall we frame our laws? In what sort of Gujarati shall we write our text-books? Our casual attitude to Gujarati bespeaks want of love on our part for our country and language. It is improbable that there should be patriotism but no eagerness to cultivate love of the language. All the three communities, Hindus, Muslims and Parsis, speak Gujarati. Being traders, all the three travel about in the whole of India and go abroad as well. The thing in virtue of which they are known as Gujaratis is their language. It is the duty of all the three communities to serve it.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 3-4-1921

262. *NOTES*

Growing Prestige of Khadi

Khadi propaganda has had such a great effect that, when a young Muslim, a water-carrier, died in Bulandshahr, his relatives used khadi for the shroud and their *pancha* resolved to use only khadi in future for the purpose. When such holy sentiments spread among the people, why should there be delay in India getting swaraj? It is our own weakness and want of faith which cause delay. We do not do our duty because of them.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 3-4-1921

263. *SPEECH AT RAJAHMUNDRY*

April 3, 1921

I know and you should know also that the time for talking and listening is gone. The All-India Congress Committee demands[1] that India should supply the nation with a crore of rupees before June 30th. It asks you to put one crore of men and women on the Congress register, and it asks you to introduce twenty lakhs of spinning-wheels in working order in Indian homes. I hope you will do your full share, and if we succeed in doing this, we shall have brought swaraj within easy reach. But even that work

[1] As per its resolutions passed at Bezwada; *vide* "Resolutions at A.I.C.C. Meeting, Bezwada", March 31, 1921.

cannot be done unless the Hindus and Mohammedans combine in that effort. Hindu-Muslim unity is as necessary for national evolution as breathing is necessary for life. Maulana Shaukat Ali and myself have been presenting to India what we mean by Hindu-Muslim unity. We are both staunch in our respective faiths—he to Islam and I to Hindu *Sanatana* Dharma. Just as Hindu-Muslim unity is essential for national liberty, swaraj, and settlement of the Khilafat and Punjab wrongs, so also it is necessary for the maintenance of non-violence. Hindu-Muslim unity and non-violence means controlling of passion, clearing of minds and hearts of mean jealousies, and therefore I called this movement a movement of self-purification and self-restraint. You cannot drink and cannot womanize.

Nothing has given me, therefore, greater joy and pleasure than the manifestation of purity that India is conducting spontaneously against stable drinkers.

Addressing the women in the audience he said:

You, my dear sisters, I want to warn you and to bring you to a sense of duty and religion. If there is a dancing girl amidst you, I ask you to make her life not one of shame.[1] Take up the spinning-wheel and take the few pies that the work brings you, and it will bring pies and God into your house. Do you suppose that Rama and Sita would rest for a single moment if they knew a single woman might have to sell her honour for lust of men and for a mess of pottage? I ask you to discard all your fine garments and ornaments, if only for the protection of these dancing girls. Take up the spinning-wheel for their sake, if not for the sake of India. Take up the spinning-wheel for the sake of the purity of India. Take up the sari that the charkha can give you. Let the spotless sari of India be the protection of the virtue of man and woman in India. I ask you to consider that to wear fine foreign saries is a sin.

Continuing his address he said:

Remove equally the curse of untouchability from your midst. Let my voice reach the leaders of Andhra Desh. Do not lead a free nation into perdition. I believe you to be men and women of faith. I believe you to be capable of all sacrifice for the sake of India. I believe you are all fired with the ambition of service. I ask every one of you to search within and fully appreciate the

[1] On the previous evening in Cocanada, a group of dancing girls had visited Gandhiji and described to him their life of shame.

significance of this movement and understand but not brag and bluster; nor is eloquence necessary for winning in this battle. Absolute personal purity, humility, understanding and ceaseless activity are the things necessary for attaining swaraj and redressing the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs. May God grant you the necessary widsom, courage, discrimination and spirit of service.

The Hindu, 8-4-1921

264. SPEECH AT ELLORE

It was my intention to reproduce some of my Andhra Desh speeches in *Young India*. But that has not been possible. I was most anxious to reproduce my Rajahmundry speech. But I have no notes of it. The industry of a co-worker enables me to give the speech at Ellore which deals somewhat with the special matter of the Rajahmundry speech, and as it is otherwise not a bad effort, I take the liberty of giving it to the readers of *Y.I.*[1]

April 3, 1921

You will please forgive me for not standing up to speak to you. You know that I am physically very weak.

You will please also forgive me that I have not with me this evening Maulana Shaukat Ali.

We have given to India an object-lesson in Hindu-Muslim unity by travelling as full-born brothers throughout the length and breadth of India for one year. He claims to be, and is, one of the staunchest of Muslims and I claim to be a staunch *sanatani* Hindu. But we find no difficulty in living and serving together.

But you and I are in a hurry to establish swaraj or *dharmarajya* in India during this very year. You will not expect us any longer to be travelling together.

It has given me the greatest pleasure to be able to unveil the portrait of Lokamanya Tilak. Swaraj to him was the breath of his nostrils. He lived for swaraj and he died muttering the swaraj *mantra*. It is, therefore, but right that you treasure the portrait of that great patriot, and I consider it a privilege and an honour having been called upon to unveil the portrait. I congratulate the local artist on his creation. But you know that the unveiling of portraits of great men and women, and reciting the names of gods and personages carry with them certain duties, if they

[1] This introduction, signed by Gandhiji, prefaces the report of the speech published in *Young India*, 11-5-1921.

confer certain privileges. I assume that you have realized your duty in having asked me to perform this sacred ceremony. I shall assume that this unveiling of the portrait of Tilak Maharaj marks your fixed determination to redress the Punjab and Khilafat wrongs and to establish swaraj. We can only earn the title to be the heirs of the fame of this great patriot if we sacrifice everything for the attainment of swaraj and succeed in the attempt. I regard it also as a happy augury that I have been called upon to perform the opening ceremony of a club for women in Ellore. It delights my heart to see brave sisters, dressed in khaddar going about from door to door and asking for money for the national fund.

It is equally a happy augury that you have asked me to perform the opening ceremony of the national college for which you have collected the handsome sum of Rs. 67,000. And I have much pleasure in declaring open the national college. May God grant that institution a long life and all that the professors and workers may entitle it to. I consider that the profession of the schoolmaster is one of the noblest professions in the world. Schoolmasters are trustees for the future generations. I hope that the schoolmasters of this great institution will remember that only that education is true which fits boys and girls for complete self-expression. Let me in all humility tell the schoolmasters that the only art that boys and girls can learn this year is the fine art of spinning, the art of carding cotton and the art of weaving.

It is on the slender cotton thread that the honour of Islam and India and the redress of the enormity of the Punjab wrong rest. I am absolutely convinced after years of search and experiment (and now that experiment has been supplemented by experience), that the introduction of spinning in every home is the solution for the grinding poverty of the masses. We have no right to call ourselves the sons and the daughters of India so long as we remain silent witnesses to the plight of lakhs of our semi-starved countrymen. Our degradation and the grinding poverty of India began with the destruction of the spinning-wheel, and it is but small penance for us men, women, boys and girls to spin during all our leisure hours in order to win swaraj for India. I regard it as a sin, and I would ask every one of you to regard it as a sin to wear a single piece of foreign cloth. I regard as foreign cloth even that which comes from Bombay and Ahmedabad. Our spinning mills must be in our homes, our weaving mills must be in our villages. And just as it will be sinful for you to have your bread baked in Bombay, so is it sinful for you to have your cloth manufactured in Bombay. Let Bombay and

Ahmedabad manufacture for the poorest for whom it is not possible to take the gospel of swadeshi. For you who know better, it must be a crime not to spin your own yarn and get it woven. It has given me the greatest pleasure to find that in this province you are able to spin very fine superior yarn and weave better cloth in your weavers' sheds. I hope also that the professors and trustees of the national college will bear in mind that the Tamils and the Telugus have cut themselves off from India by not learning Hindustani. I feel humiliated to have to speak in English before a vast audience like this which understands not a word of English and I wish you would consider it shameful that not a single one of you can translate my simple, broken Hindustani.

But I must now hasten to other matters. I had my full say at Rajahmundry on an important matter and I hope that some Telugu friend will reproduce that speech, translate it, and spread it broadcast among hundreds of our countrymen. It was at about ten o'clock last night in Cocanada when dancing girls paid me a visit that I understood the full significance of what they were. I felt like sinking in the earth below. I ask you to blot that sin out of us. It is not right that for our lust a single sister should have to live a life of shame and humiliation. In this movement of purification we are in duty bound to regard these girls as our sisters and daughters. Let us who feel the pricks of violence that this insolent Government inflicts on us not commit worse violence by ruining the life of a single girl in India. I ask you, brothers and sisters, to send me assurance, as early as possible, that there is not a single dancing girl in this part of the land. I charge these sisters who are sitting behind me to go about from place to place, find out every dancing girl and shame the men into shunning the wrong they are doing.

We call this a movement of purification, we call it a religious movement, we dare to call this Government Satanic, we compare it to *Ravanarajya*, we think of our future Raj in terms of religion and gladly call the swaraj to come, *dharmarajya*. Let us not deceive ourselves and [our] gods and deserve the curse of God for deceiving them. We may not regard a single being as untouchable. We have become lepers of the Empire by regarding a class of Hindus as lepers. I speak with the authority of experience and I assure you that in Hinduism there is no sanction for treating a single human being as untouchable. In the estimation of a Brahmin knowing and living his religion, a Sudra is as good as himself. The *Bhagavad Gita* has nowhere taught that a *Chandal* is in any way inferior to a Brahmin. A Brahmin ceases to be a Brahmin, im-

mediately he becomes insolent and considers himself a superior being. India owes a deep debt to the Brahmins, who voluntarily sacrificed themselves for the betterment of all. It was Brahmins who have called God servant of servants, the purifier of the fallen. It was Brahmins who taught that the prostitute and the *Chandal* could attain *moksha* if she or he only purified her or his heart.

But unfortunately for the human race the Brahmin shares with mankind the frailties of all. In common with others he has neglected his duty of giving knowledge to mankind, of guiding them in the right and truest path. We glibly charge Englishmen with insolence and haughtiness. Let us, before we cast the stone at them, free ourselves from liability to reproach. Let us put our own house in order.

I believe in *Varnashrama Dharma*. But what we know today by that name is nothing but a travesty of it. *Varnashrama Dharma* is the truest road to equality, it is a religion not of self-indulgence but of self-sacrifice. It is a religion not of insolence but of humility. Whilst therefore, some of our weaknesses make me shudder and despair, I see many a silver lining to the cloud of despair.

The spiritual character of the movement is one of the most soul-stirring phenomena that India could pass through. I ask you to put a stop to gambling, the use of intoxicating drinks and drugs, and other kindred vices. Believe me that when we have done this there is no power on earth which can stand in our way.

It is now commonplace for me to draw your attention to Hindu-Muslim unity and to non-violence. I hope that these things have become articles of faith for all of us.

For a Hindu to quarrel with a Mohammedan or for a Mohammedan to quarrel with a Hindu is to destroy the prospect of swaraj. This union between the Hindus and the Mussulmans means the redress of Khilafat wrongs and of the Punjab wrongs.

For us to draw the sword is to perish by it. Let not an angry word slip against our opponents or Englishmen. It is not necessary to criticize Englishmen or our own countrymen who differ from us. For the best and the truest criticism consists in living according to our faith.

Let us concentrate our attention on three things that the Congress Committee has placed before us. You invited the All-India Congress Committee to your capital[1], you lavished boundless affection on the members, you held a spontaneous demonstration as if it was a religious festival, as if it was a Congress gather-

[1] Gandhiji has in mind Bezwada where the Committee met.

ing. The demand for men, money, and munitions, as Mr. Das put it, was born at Bezwada. And I hope that you will put your shoulders to the wheel and work ceaselessly so that everyone is registered in the Congress ledger.

Long before the 30th June dawns upon you, I hope that you will have collected your quota, and long before the same date, you will place the spinning-weel in every home of this Andhra Desh.

I hope that in three months' time there will be not a man or woman, calling himself or herself the son or daughter of this land, using foreign cloth. Your energy and faith had captivated me even in South Africa. My best fellow prisoners were Tamil and Telugu countrymen. They were the first to come to the field and never left it. But the energy, the devotion, the faith, the simplicity, the industry that you are exhibiting amaze me. Your natural freedom and natural self-restraint have enchanted me. With all such magnificent qualities it will be nothing but a misfortune if we do not attain swaraj during one year. I ask every one of you to remain on the watch-tower, to watch and check yourself in everything you do. It is no exaggeration to say that all that you have let me see of you convinces me that you have in you the making of *Ramarajya*. Frankness and generosity are written in your faces, and I pay the sisters of Andhra Desh the highest compliment when I say that they have shown the same noble bearing which I have seen in Maharashtra.

Go on as you have begun and I have no doubt that when the Congress Secretary presents the balance-sheet you will be found on the top. If there are any lawyers in Ellore who have not yet suspended their practice, I ask them to throw in their lot with the masses of India and take the opportunity of serving the motherland.

May God grant power to your elbow, courage to suffer, ability to go through any sacrifice for the motherland.

Presently, volunteers will go amongst you, and I ask you to give me all that you can now for the Tilak Swaraj Fund. Men of Ellore, part with all the luxuries and ornaments and you will find that you will get the *dharmarajya* in an incredibly short time.

I thank you, I congratulate you, for the considerate arrangement which has enabled me to go through this heavy programme without much inconvenience. I thank you also for the patience with which you have listened to my remarks.

Young India, 11-5-1921

265. LETTER TO G. A. NATESAN

BEZWADA,
April 4 [1921][1]

DEAR MR. NATESAN,

I shall be for the day in Madras on the 8th and yet I may not stay with you. I may neither put the strain on you of all the non-co-operators, real or so-called, flooding your house or on them of having to come to your house to freely discuss things they know are distasteful to you. I may not be able to pay you a call but I shall expect you to just let me have a look at you wherever I may be housed by my Madras gaolers.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat : G.N. 2233

266. LETTER TO MANIBEHN PATEL

BEZWADA,
Silence Day [April 4, 1921][2]

CHI. MANI,

It is 5 a.m. just now. I am waiting for the car which is to take me to Masulipatam.

I came here from Ellore at 1 a.m. Look up these three places on the map.

I got your letter and read it immediately on my arrival here.

What Dr. Kanuga[3] has done is excellent work. Dahyabhai[4] is doing a very good thing in going out for picketing. Give him my congratulations.

You are doing the right thing in spinning regularly for four hours daily. Try to produce yarn which is strong and of uniform thickness, and also keep an account of the quantity spun daily.

1 It was in 1921 that Gandhiji was at Bezwada on April 4 and in Madras, as the text mentions, on April 8.

2 Gandhiji went from Ellore to Bezwada on this date and was in Masulipatam on April 5, 1921

3 Balvantrai Narsinhlal Kanuga, a Congress worker of Ahmedabad

4 Addressee's brother

My conviction grows stronger every day that swaraj can be won only through spinning.

I am a busy man and constantly on the move, and so may write with a pencil. But you should make it a practice to write in ink and with an indigenous pen.

You should serve father[1] and see that he has fewer worries on account of you, brother and sister.

Improve your Gujarati day by day. By reading *Navajivan* carefully one can improve one's Gujarati.

I shall arrive in Ahmedabad on Tuesday, the 12th. Inform father, and tell him that I hope he has in this interval raised quite a good amount.[2]

Blessings from
MOHANDAS

CHI. MANIBEHN
C/O VALLABHBHAI, BAR-AT-LAW
BHADRA, AHMEDABAD

[From Gujarati]
Bapuna Patro—Manibehn Patelne

267. THOUGHTFUL LIVING

In the course of my tours, I get experiences, both sweet and sour. I shall remember my tour through the Central Provinces for a long time. We reached Wardha on the 17th morning. The same day we were to proceed to Arvi and Ashti. It was a distance of nearly sixty miles. We had to start at 1 p.m. and return at 10 p.m. But God had willed otherwise. On our way, our car stopped abruptly but somehow we managed to reach Ashti. On our return trip, even the second car broke down and this time at a place where no help whatever could be had. At last we reached the outskirts of a village. It was decided to proceed thence in a bullock-cart. The journey commenced at 1 a.m. I was tired and felt sleepy too. Why should I bother to see what manner of bullocks they were and who the driver was? Even in my drowsiness I could judge that the bullocks were running at the speed of horses. At times, they would move slowly, but mostly they kept running. Who does not like to see bullocks running? I said to myself:

[1] Vallabhbhai Patel
[2] Presumably for the Tilak Swaraj Fund

"Good. We shall reach home so much the earlier. The bullocks of this region must be good."

Morning broke and I woke up. To my dismay, I found that the driver's goad had a sharpened nail fixed in it and he made the bullocks run by frequently piercing their backs with it. Because of this torture, the bullocks had been shedding liquid excreta all along the route.

Let the reader imagine, if he can, my pitiful condition at this sight. I wished to get down from the cart that very moment. I felt that a journey by car was a thousand times better than this. But, then, I thought: "Who knows what the English and American workers in automobile factories suffer? Could it not be a lesser sin to ride in a bullock-cart than drive in a car?" I was reasoning out the matter thus in my mind and watching the torture inflicted on the bullocks. I put up with it for about two minutes. Then I asked for the goad from the owner of the bullocks, which he handed over to me.

He understood. He did not know me and addressed me as *Bawaji*[1]. I liked *Bawaji* better than "Mahatmaji". From my dress he had taken me for a *bawa*. It is easy to wear a *bawaji*'s dress, but difficult to acquire the virtues of one. But the simple masses of India have always been, and will always be, taken in by the simplicity of the sannyasi's dress.

I returned the wooden goad to the owner, suggesting that he might use its blunt end. I told him that there was no need to make the bullocks run for my sake and asked him not to worry if I should reach my destination an hour late. I requested him to remove the nail [from the goad]. He promised to do so. Whether he will keep his word or not is a different question.

This incident affected me deeply. I realized how thoughtless and devoid of pity our way of life was. Every action of ours ought to be informed with thoughtfulness and compassion and I clearly felt there should be more compassion where there are more weakness, helplessness and dumbness. That we feel sympathy for our own species is nothing to admire particularly. We certainly ought to feel it. But are not cattle even more helpless, miserable and dumb than victims of famine? The famine-stricken, when made desperate by their suffering, may even fight with us, but what can the bullock do? It can neither speak nor rebel.

I remembered the dialogue of beasts of the text-book. I felt convinced of the truth of its central idea. How devoid of thought

[1] A respectful form of address applied to sannyasis

our life is! If I had only thought about it, I would have examined the bullocks and the driver and would have got the nail removed from the stick right at the commencement of the journey.

Had the cart-man thought he would have realized how he himself would have felt if someone had prodded his body with a goad. He would not then have fixed a nail in his stick and made the bullocks run by piercing them with it.

The more I think, the more numerous grow the conditions for our winning swaraj. If it is our desire to win swaraj through self-purification, where shall we fix a limit to the process? Will the limit be reached when we have come to treat our *Bhangi* brethren as we do our own blood brothers? What of our other brothers and sisters—the animals? What is the difference between the soul in them and in us? They eat and sleep, feel happiness or suffer, just as we do. At most, we may be their elder brethren. What else can there be, besides this?

We ask the other fellow to do his duty by us; if he refuses, we get angry. "Send Dyer to the gallows," we shout. He who hears the complaint of the beasts against us, what must He be thinking of us?

We Hindus hold cow protection to be as important as safeguarding one's life. We fight the Muslims as enemies in order to save the cow. What right have we to ask them not to kill cows, when we ourselves prod our bullocks with a goad, load them excessively, give them as little to eat as possible and extract milk from the cow until she bleeds, resorting to blowing for the purpose? Muslims consider it no sin to kill a cow for food. Will the Hindus contend that there is no sin in piercing the bullocks with a goad? We commit a sin, knowing it as such. God, it is said, pardons sins committed unknowingly. Only such sins can be atoned for as are committed in ignorance. Having committed a sin in full knowledge that it is a sin, can we purify ourselves by going through the motions of atoning for it?

Thus, if we only think we shall see that there is no limit to the degree of self-purification to be achieved for winning swaraj. The earlier we achieve it, the sooner shall we get swaraj.

Swaraj means the rule of dharma. If the present method of government is replaced by another of the same description, it will not be swaraj, it will not advance people's welfare. As there are conditions for winning swaraj, so there are signs which are evidence of swaraj. I referred to these in my speech at Nadiad. Some day I shall put them down in an article.

Meanwhile, we must understand this at any rate, that if our claim that we are striving for self-purification is true, we must

go on improving our conduct [day by day]. We shall have to examine and concede the rights of all from the smallest ant's to the biggest elephant's. Let no one doubt that, when we have done so, the world will grant us our rights unasked.

Before we call this Government—or its ways of governing—Satanic, we must eschew similar ways. As soon as we do so, the Government's ways will cease to be what they are. That is why I have been saying that it is possible for us to win swaraj in seven months, because all that needs to be done is to be done by ourselves, and that is to bring about a change in our way of thinking. If we but change our ideas, it will take us only a second to effect a change in our conduct accordingly.

I hope no reader will accuse me of making daily additions to the conditions for swaraj. The thoughtful reader will understand that I have been showing these conditions to be lighter and easier.

We must end the Satanic way of the Government either by being more Satanic than it is or by eschewing such ways altogether. Sin and injustice can never exist by themselves. They always require something behind which to shield themselves. Hence the injunction in all religions is that it is one's highest dharma to non-co-operate with a sinful policy and get it abandoned; we must reflect every moment of our life and save it from sin, so that the evil policy will collapse of itself.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 5-4-1921

268. DOUBTS ABOUT UNTOUCHABILITY

Untouchability is a subject which raises all manner of doubts in the minds of different people. Some try to defend it one way, some another. That is so with every custom which has taken deep roots. No custom had ever been abolished all at once without opposition. We find even use of alcoholic drinks and other addictions being defended. There are some who believe that drinking is a part of their dharma, not to speak of untouchability. A friend has suggested that I should answer the following three questions:

1. The very profession of *Bhangis* and *Chamars* is dirty. Whoever follows this profession gets so subtly affected by it that even if he should clean himself regularly by bathing, he becomes unclean to his very bones. Hence physical contact with him should be totally avoided.

2. Though doctors and others are engaged in unclean work, the *Bhangi*'s work is not unclean in the same sense. The former are not always engaged in such work and, when they do it, they clean themselves immediately afterwards.

3. So long as the *Dheds* and *Bhangis* have not given up their work altogether, they simply ought not to be touched.

These arguments are somewhat novel. One party argues that no objection will remain if the untouchables learn to bathe and wash. But the party advancing the arguments given above takes the position that the *Bhangi* is unclean to the marrow of his bones and so he cannot be touched, no matter how clean we wash him.

I for one can clearly see the error of both the parties. We have grown used to not touching *Bhangis* and others like them. What is more, this has been given a religious garb. We cannot, therefore, bring ourselves now to touch them and hence we feel disposed to defend our habitual behaviour anyhow. In my humble opinion, the uncleanness which defiles the *Bhangi* is only physical and can soon be removed. But the uncleanness of untruth, hypocrisy and so on which defiles some is so subtle that it is extremely difficult to remove it. If any persons can ever be considered untouchable, it is those filled with the uncleanness of untruth, hypocrisy and the like. We dare not look upon such persons as untouchables because such uncleanliness is present in all of us in greater or lesser degree. If we start behaving thus, we shall have made ourselves judges of the world and shall end by ourselves coming to be treated as untouchables. For this real uncleanness, we have no other remedy except patience and our own internal cleanliness. The *Bhangi*'s uncleanness, however, not only does not soak into his very bones but is actually something for which there is an easy remedy. Let us treat him as our own and he will surely keep himself clean.

The doctor's profession is one which certainly always involves rummaging in unclean things all the time. If any doctor gets cases for operation which will keep him busy 24 hours, he will certainly not decline them. Moreover, he, too, does unclean work for a living. And yet we consider his work philanthropic and respect him. My argument is that the doctor's profession helps only patients, but the *Bhangi*'s benefits the whole world and is, therefore, more useful and sacred than the former's. If the doctors stop practising, the sick will perish but should the conservancy services stop, the world will be destroyed. It is, therefore, not at all unreasonable to hold that it is a great sin to consider anyone doing such essential work as unholy and to treat him with contempt.

Any movement by *Bhangis* and *Chamars* to give up their work would, I think, do great harm to society.

There is only one thing for us to do. We should look upon the *Bhangis*' and *Chamars*' professions as not less sacred than the doctors'. We should urge the *Bhangis* to be cleaner in their habits, draw them nearer to us, instead of pushing them away, and render them service. We should make a point of keeping our latrines clean, be ready to clean them ourselves, when necessary, and learn how to do so. Our latrines, which today are like the pit of hell, will be as clean as our kitchens or our drawing-rooms when we have realized the sacredness of the *Bhangi*'s profession. It is my firm belief that, holding the *Bhangi* and his work in contempt, we have invited many diseases. I have seen Brahmins' houses which were dirtier than those of *Bhangis*. A *Bhangi*'s house has no latrine near it and so it appears clean. It is the opinion of many well-informed doctors that the plague, cholera and other diseases, when they appear among us, spread rapidly because of the filth in our latrines and our bad habits in these matters. I have myself noticed this. We can maintain our latrines in such a condition that one feels no revulsion while cleaning them and every time we enter them, we find them clean and odourless. Thanks to the sin of untouchability, not only have we ourselves become the Empire's untouchable *Bhangis* but we have also become victims to many diseases and our bodies have grown lacklustre and weak. We have absolutely no idea of how our habits with regard to latrines, etc., have the effect of polluting the air and how very harmful that polluted air is for our health. I shall discuss this subject when I have time.

I am not enamoured of uncleanliness. Nor am I in love with the *Bhangi*. I am not given to exaggeration. I believe in the holy books of the Hindus and am proud of Hinduism. My [love of] truth, however, keeps me unattached and saves me from a blind acceptance of all that goes on in the name of the shastras. The more I think, in all humility, the more I feel that in the name of religion the Hindus have inflicted upon the *Bhangis* and other castes the same Dyerism which the Empire let loose [upon us]. As I call the Empire's Dyerism Satanism, so do I look upon untouchability as a form of Satanism. I have been working hard to free Hinduism of this evil and I pray to God to make me fit for still more rigorous *tapashcharya* for the purpose.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 5-4-1921

269. MY NOTES

WHITE MARRED BY BLACK SPOT

A friend, quoting instances of several people who, taking advantage of the swadeshi movement, are practising dishonesty, writes:

> I for one desire honesty in the country first and then propaganda for swadeshi.

The idea springs from sincerity but is one-sided. I have learnt from Jain philosophy a great many things which were worth learning, one of them being the idea of the many-sidedness of truth. Stated in an extreme form, nothing is true. There are two sides to every question. In the assertion "I for one desire honesty first" is an extreme position. Honesty is, indeed, desirable, now and always. If we say, however, that the propaganda for swadeshi should be postponed until such time as we learn honesty, we may have to lose both honesty and swadeshi. Truth and such other virtues do not of themselves develop in one. They develop as one acts. Our rulers have withheld the grant of swaraj to this day by saying that India can have self-rule when it becomes fit for it and we have allowed them to do so. India is already fit. If the country had been perfect, it would never have been enslaved. But the fitness for swaraj develops as we enjoy swaraj. In the same way, honesty will come through the practice of swadeshi. The idea that swadeshi cannot flourish without honesty is perfectly true and does not contradict the principle of the many-sidedness of truth. By holding that view, we can progress in both things simultaneously. A firm faith that nothing can succeed without honesty helps to develop that quality and we shall then feel no misgivings in conducting any beneficial activity. It is my view that, if we had not abandoned swadeshi through infatuation [for foreign articles] we would have been saved from our present plight and the dishonesty which has crept in among us. I am convinced that the spread of swadeshi means the spread of truth, of the idea of devotion to one's own dharma and of that of swaraj. It is, therefore, my advice to believers in swadeshi, not to be disheartened by the inertia prevailing in the country but to go on spreading swadeshi. We give an object-lesson in truth by propagating swadeshi, introducing the spinning-wheel, by wearing khadi ourselves and inducing others to do so.

DISHONESTY

The instances that this friend cites are about the sale of khadi and the fraud concerning spinning-wheels. He says that khadi-sellers either palm off khadi made from mill-spun yarn as hand-spun khadi, or make big profits on genuine khadi. Those who sell spinning-wheels charge high prices, regardless of quality. I, too, have been noticing both these malpractices. Every movement has its crooks. The test of the efficiency of the organizers of the new movement lies in their ability to defeat the tricks of swindlers, and the success of the movement depends upon their possessing it. Charging higher prices for khadi will not be possible for long, because, when its production goes up, the sellers will compete with one another and reduce the prices. It is difficult to counteract the sale of spurious khadi. I have been trying to arrange for the testing of pure khadi and to discover the means of doing so. It is difficult to find testers immediately because it is not very easy to detect hand-spun yarn once it has been woven [into cloth]. Meanwhile, all should decide to buy khadi from a place they can rely upon. If even then one is cheated, the sin will be upon the person who cheats, never on the person who gets cheated. Despite such deception, the love of khadi will grow, its dread will disappear [and] khadi will come to be regarded as civilized dress—the country will have this benefit at any rate.

TESTING OF SPINNING-WHEELS

There is, indeed, danger in the sale of bad spinning-wheels; the spinning-wheels sold are such that one cannot spin well on them or their output is extremely low or they break down soon, and there is every likelihood of people coming to feel disgust for the spinning-wheel as such. But it is my hope that a remedy for this will soon be found. Experiments on the spinning-wheel are going on. As the number of those who can judge a spinning-wheel grows, the sale of bad spinning-wheels will cease. In Bombay they have a standard "balance of honesty" for testing gold. I have been thinking if it is not possible to devise a similar means for testing a spinning-wheel. It is only in this way that the use of any good thing spreads. I hope we shall soon be able to judge a good spinning-wheel, just as we can a typewriter, a sewing-machine, etc. The people's faith in the spinning-wheel has been growing so much that I believe we shall soon see good, strong and cheap spinning-wheels in the country's markets. Meanwhile, it will be good if, at every place where the spinning-wheel movement

is going on, the organizers themselves learn to distinguish between good and bad spinning-wheels. I shall set down here just this little test:

1. The wheel of the spinning-wheel must turn noiselessly and without stopping.

2. Every part of the spinning-wheel must be well set.

3. The handle of the wheel should be so fixed that it does not slide.

4. The spindle of the spinning-wheel must rotate without noise. For this, the spindle-holders should have been made of straw or leather.

5. A good spinner should be able to turn out from the spinning-wheel at least two-and-a-half tolas of yarn in an hour.

No spinning-wheel should be approved which does not satisfy the last test, i.e., which could not be worked for one hour with this result.

Carpenter Volunteers

It has become a fixed practice among us to enrol only students as volunteers. I have said before now that it is necessary, instead, to start the practice of enlisting all good young men in volunteer bodies. If we really want to conduct our national activities on a large scale, we should engage many artisans also in such work. When carpenters, blacksmiths and others begin to work for the national good, we shall also succeed in producing cheap and good spinning-wheels. Our condition today is so pitiful that, if we are ready to spin, we do not get carpenters who will make good spinning-wheels in a short time. If we find such carpenters, we do not get blacksmiths to make spindles. If we find blacksmiths and carpenters, we do not get honest and patriotic carders. If, however, we have with us organizations of carpenters, blacksmiths, carders, and others, all working for swaraj, we can help the people to rise to a great height. A letter from a carpenter friend shows how easy it is to do this. He writes:

> What you have written in your article[1] about the construction of the Swaminarayan temple by free labour is correct. The artisans needed for building the temple of swaraj should be supplied by us from among ourselves. We shall estimate the number required for this purpose or for building big schools and have a meeting of the community to distribute the work among ourselves. We shall fix monthly turns and help in the name of the country without asking for wages.

[1] *Vide* "The Spinning-wheel Movement", 6-2-1921.

There must be in the country many others like the carpenter who has written this and, if we but try, we can easily engage them in national work, and associations of artisans who will build the temple of swaraj will spring up everywhere.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 5-4-1921

270. SPEECH AT PUBLIC MEETING, MASULIPATAM

April 5, 1921

HINDU AND MOHAMMEDAN BRETHREN AND SISTERS,

I thank the Municipality for the address given to me and the sentiments expressed therein. For me it is a matter of great pleasure and joy that I have been able to fulfil the promise I made to myself and to some friends that I would visit Andhra Jatheeya Kalasala[1], Masulipatam, at the earliest possible opportunity. Although I have previously passed through Bezwada twice, for some reason or other I was unable then to visit Masulipatam. And my joy is therefore all the greater that my hope of visiting it was deferred and realized at this late period. I call it late, because when I first had the idea of visiting the national institution in Masulipatam, non-co-operation was not born. I have now passed two quiet, and what shall always remain with me, sacred days on the sacred grounds of this great educational institution. And I am here to inform you that the expectations that I had formed of this institution have been more than realized after the observations that I was able to make of it during these two privileged days. I see method, organizing ability, and sacrifice written in every inch of that ground. As an Indian I feel proud of it. As the inhabitants of this great Andhra province, I hope that all the Andhra friends are equally proud of it, and I hope that you, the citizens of Masulipatam, consider it a privilege that you have an institution in your midst which is manned by men who are filled with the spirit of sacrifice. I do not hastily bestow praise upon any institution. But I would have been false to myself and I would have been false to you, if I did not convey to you the sentiments that have been fired within me during these two days. I ask you therefore to make that institution your own. Strengthen where you may find it to be weak. Strengthen it further where you find that there

[1] Andhra National College

is a strength in it. Look up to it as an ideal, and try to perfect it in order to perfect your own ideals. I was surprised and pained to find that although you have two big educational institutions in your midst not one of them had supported this great institution. I had hoped that as the result of non-co-operation the students of Masulipatam High School and College were tired and disgusted as the students all over India have felt tired and disgusted with the institutions dominated by the spirit of this Government. I had hoped that such students at least would have gone to this institution. In other places I have been asked by the student world where they were to go, as there were no national institutions in existence. The student world of Masulipatam have absolutely no such excuse in view of the fact that this institution has been in their midst for the last nearly fifteen years. If you are brave boys you would take my advice. You should go to this school, and as scholars in this institution, if you find that there is anything that does not satisfy your head or your heart, you should insist upon the teaching staff to correct those defects.

We are entering tomorrow upon the sacred National Week. The sixth of April, 1919, witnessed India awakened. The sixth of April, 1919, witnessed an awakened India when her Hindu and Mussulman peoples showed a real desire to be united. True swadeshi spirit was also born on that day. The 13th of April, seven days after that great awakening, witnessed a black Sunday. Nearly 1,500 innocent men were butchered at Jallianwala Bagh. The dying were neglected by the butchers and I want the students, I want the pleaders and I want all the sisters who are surrounding me to imagine in their minds the picture of that one solitary figure of a brave and noble woman, Ratan Devi, weeping over the corpse of her dead husband and fearlessly and in defiance of the order of General Dyer taking in her lap the head, the cold head, of her dear husband. Ratan Devi was your sister and mine. I ask you to imagine what you would have felt if you had been in Ratan Devi's place in that desolate field of Jallianwala Bagh. I do not want you to become irritated against Englishmen. But I want you to turn your searchlight inward. We observed the sacred week by commencing with fasting, prayer and hartal and we closed the week likewise. I hope that you, the citizens of Masulipatam, will tomorrow fast, pray and observe hartal. Fasting is an age-old institution. We fast when we do not feel pure, we fast as a penance for our past sins, and pray to God for making us strong. We pray to God for forgiveness of our sins, and after prayer we turn over a new leaf. I hope therefore that every one of you

who has come here will not forget these two necessary ceremonies. I treat the hartal also as a religious observance for tomorrow and tomorrow week. It is not to be deemed as expressing a political demonstration, but it should be interpreted as expression of India's determination to find herself. I would ask you tomorrow and during the whole week to dispel every thought of ill will and malice against any member of this Government, whether he be English or Indian.

The fear with which we are filled is the first sin. We fear Englishmen, we fear the Japanese, we fear every other man but God. And believe me, it is only a man who has no faith in God and who has no faith in himself, only such a man fears his fellow beings. The second great sin that we committed against India, against humanity and against God was the destruction of the spinning-wheel. I wish I could convince the whole of India that it was due to this great sin of ours, national sin as I call it, that India became degraded and a slave nation. The least expiation we can do is to banish every inch of foreign cloth from our midst, and therefore I ask you men and women of Masulipatam from tomorrow to make up a fixed determination not to wear foreign cloth any more, but to wear only that cloth which is woven and spun by yourselves and not by others. Another sin that we have committed is selfishness. We have thought not of the nation but ourselves, and when we have gone beyond the family we have not been able to progress beyond the city or village. And the least expiation we can do is to cease to live for ourselves only, begin to live for India. The rupture between Hindus and Mohamemdans is another of our sins. We have extended our horizon from the Himalayas to Rameswar, from Bengal to Sind. Hindu-Muslim unity is an established fact. Therefore there remains the spinning-wheel for us to concentrate upon. I would ask you further to think of the things that the All-India Congress Committee has commended to our attention, to find a crore of rupees for the Tilak Swaraj Fund. The Andhra Desh proportion comes to 7½ lakhs of rupees. I hope that men and women of Masulipatam will give their best to this Fund. Presently volunteers will go over to you. Several sisters of Masulipatam have been to me already and given their ornaments and money. I hope that the response from Masulipatam will be no less than elsewhere.

The Hindu, 8-4-1921

271. NOTES

Indians in South Africa

Despite the mission of Sir Benjamin Robertson, the South African Commission[1] has delivered an adverse finding. Commissions, Lord Morley[2] has often said, serve no useful purpose. They raise false hopes, and, for the time being, divert public attention from matters they are appointed to deal with. They give time for passions to cool down. But they rarely do justice. Indeed, it is notorious that Commissions avoid abstract justice. They offer, or effect, compromises. But the South African Commission has offered, or effected, no compromise. It has delivered the Indian in the hands of his white rival in trade. It has reaffirmed the principle of white supremacy, as Mr. Andrews so often puts it. The principle has almost become a passion and a religion. In 1901, the late Sir Pherozeshah[3] rated me for 'wasting my time,' as he put it, on South Africa. During the satyagraha campaign, he was the last, as he said himself, to be enthused. And when he was enthused, it was not the justice of the cause (which he never doubted) but it was the incarceration[4] of Mrs. Gandhi which roused his chivalrous spirit, and threw him into the struggle. He used to say that I should return to India and work for the freedom of the whole of India, rather than for a handful of Indians in South Africa.

I thought then, as I think even now, that whilst the uncrowned king of the Presidency of Bombay was right about concentrating on India's freedom, he was wrong in thinking that I should have withdrawn from South Africa. We dare not neglect our countrymen abroad. The battle of India's freedom involves the protection of the rights of the least of our countrymen, no matter where they might be situated. But at the present moment, I must invite our countrymen in South Africa to carry on their battle bravely and single-handed, and help us here in the best

[1] The Asiatic Enquiry Commission appointed by the Union Government of South Africa which sat from March to July 1920. It was assisted by Sir Benjamin Robertson on behalf of the Government of India.

[2] John Morley, Viscount Morley of Blackburn (1838-1923); Secretary of State for India, 1905-10

[3] Sir Pherozeshah Mehta

[4] In South Africa in 1913; *vide* Vol. XII, p. 209.

way they can. India's fate must be decided one way or the other (and so far as I know only one way) during this year. We shall be better able to protect them then, than now.

The South African problem bears the same character as the problem at home. We too are fighting the religion of white supremacy. The refusal to recognize the Muslim claim, the encircling of the Arabs, the negotiations with the Ameer[1], the refusal to stop the pensions of Sir Michael O'Dwyer and General Dyer, and frankly to dismiss men who maltreated the Punjabis in 1919, are symptoms of the same disease. Either that supremacy must go in its entirety, or those of us who recognize the tubercular nature of the disease must perish in the attempt to combat it. The Government of India can, if they wish, put up an energetic and open fight against the proposed breach of faith which the Commission implies. The spirit of the settlement of 1918 was that the position of the Indian all over South Africa must be levelled up, not a single right then existing should be in any way endangered. The Commission has not only put its *imprimatur* on the encroachments already made on existing rights, but it has itself suggested further and egregious curtailment thereof. Between free nations such an authoritative pronouncement would lead to open rupture. The Report of the Commission can only spur my non-co-operation spirit to further effort.

The Meaning of Swaraj

A friend from South Africa writes to say that several Europeans there are prepared to help the struggle for swaraj, but they want to be assured on certain points. As the points raised are of general importance, I gladly deal with them here.

> 1. Does Mr. Gandhi's swaraj mean sovereign independence, or full responsible Government within the Empire on the Dominion lines?

I should certainly be satisfied with full responsible Government on Dominion lines if the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs are redressed. India cannot remain within the Empire if the latter cannot redress the two wrongs; for full responsible Government will have no meaning for India, if she cannot refuse to give pensions to officers who have wronged her, or if she cannot secure a settlement of the Khilafat terms. England then becomes an 'enemy country' for India.

[1] The King of Afghanistan. The negotiations ultimately led to the signing of the Anglo-Afghan Treaty on November 22, 1921.

2. Do the Muslims claim Palestine, or will they restore it to the Jews who are the original owners?

The Muslims claim Palestine as an integral part of Jazirat-ul-Arab. They are bound to retain its custody, as an injunction of the Prophet. But that does not mean that the Jews and the Christians cannot freely go to Palestine, or even reside there and own property. What non-Muslims cannot do is to acquire sovereign jurisdiction. The Jews cannot receive sovereign rights in a place which has been held for centuries by Muslim powers by right of religious conquest. The Muslim soldiers did not shed their blood in the late War for the purpose of surrendering Palestine out of Muslim control. I would like my Jewish friends to impartially consider the position of the seventy million Muslims of India. As a free nation, can they tolerate what they must regard as a treacherous disposal of their sacred possession?

The New Viceroy

I think the duty of non-co-operators is clear regarding Lord Reading. Whilst we may not take part in any demonstrations of welcome, we may not also undertake, or countenance, any counter-demonstration. We have no quarrel with Englishmen, or even with officials as such. We seek to, and we must, destroy the system they are called upon to administer, because we regard it as wholly evil in its totality. We must dissociate ourselves from individual officials, who, like Sir Michael O'Dwyer and General Dyer, have wronged India, and have been untrue to her salt. Lord Reading has a golden opportunity. He belongs to a race which has a fine imagination. He knows what a 'pariah' means and how he feels. If he examines the non-co-operators' case with impartiality, and if he fails in his advocacy of her claims, he must himself become a non-co-operator. He may not ask them to forgive, where there is no frank and full repentance. Nor must he ask the Muslims to give up their just claims or the Hindus to sell their fellow-countrymen. Lastly, His Excellency may not ask India to postpone the attainment of her birthright, whether for the sake of Lancashire or any other consideration. His Lordship therefore will have [to] have an exceptionally strong will to resist an environment which is almost wholly antagonistic to the Indian case. Non-co-operators must do nothing to add to his difficulties. We must give His Excellency the fullest credit for meaning to do well. But I would also warn them against building hopes on Lord Reading *doing* anything. This is a battle of self-help and self-reliance. We must create the environment we need for our free nourishment. And,

among the things we must do, one is to secure the goodwill of true men and women by our exemplary behaviour.

SOME TESTS

Mr. T. B. Purohit asks several pertinent questions about non-co-operation. Before answering, it will be,.perhaps, better to lay down some general tests. The primary motive of non-co-operation is self-purification by withdrawing co-operation from an unrighteous and unrepentant Government. The secondary object is to rid ourselves of the feeling of helplessness by being independent of all Government control or supervision, i.e., to govern ourselves in all possible affairs; and, in fulfilling both the objects, to refrain from doing or promoting injury, or violence, to any individual or property.

Let us apply the tests to Mr. Purohit's questions which are as follows:

> 1. Whether a non-co-operator can remain a member of a registered library or reading-room?

If I were a member, I would first move my fellow members to disregister the library, and if I cannot, I would resign my membership and agitate for its disregistration, so as to make the people feel self-reliant and independent.

> 2. Whether a non-co-operator can remain a member of existing registered co-operative credit societies or banks which are solely managed by the public for the general public interest?

I have some experience of these societies. And I have no hesitation in saying that registration interferes with their free growth and increases people's dependence upon the Government. The idea of such societies is excellent and should be nursed, but we need not think that we cannot promote such societies without Government aid or inspection. I know the usual arguments in favour of registration. But on an analysis, they will all be found to betray want of faith in ourselves. I would, therefore, in this instance, too, first try to convince my fellow members of the inutility of registration, and, on failure, secede from the society or bank, and educate the public to boycott such societies or banks. I know that, at least in one instance, registration has been removed, and everyone knows that India has thousands of unregistered flourishing banks whose honesty and business-like methods are still among the wonders of the world.

Young India, 6-4-1921

272. A TAXING EXAMINER

I would love to feel that I was an M. A. of the University of Non-co-operation. But my examiners show me that, whilst I have matriculated in that University, I have yet to fill many a term in the college course. Of all my many correspondents, the Sindhi friends are the most searching and, even, provoking. What I present to the readers of *Young India* is but a sample of examination papers set to me. Here is one such from Sind:

1. Do you expect that violence will ensue from your movement of non-co-operation?

If I did, I would not have advised it.

2. Explain fully the doctrine of non-violence.

Non-violence is not doing, voluntarily, any injury to person or property. Thus, I would not punish or procure punishment even of General Dyer for his massacre, but I would not call it voluntarily doing injury to him to refuse to give him pension, or to condemn his action in fitting language. It is no part of my duty to protect a murderer even though he may be my son or father. I hold it to be my duty to withdraw my support from him. I will not kill a snake, neither may I harbour it.

3. If violence ensues from your movement, will you retire to the mountains?

If violence results *from* non-co-operation, or if non-co-operators resort to violence, i.e., if India makes violence her creed, and I have survived, I would not care to live in India. She will cease to evoke any pride in me. My patriotism is subservient to my religion. I cling to India like a child to its mother's breast, because I feel that she gives me the spiritual nourishment I need, she has the environment that responds to my highest aspirations. When that faith is gone, I shall feel like an orphan without hope of ever finding a guardian. Then the snowy solitude of the Himalayas must give what rest it can to my bleeding soul. Needless to say, the violence that would drive me to the Himalayas is not the violence of language or rowdyism which my critics often fling in my face whilst reminding me of the Himalayas. It is violence not due to non-co-operation, nor is it violence of the real non-co-operators. These outbursts are a legacy of our undisciplined past. It is being brought under check day by day. It is so insignificant as to be

itself a mighty demonstration of the peace that reigns supreme in India today. This peace, in the face of provocation attempted by officials, knowingly or unknowingly, in the shape of their vexations and often illegal notices must, if continued, in itself ensure swaraj within the year. For it shows unity of purpose and determination among the people.

4. What should other non-co-operators do, if such violence breaks out? Should they stop the preaching of non-co-operation?

When (if ever) that tempestuous violence breaks out, true non-co-operators would have died in the attempt to prevent violence. Question 3 presupposes my sole survivorship. But assume, that I have scuttled to the Himalayas, (as it would then be to escape death), the remaining non-co-operators would certainly be expected to remain true to their faith in spite of my cowardly retreat and be living witnesses to their faith till the flames overwhelm them. The voice of the preacher will then be drowned in the onrushing torrent of blood.

5. If you retire to the mountains, what will be the fate of the poor students who have boycotted aided or Government institutions?

The questioner forgets that when violence reigns supreme in India there will be no schools, aided or unaided, for students to attend. Only those students are called upon to leave Government schools who consider it to be sinful to remain in them. The question of returning to such schools does not arise in their case. And what has my retirement to the mountains to do with the students' withdrawal? Every student is expected to judge for himself what is best for him and his country. The movement of self-government cannot—must not—be made to depend upon one man. I have but presented India with a new and matchless weapon, or rather an extended application of an ancient and tried weapon. She must reject or accept it for her own use. I cannot use it for her. I can use, have used, it for myself and feel free. Others have done, and feel, likewise. If the nation uses the weapon she becomes free.

6. How far has your movement of non-co-operation progressed?

So far that I feel swaraj running to us. If we keep up the same velocity, we shall be a free nation within this year.

7. Are you aware that most of the non-co-operating workers are irresponsible? Have you ever condemned them?

I am not. On the contrary, I am aware that most of them are responsible, sober, honest and brave workers. I hope I have condemned irresponsibility wherever I have found it.

8. Under what circumstances do you expect to get swaraj in October?

I have often mentioned the conditions in these columns. The correspondent must look up the back numbers.

9. Will the spinning-wheel solve the problem of India's poverty? If it will, how?

I am more than ever convinced that without the spinning-wheel the problem of India's poverty cannot be solved. Millions of India's peasants starve for want of supplementary occupation. If they have spinning to add to their slender resources they can fight successfully against pauperism and famine. Mills cannot solve the problem. Only hand-spinning—and nothing else—can. When India was forced to give up hand-spinning, she had no other occupation in return. Imagine what would happen to a man who found himself suddenly deprived of a quarter of his bare livelihood. Over eighty-five per cent of her population have more than a quarter of their time lying idle. And, therefore, even apart from the terrible drain rightly pointed out by the G. O. M.[1] of India, she has steadily grown poorer because of this enforced idleness. The problem is how to utilize these billions of hours of the nation without disturbing the rest. Restoration of the spinning-wheel is the only possible answer. This has nothing to do with my special views on machinery or with the boycott of foreign goods in general. India is likely to accept the answer in full during this year. It is madness to tinker with the problem. I am writing this in Puri[2] in front of the murmuring waves. The picture of the crowd of men, women and children with their fleshless ribs, under the very shadow of Jagannath, haunts me. If I had the power, I would suspend every other activity in schools and colleges, and everywhere else, and popularize spinning; prepare out of these lads and lasses spinning teachers; inspire every carpenter to prepare spinning-wheels; and ask the teachers to take these life-giving machines to every home, and teach them spinning. If I had the power, I would stop an ounce of cotton from being exported and would have it turned into yarn in these homes. I would dot India with depots for receiving this yarn and distributing it among weavers. Given sufficient steady and trained

[1] Grand Old Man, i.e., Dadabhai Naoroji

[2] On the coast of Orissa, which Gandhiji visited on March 28, 1921

workers, I would undertake to drive pauperism out of India during this year. This undoubtedly requires a change in the angle of vision and in the national taste. I regard the Reforms[1] and everything else in the nature of opiates to deaden our conscience. We must refuse to wait for generations to furnish us with a patent solution of a problem which is ever growing in seriousness. Nature knows no mercy in dealing stern justice. If we do not wake up before long, we shall be wiped out of existence. I invite the sceptics to visit Orissa, penetrate its villages, and find out for themselves where India stands. They will then believe with me that to possess, or to wear, an ounce of foreign cloth is a crime against India and humanity. I am able to restrain myself from committing suicide by starvation only because I have faith in India's awakening, and her ability to put herself on the way to freedom from this desolating pauperism. Without faith in such a possibility I should cease to take interest in living. I invite the questioner, and every other intelligent lover of his country, to take part in this privileged national service in making spinning universal by introducing it in every home, and make it profitable for the nation by helping to bring about a complete boycott of foreign cloth during this year. I have finished the questions and endeavoured to answer them. The most important from the practical stand-point was the one regarding spinning. I hope I have demonstrated the necessity of home-spinning as the only means of dealing with India's poverty. I know, however, that innumerable difficulties face a worker in putting the doctrine into execution. The most difficult, perhaps, is that of getting a proper wheel. Save in the Punjab where the art is still alive, the difficulty is very real. The carpenters have forgotten the construction and the innocent workers are at their wit's end. The chief thing undoubtedly, therefore, is for the worker to make himself acquainted with the art and the handling of spinning-wheels. I lay down some simple tests for testing them. No machine that fails to satisfy the tests should be accepted or distributed.

1. The wheel must turn easily, freely, and noiselessly.
2. The turning handle must be rigidly fixed to the axle.
3. The posts must be properly driven home and joints well fixed.
4. The spindle must turn noiselessly and without a throb in its holders. Jarring sound cannot be avoided unless the holders

[1] Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms embodied in the Government of India Act of 1919

are made of knit straw as in the Punjab, or of tough leather.

5. No machine is properly made unless it manufactures in the hands of a practised spinner at least 2½ tolas of even and properly twisted yarn of six counts in an hour. I know a youngster, who has not had more than perhaps three months' practice having been able to spin 2½ tolas of the above quality of yarn in 35 minutes. No machine should be given out until it has been worked for at least full one hour in the manner suggested, and found satisfactory.

Young India, 6-4-1921

273. SPEECH AT CHIRALA

April 6, 1921

He said he was overwhelmed with joy for the unique kindness shown him throughout the Andhra Desh. He said he himself had gone to jail a number of times in South Africa and each time he was discharged he felt sorry. He was jealous of those who had the privilege of going to jail because he found greater freedom within the prison walls than under a system of Government which destroyed the spirit and manhood of man and denied him the ordinary rights. He hoped that those who had gone to jail deserved the distinction. He congratulated the women of Chirala on producing one lady at least who could go to jail.[1] He congratulated them on the spirit of non-violence that had marked their struggle. His reading of the papers of the case—he had read every line of it—led him to the conclusion that it was a good case. In his opinion the Government grievously erred in imposing a municipality against the unanimous opinion of the people. He knew their difficulties had just begun. Only two courses were open to them as honourable men and women—either to offer non-co-operation with civil disobedience or to perform *hijrat* as the Mussulmans would say, or as Tulsidas would say *desatyag*[2]. Both weapons were in his opinion equally powerful and equally effective. He asked them not to depend upon the support of the Congress, but rely on their own strong arm, that is, self-suffering. After paying a glowing tribute to their trusted leader, Mr. Dugirala Gopalakrishnayya[3], he exhorted them to realize the matchless beauty of non-violence. After referring to the spinning-wheel as the life-giver of India, he said:

[1] This lady and eleven other patriots of Chirala were sent to jail for refusing to recognize the municipality imposed on the people by the Government.

[2] Exodus from one's own land

[3] The founder of the Ramanagar Ashram

I shall follow the career of the men and women of Chirala with reverence. You are on the threshold of a new age in the history of India. The whole of India is looking on you. It will be a shame if you go back on your word, if you make a single, vital blunder. Observe non-violence and with God as your witness defy the whole world. May God bless you, men and women of Chirala.

The Hindu, 9-4-1921

274. *SPEECH AT TILAK VIDYALAYA, NELLORE*[1]

April 7, 1921

While declaring the institution open, Mahatmaji exhorted the trustees of the institution that they should concentrate their attention and energy on the one important issue of the day, the attainment of swaraj, and said that spinning and weaving were the central factors of the Congress resolution. He did not like the idea of the trustees raising subscriptions for this institution separately inasmuch as it would affect the important Tilak Swaraj Fund, which was recently started and which required a crore of rupees. There should be only one activity for which there should be begging. Therefore he advised the trustees to consult the president of the Provincial Congress Committee before embarking on any scheme. Swaraj was not to be attained by any heroism but by disciplined thought and disciplined action. He warned the trustees against the danger of putting fantastic educational schemes before the country. There was no educational scheme before the country exept one and that was the attainment of swaraj. He wished prosperity to the new institution.

The Hindu, 12-4-1921

[1] Delivered at the opening of the Tilak Jateeya Vidyalaya, a national school founded by V. V. S. Garu who had suspended his legal practice in obedience to the Congress mandate. On this occasion, two pieces of hand-spun cloth, prepared during the previous night by the pupils of the Vidyalaya, were presented to Gandhiji.

275. SPEECH AT PUBLIC MEETING, NELLORE[1]

April 7, 1921

MY DEAR HINDU AND MOHAMMEDAN BRETHREN,

You will please excuse me for my inability to speak to you standing. I have also to ask for your forgiveness as I have not been able to come here in time; but I do not feel guilty about it. Our sisters detained me longer than I had expected.[2] It was quite possible for me to have come here directly from the ladies' meeting, omitting my evening meal. But I flattered myself with the belief that you would not have me to make such an indifferent choice. I ask also for your forgiveness that I have not been able to visit Nellore earlier than now.

As soon as I heard that the Hindus and Mussulmans of Nellore were at sixes and sevens, I thought of coming and remaining in your midst for some time. I wanted to know who those Hindus and who those Mussulmans were who would rather quarrel amongst themselves and retard the attainment of swaraj and the redress of the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs. You claim to have an ancient town, and I hope that you will not lag behind other parts of India and have it said of you and against you that the Hindus and Mussulmans of Nellore cannot live together as brothers. But many things interfered with my desire to come here earlier than now. I have endeavoured to ascertain the cause of the quarrel and you will forgive me for saying that the causes were not worse than rupture between the two great communities. I understand that the Mussulmans of Nellore, or let me put it, the majority of the Mussulmans of Nellore, would not allow the Hindus to perform musical functions, to have musical processions passing by their mosques. The Mohammedans contend that but a few years ago there was no such demand made by the Hindu population. I have not known the Hindu case. I have not come here to judge between my Hindu and Mussulman brethren. But as an expert on Hindu and Muslim unity, I propose in all humility to place, for your consideration and acceptance, certain fundamental principles on which, and on which alone, such a unity

[1] Delivered in reply to an address presented by the Nellore Municipality

[2] Gandhiji had earlier attended a women's meeting held in the Town Hall.

can remain everlasting. As a *Sanatana* Dharma Hindu, feeling for my own faith, hoping that if the Faith was on its trial, I would be found in the front rank to give my life for its sake as a *Sanatani* Hindu, I wish first of all to address myself to my Hindu brethren, and would say: 'If you would live in amity and friendship with the Mohammedan countrymen, the only way you can do so is never on any account to put a strain upon their religious fervour and always yield to them even though you may consider that their demands are unreasonable and unjust. But there is a condition attached to that submission even to unreasonable demands and that condition is that their demands do not encroach upon the vital part of your religious tenets.' I will take a homely illustration. If my Mohammedan countrymen demanded that I should cease to go to my temple, I would rather perish than concede that demand in order to buy that friendship. Protection of the cow, I hold as dear as life itself and if my Mussulman brother asked me to waive protection of the cow, I again would perish rather than buy his friendship with the blood of my cow. But when he tells me not to play music past his mosque within a few yards, I would not condescend to argue with him but immediately yield to him. Hindus may take it from me that it is no part, no essential part, of Hinduism that we should play music at any time. It is much less an essential part of my religion that I should play music, instrumental or vocal, passing by a mosque. I would not hesitate to agree to every such demand, to every such sentiment, to every such prejudice of my Mohammedan brethren. And so, if I were a Hindu living in Nellore, I would not even allow a case of this character to go to arbitration; and only by agreeing with our Mussulman brethren on all non-essentials and ceasing to subject them to pinpricks, we will be able to keep their friendship for ever. And there can be no bargaining in friendship. I yield to my Mussulman brethren in every non-essential, because it is natural for me to do so, because my religion demands that I should live at peace with the whole world even at the sacrifice of my life. And therefore, if the Hindus of Nellore were to ask me what they should do because they consider that the demand of the Mussulman brethren is unreasonable and unjust, I would say: 'Do not argue but yield to that unreasonable and unjust demand.' For if we were to engage in a discussion of such trivial quarrels, the world will set us down as children unfit to govern themselves, and you will, therefore, see quite clearly that it would be relevant for the Hindus to tell me that such a thing is really the case, that I have been misinformed, that only a few years ago the Hindus

never claimed to play music, passing by mosques. Such pleasures of religious life—because I call these things pleasures, agreeable pleasures—such pleasures of religious life I would hold at the mercy, at the grace of my Mohammedan brethren. What is more, you Hindus are probably 42 to 45 thousand in Nellore. Mussulmans are but seven thousand. Hindus therefore as the elder brother are bound to hold the Mussulman interests as trustees. Your nobility or title to swaraj demands that, as the stronger party, you should assume the privilege of protecting the weak. To my Mohammedan brethren I would urge: 'Never think of making any unreasonable demands. Make it your business to study the prejudices and sentiments of your Hindu brethren. Make allowances for what you may consider to be their weaknesses. God will not hold you answerable on the Judgment Day if He finds that you allowed yourself in your prayers in the mosque to be interrupted by some music that you heard. I have not the shadow of a doubt that God Almighty whom you call also Rahim[1], will understand your humble and gentle plea when you tell Him on the Judgment Day that you could not help it, because you wanted to respect your Hindu brothers' prejudices. The test for friendship, the test for brotherhood is that each party always makes allowances for the weaknesses of the other and I know that on the Judgment Day that party will win the day which will be able to show that it has always surrendered on non-essentials. The life of the great Prophet is for you as a living example of a perpetual surrender of non-essentials.' But I say to the Hindu and Mussulman brethren of Nellore, whether they can agree about their differences or not, whether they can make concessions to one another or not, whether they can come to an agreement on essentials and non-essentials or not, it is not given to them, not to a single Hindu or to a single Mussulman to fly at each other's throats, to throw stones at one another, and to inflict violence on one another. They must have trusted, chosen leaders of each community to form a Board of Arbitration to settle all religious disputes between the two, and if they are not satisfied, they can either go to the Congress or to the Khilafat Committee for a settlement. And finally I would repeat the advice that Maulana Shaukat Ali has been giving times without number both to the Mussulmans and Hindus. When a Mohammedan feels irritated and angry with his Hindu neighbours and when he cannot restrain himself and feels that he must inflict condign punishment on his

[1] The Compassionate One

Hindu brethren, then he must go to Mahatma Gandhi and cut off his head. Similarly he advised the Hindus that if the Hindus felt irritated against the Mussulman neighbours and wanted to pick a quarrel with them, they should not lay their hands upon the Mussulman neighbours but they should go to Shaukat Ali himself; although he is strong and burly, he makes that definite promise that even a Hindu child may take his head from his shoulders. Let Hindus and Mussulmans understand firmly that the cornerstone of swaraj, the cornerstone of the freedom of India is Hindu and Muslim unity. Let both understand that the defence of Islam with reference to the Khilafat through the power of India is only possible if Hindu-Muslim unity becomes a living factor in their life. Let Hindus understand that their full contribution, their unconditional hearty contribution to the defence of Islam automatically carries with it the defence of Hinduism itself. And so my dear countrymen of Nellore, I beseech both of you, whether you are Hindus or Mussulmans, sink your petty differences, never quarrel again, make a firm determination during the sacred week[1], bend down to your knees to pray that He may give you both power and wisdom to remain at peace with one another and make a firm determination to use all that united, matchless power for the freedom of India, for the freedom of Islam, for retrieving the honour of the Punjab. Both Hindus and Mussulmans have told me in the course of the day that this wretched petty quarrel has resulted in all non-co-operation activity and Khilafat activity not being conducted and carried through to the extent that it was possible for Nellore to do. I hope, therefore, that you will not allow the sun to rise upon you before you have settled your differences and I hope that from tomorrow morning you will set about as thinking, wise business men to work out the programme that has been sketched for you by the All-India Congress Committee, that you will continue to contribute to the Tilak Swaraj Fund that you have commenced today; that you will not rest satisfied until you have placed on the Congress register every adult male and female, Hindu or Mussulman.

It is time that you began to consider it to be a sin to wear an inch of foreign cloth. Let the Mohammedans understand that the wearing of foreign cloth is a badge of the degradation of Islam and let both Hindus and Mussulmans understand that the wearing of foreign cloth is a badge of our slavery. I would ask you

[1] The National Week, from April 6 to April 13

not to fall back upon Ahmedabad or Bombay for your clothes, but make it a point of honour to become self-sustained by manufacturing all the cloth for your local needs. Take it again from me, as an experienced spinner and weaver, that it is entirely possible for the 52,000 men and women of Nellore to produce all your cloth in the course of a month. Within one night one weaver was able to produce sufficient cloth for me to last for one year and that sacred cloth produced last night is in my possession and I am proud of it.[1] And so I ask you to divert your attention from your internal Hindu and Muslim dissensions or any other dissension and concentrate that attention on the main issue before the whole nation. Banish all drink, gambling and falsehoods and all vices in your midst and live up to the profession made in your name and my name in that, this battle of non-co-operation is a battle of self-purification. I would ask you finally to remember that the National Week is not yet over. We finished the second day this evening. There are full five precious days in store for us. Let us make the best use of these five days. I would ask you during these five days specially to cultivate friendship between yourselves, Hindus and Mussulmans. I would ask every Hindu to go out of his way whenever he meets a Mohammedan brother and to greet him with a pleasant and smiling salaam. Similarly I would ask every Mohammedan brother of mine here, when he meets a Hindu, to go out of his way and greet him with a pleasant smile or salaam or *Vande Mataram*. And so during these 5 or 6 days, you will put forth extraordinary energy so that you may get rid of all mutual distrust and mutual suspicion and of uncleanliness and rise at the end of the week purified and fitter for swaraj, for the defence of the Khilafat, fitter for the retrieving of the honour of the Punjab.

May God help you to carry out the holy purpose which I know you will all set before yourselves.

I will ask you to remain silent and seated, as you are, in this admirable peaceful attitude and allow the volunteers to collect your very best donations for the Tilak Swaraj Fund. I thank you for the great patience and the courtesy with which both Hindus and Mussulmans have listened to me.

The Hindu, 12-4-1921

[1] *Vide* footnote on p. 537.

276. *SPEECH AT PUBLIC MEETING, MADRAS*

April 8, 1921

MR. CHAIRMAN[1] AND FRIENDS,

As usual you will extend your forgiveness to me for my inability to speak to you standing. You have just now witnessed the ceremony of *Poornakumbham*[2] performed. It carries blessings and the prayer that the mission on which India has embarked may be successful. I am thankful to those friends who assisted in performing this ceremony and those who conceived the thing. It is a significant fact that in this struggle Hindus and Mussulmans, Brahmins and non-Brahmins, Christians, Parsis, Jews, all who claim this country as theirs are united. But I wish to invite the attention of this meeting and of the authors of this ceremony to the foreign touch that attached to that ceremony. You saw the floral decoration surrounding the *Kumbham.* It was of paper flowers. You might have noticed also the garment in which the *Kumbham* was wrapped; it was foreign cloth. I hope that it is time India will recognize that foreign cloth is a badge of our slavery, that foreign cloth is a badge of the degradation of Islam in India. The more I think of the salvation of India—economic, political, moral, religious—the more I think of the Khilafat question, the more I am convinced that if the Khilafat wrong is to be redressed through India, through the Hindus and Mussulmans of India, if India is to gain swaraj during this year, at least we owe it to the motherland that we discard the use of foreign cloth, no matter at what cost. As Maulana Mahomed Ali in one of his recent speeches in Calcutta remarked : "A hundred years ago or more we sold away the spinning-wheel and we purchased our slavery." And I want therefore to invite your attention to the most potent part of the resolution arrived at by the All-India Congress Committee[3] after the programme of Non-co-operation had worked for so many months.

If we want one crore of rupees before the 30th June, we want it not in order to promote deputations to England or America or any part of the world, not for any foreign propaganda, but we

1 S. Kasturiranga Aiyangar, who presided over the meeting
2 Pitcher filled with consecrated water, offered to welcome a guest
3 *Vide* "Resolutions at A.I.C.C. Meeting, Bezwada", March 31, 1921.

want that money and more for introducing the spinning-wheel into every home in India. We want that money in order to pay a mere livelihood to the workers who will come out throughout the length and breadth of Dravid land[1] to introduce the spinning-wheel. Only the other day I was in Masulipatam and I had the honour of visiting a few villages where even today our sisters are spinning beautiful fine yarn not for money but for love. (Cheers.) I therefore hope that if you are going to be instrumental in attaining swaraj during this year, in redressing the Khilafat wrong and the Punjab wrong, you will make during this sacred National Week a fixed derermination to throw away all the foreign cloth that you may possess. I hold it to be a crime to see an inch of foreign cloth in our temples, in our mosques. But I must pass on to some other topics.

I am glad to note that the more we progress the more convinced our countrymen are that the success of our battle depends mainly, if not solely, upon non-violence. In my opinion our non-violence is the greatest part of our non-co-operation. But our non-violence will have to stand the severest stress and the greatest strain that might be put upon it. I have just heard that somewhere in Malabar a non-co-operating father had to witness unprovoked violence done to his son by some policemen. I shall still hope that the story is untrue, that there is some defect, some error about the evidence collected by friends who brought the thing to my notice. But let us understand that such a thing is not impossible under this Government or for that matter any other Government. (Laughter.) We had too much of it at the time of the Martial Law in the Punjab two years ago. The greatest time of our triumph will be only when we can stand the tortures without returning any violence whatsoever. This Government must either repent of the wrongs, the violent wrongs done to India, or it must hold India by a system of terrorism. It was only when I came to the conclusion that Dyerism, O'Dwyerism, was not an isolated phenomenon, but that it was a settled policy of the Government bent upon holding India at any cost that I called it a Satanic system of Government. But to non-co-operators there is only one road left open and that is to turn the searchlight inward, to purify ourselves, to exercise the greatest restraint under the gravest provocation. Therefore, I ask fathers of boys who are doing any non-co-operation work and I ask non-co-operators themselves who are actively engaged in propaganda to understand that if they

[1] South India

continue this work they should do so knowing that they might be subjected to violence and even then they ought not to retort. If India can only exercise self-restraint during this year of probation, of purification for her, I assure you I can see nothing that can prevent our onward march and establishment of swaraj in India during this year. If you believe in God—and no non-co-operator can be a real non-co-operator who does not believe in God—if you believe in God during this week of prayer, of purification and sacrifice, you will concentrate your prayer to God that He may give every one of us, the whole of India, the power to bear all violence that this Government make use of and subject us to.

It is infinitely more necessary that we non-co-operators control our speech, control our movements and free them even from any danger or any smell of violence. Let our speech and our pen be free of any violent thing. If we would but continue along this course of purification, to use an expression of the late President Kruger, we shall stagger humanity during this year. For what is it that we have seen in the repression, not merely in the Madras Presidency, but in the Central Provinces, in the United Provinces and other parts of India? In spite of the denial of Sir William Vincent I am here to say that the temperance crusade in the Central Provinces has become a crime, and when they talk of putting down non-co-operation by all possible means, they talk of putting down home-spinning, putting down the teetotalism. We are showing step by step through the course of our self-purification that this Government can hold India in bondage only on the strength of its *Abakari* revenue, only on the strength of the exploitation of India through Lancashire. Therefore I would urge every one of you to sterilize the activity of this Government by showing to the whole of India, by showing to the Moderates and the Liberal party that when they associate with this Government and support the policy of repression inaugurated by this Government they do not want non-co-operationists to carry on the campaign of temperance, to carry the message of goodwill, the message of happiness and the message of chastity of the womanhood of India which the spinning-wheel carried. Day by day we are having ocular demonstration of the fact that this Government has no inherent strength or vitality. (Laughter.) It derives its strength out of our weaknesses. (Hear, hear!) It thrives upon our dissensions.

The Hindu-Muslim disunion, the Hindu-Muslim quarrels, no longer supply food for this Government. (Laughter.) Now this Government, I see and understand, is trading upon the disunion

between Brahmins and non-Brahmins. (Cheers.) If this Non-co-operation Movement is a Brahmin movement, and I hope it is a Brahmin movement, the remedy is incredibly simple, because the Brahmins want no loaves and fishes, if they are non-co-operators. But let us make haste to patch up quarrels as we have patched up the Hindu-Muslim quarrel amongst ourselves. I wish to repeat what I said to a select audience of lawyers some time ago in Madras. I have not a shadow of doubt that Hinduism owes its all to the great traditions that the Brahmins have left for Hinduism. They have left a legacy for India, for which every Indian, no matter to what *varna* he may belong, owes a deep debt of gratitude. Having studied the history of almost every religion in the world it is my settled conviction that there is no class in the world that has accepted poverty and self-effacement as its lot. I would therefore urge—a non-Brahmin myself—I would urge all non-Brahmins who may compose the audience and all non-Brahmins to whom my voice may reach that they will make a fundamental error if they believe that they can better their position by decrying Brahminism. Even in this black age, travelling throughout the length and breadth of India, I notice that the Brahmins take the first place in self-sacrifice and self-effacement. It is the Brahmins all over India who silently but surely are showing to every class in India their rights and privileges. But having said so much I wish to confess too that the Brahmins together with the rest of us have suffered of all [*sic*]. They have set before India, voluntarily and deliberately, the highest standard that the human mind is capable of conceiving; and they must not be surprised if the Indian world exact that standard from them. The Brahmins have declared themselves, and they ought to remain, custodians of the purity of our life. I am aware that the non-Brahmins of Madras have many things to say against Brahmins, for which there is some cause. But let non-Brahmins realize that by quarrelling with Brahmins, by being jealous of them and by mud-slinging they will not better their lot, but will degrade Hinduism itself. I hold that it behoves non-Brahmins, shrewd as they are, to understand the beauty and secret of this movement. This movement is specially designed to dethrone insolence of office. He who has eyes may see what is happening in India today is a process not of levelling down but of levelling up. Let non-Brahmins beware of attempting to rise upon the ashes of Brahminism. And, therefore, I would urge non-Brahmins, if they cannot throw themselves heart and soul into this movement, at least to refrain from interfering with this movement by intriguing with the Government.

The grievances of non-Brahmins against Brahmins are a mere nothing compared to the grievances of *Adi-Dravidas*[1] and *Panchamas*[2] against Hinduism. Hinduism has made them a sort of lepers; and we have become lepers of the Empire in turn. (Laughter.) Non-Brahmins are equally guilty with Brahmins in making the *Panchamas* crawl on their bellies. It is my deliberate conviction that we are suffering this yoke of slavery for the sake of the sins that we have committed against our brothers whom we arrogantly consider to be untouchables. I claim to be a *sanatani* Hindu; I claim to have read our shastras to the best of my ability; I claim to have understood the spirit of Hinduism; I claim to have understood the message of the Vedas and the *Upanishads*; I claim to have lived the life of a *sanatani* Hindu deliberately, knowingly and voluntarily for a period of thirty years; and notwithstanding anything that may be said by any Hindu to the contrary, I ask you to accept the authority of my experiences that there is no warrant in our scriptures for considering a single human being as untouchable. I am content to be a Hindu; I am content to die a Hindu and I am ready and I hope to die for the defence of my religion at any moment; but I should cease to call myself a Hindu if I believe for one moment that Hinduism requires me to consider it a sin to touch a single human being. Therefore, I invite the Brahmins and the non-Brahmins of this Presidency to battle against this curse of untouchability and rid themselves of it. I ask you not to mix up intermarriage and interdining with untouchability. And thus if, as Hindus and Mohammedans have done, Hindus among themselves will but close their ranks, we shall consider in the language of the *Bhagavad Gita* that when in our heart occupy an equal place both Brahmin and *Chandala*,[3] that very day you will see there is no non-Brahmin problem remaining for solution.

Non-co-operation in the language of medicine is a kind of aseptic treatment. Antiseptics are necessary only when we first gather dirt and we want to introduce other germs to destroy that dirt; but aseptic treatment presupposes purity from within. Our non-co-operation with the Government, therefore, simply means we have done away with dirt and uncleanliness. We do not want to pretend to have dispelled darkness by making darkness deeper. We do not want to meet or neutralize violence of the Government by greater violence on our part. Our swaraj must not consist of exploitation of any human being on earth. I therefore urge you

[1] & [2] Different names for so-called untouchables

[3] *Bhagavad Gita*, V, 18

simply to concentrate your attention upon the three things that the All-India Congress Committee have placed before you. I would like you never to give the slightest excuse to the Government for imprisoning us in regard to our speeches. But I would leave open the gates of prison without a drop of tear from my eyes and send the whole of the womanhood of India to prisons for possessing the spinning-wheel. Let us not be impatient either with the Government or with our friends who are opposed to us today. Rather let us be impatient with ourselves. All our speeches and all our resolutions are now mostly, or should be, addressed to ourselves. And if we can only carry through the simple programme that is mapped out by the Congress, by the Khilafat Committee and by the Muslim League, I repeat my conviction that swaraj we shall attain and the Khilafat wrong and the Punjab wrong we shall redress during this year.

One word to the educated men of Madras and I have finished. You will accept the evidence that I tender that, throughout my long travels, I have noticed that the masses and the women of India are absolutely with us. I ask the educated Indians to accept my testimony that they are neither so unintelligent nor so uncultured as we often consider them to be. They see far more truly through their intuition than we educated Indians do with our intellect clouded by multiplicity of ideas. And I ask you to accept the testimony[1] given by Sir Thomas Munro[2], and confirm that testimony, that the masses of India are really more cultured than any in the world.

It has become customary with me nowadays, as you all know, that before I retire from the meeting I make a collection for the Tilak Swaraj Fund. Volunteers will presently go out in your midst and I ask you to give your best to the Fund. I thank you for the extraordinary patience with which you have listened to me. I pray to God that He may give us the necessary courage and the necessary wisdom to do our duty. (Loud and prolonged cheering.)

The Hindu, 9-4-1921

[1] *Vide* Vol. X, p. 68.

[2] Governor of Madras, 1820-27

277. MY ORISSA TOUR

Gopabandhu Das

At the time of the famine in Orissa, I realized the poverty of the province but my impression has been that nowhere else were the people likely to be so poor as in Champaran[1]. But I am afraid Orissa beats Champaran in this respect. The difference between the two is that in Champaran the ryots had been impoverished by the oppression of the indigo-planters, whereas in Orissa the suffering is due to the wrath of Nature. Either the crops do not grow through lack of rains or there are floods following excessive rains and the crops and houses are washed off; hence there is always a near-famine in this province.

In this godforsaken region, the one real leader is Gopabandhu Das, who gave all help to Shri Amritlal Thakkar at the time of the famine. Gopabandhu Das became a lawyer and practised for a few years, but finally gave up practice and dedicated his all to the service of the country. He started a school at Sakhigopal, a place twelve miles from Puri.

A Garden School

It provides both training in a craft and education in letters. The school had been recognized by the Government but, following the non-co-operation resolution, Gopabandhu Babu did away with the Government control. Some pupils left the school in consequence, while some others joined it. Gopabandhu Babu himself goes begging to collect funds for the school. The school is situated on a 20-acre plot, with pleasant groves. The children are taught in the open under the shade of trees. Among the crafts, the chief is carpentry. Now spinning and weaving have been added. Gopabandhu Babu was a member of the Bihar Legislative Assembly and, therefore, used to invite Governors and other dignitaries. I saw that in their comments they had always praised the school.

Seva Samaj

Gopabandhu Babu has started a Seva Samaj[2]. Some lawyers and other learned gentlemen have joined it. Many of them have been living on about Rs. 10 or 12 a month since the start of

[1] District in Bihar

[2] A voluntary body for social service

non-co-operation. They go begging handfuls of rice, and in this way a Swaraj Ashram has also been established. The diet of these members and of the pupils consists mainly of rice, dal and oil or a few drops of ghee with vegetables, when available. Their monthly expenses come to seven or eight rupees. Formerly they used to have some ghee but have stopped it after non-co-operation started. There will hardly be any other body in the country today kept alive with so much voluntary suffering. When I asked whether this poor diet would not affect their health, Gopabandhu Babu's reply was : "Should we not submit to this privation for the sake of swaraj?" I was silenced. When a man is faced with suffering, one knows not how but God gives him the strength to bear it.

JAGANNATH

After visiting Gopabandhu Babu's school, we went on to Jagannath Puri. The town is situated on the sea-coast and there is always a breeze there. But let no one conclude from this that, in respect of climate, Puri is in any way superior to Dumas or Porbander or Veraval.[1] "A business man with an established reputation will make money," they say; and so the Bengalis and the Government declared this to be a health resort and helped it to acquire a reputation as one. Every year Bengalis repair to the place and come away with good health, and devout pilgrims believe that the *darshan* of Jagannath[2] and gifts to the priests help them to return with a plenteous booty of spiritual merit. When I went for *darshan*, a great many reflections filled my mind. It is an ancient temple, and an imposing one. On the summit blazes the *sudarshan*[3] disc, with a flag fluttering over it. The temple has been built to a great height. The images are of Narayan and Lakshmi.[4] The images, being of a huge size, are awe-inspiring. Thick darkness reigns in the recess where the images are installed. There is neither air nor light. One or two lamps burn dimly, that is all.

FOREIGN APPAREL

The garments in which the images are draped are of foreign cloth! Why so much ignorance and utter thoughtlessness? For the garments of deities in temples, countless virgins, with love in their heart, used to spin fine yarn and, with similar love,

[1] Sea-coast towns in Gujarat
[2] Literally, Lord of the Universe, the name of the deity in the temple
[3] Lord Vishnu's ultimate weapon
[4] In fact, the images are those of Shri Krishna, his brother and sister.

innumerable weavers wove it into cloth. Cloth made otherwise was considered unholy. I was lost in thought, wondering how it was that the Brahmin priests had now become insincere and foreign-minded. As at other places, here too the priests are a terror. They fleece the devout pilgrims. How is it that Jagannath remains a silent witness to all this wickedness? I recollected the saying, "As the worshipper, so his God." God, the formless one, is a witness to not a few wicked deeds! He has laid down the law of Karma and will have nothing more to do with the matter. How is Jagannath to blame then?

A Heart-rending Scene

Just as I am taken round to see many other things worth knowing about, I was also taken to see the victims of famine. The sight of these hundreds of men and women, boys and girls, mere skeletons without any flesh on them, made me very miserable; it wrung my heart. If, as happened in this case, people hit by famine get no corn and starve to death, what difference will it make whether or not we get swaraj? That alone will be swaraj worth the name under which no human being will go without food or clothing for no fault of his or against his desire.

Home for Destitutes

With this holy thought revolving in my mind, I went to pay a visit to a home for destitutes started by Lala Amichand, the police chief of Puri. Victims of famine have been brought here and are being taught to make mats and foot-rugs, and also to spin and weave. Spinning and weaving were introduced after the swadeshi and the non-co-operation movements started. I could see from this that the statement that spinning is an insurance against famine was no exaggeration at all. I had a talk with the leaders on this matter and a resolution was passed to the effect that the balance in the Puri Relief Fund should be used to provide victims of the famine with spinning-wheels in their homes.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 10-4-1921

278. SPEECH AT PUBLIC MEETING, BOMBAY[1]

April 10, 1921

Mahatma Gandhi, after apologizing for being late, said this was our National Week—it had begun on the 6th and would end on the 13th. The All-India Congress Committee had asked them to depend on themselves alone in their endeavour for swaraj. Their aim was to attain swaraj within one year, whatever might come. Theirs was the duty to redress their Khilafat wrongs and to redress the wrongs of the Punjab. For that purpose the All-India Congress Committee had kept before the country three tasks which it had to perform. The first was to get one crore of members for their National Congress. For that purpose they wanted Mohammedans and Hindus, men and women. He wanted all these men and women to be on the side of the Congress movement and for that purpose the fee was kept at four annas. It was the duty of every Indian to join the Congress organization without delay. At least one crore of new members must join the Congress. Their next duty was to collect one crore of rupees for the Tilak Swaraj Fund and he did not think it was a matter of great difficulty. Some people were rather sceptical about their ability to collect that large sum in the whole of India but he had no such doubts. If they could not collect a crore of rupees for the redressing of the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs then Indians would never be fit for swaraj. If they could not collect that sum then they would prove their unfitness for the responsibilities of swaraj. He was sure that even Bombay, if it meant business, could collect that sum. Even the Marwari community[2] alone could give that sum; even the Parsi community could give it, and the rich mercantile community of Bombay could very easily collect that single crore of rupees. Was it then impossible to collect that crore from the whole of India? He had no doubts about their ability to collect that amount. He requested the citizens of Bombay to subscribe as much as possible towards the Tilak Swaraj Fund and not to give only that sum which came to their share. They had to collect that sum before the 30th of June.

More important than that was the charkha, on which depended the attainment of swaraj. On the charkha alone swaraj depended. It was their munitions which they needed in their fight for swaraj. They should give up the use of foreign goods and the first step in that direction was the use of swadeshi cloth. They should consider that to clothe themselves in foreign clothes was a shameful thing; they should also consider that to clothe oneself in country-

[1] Delivered at a public meeting held under the auspices of the Swarajya Sabha and the Central Khilafat Committee

[2] A Hindu mercantile community from Marwar in Rajasthan

made goods was a beautiful thing and that it was spiritual and for the good of India. He wanted to enlist the energies of men and women, rich and poor, old and young, in this great task. He wanted the poorest men for that purpose in the fight for swaraj. If Indians thought that by building mills they would be able to give up foreign goods he did not think it was possible for them to do so, for how could they import so much machinery in one year from foreign countries? Besides, they would have sent a large amount of money to buy the machinery to foreign countries. Only when mill machinery could be manufactured in India he would have no objection to build as many mills as they liked. But, until then he did not believe in building mills. Therefore it was, that the Congress Committee wanted to introduce into the country twenty lakhs of charkhas before the end of June. He wished charkhas to be introduced into every household in this country.

The Mahatma asked the merchants of Bombay whether it was right on their part to import goods of foreign manufacture and thus make India poor and make Indians slaves? Was it not better to live in poverty? Only when they stopped importing foreign goods could they get swaraj. It did not matter whether the lawyers stuck to their courts, or the students to their schools and colleges, but it was of the utmost importance that foreign goods should not be imported into this country. They must wear khaddar, and it was their duty to wear swadeshi clothes only. It was an offence against their country to wear foreign-made clothes and discard those made in this country. He had come from Orissa and Andhra and from what he had seen there he was convinced that the people of Bombay were lagging far behind, and that they were the greatest sinners. He would place the Gujarati community in the front in that respect for they were responsible for the importation of foreign goods in India. Indians had accustomed themselves to wearing fine clothes and if it were not possible for the people of Bombay to give up those luxuries he did not think it was possible to do so anywhere else. For the sake of swaraj, for the sake of the Khilafat wrongs and for the sake of the Punjab wrongs they had got to give up foreign-made goods. Until Indians felt that there was as much beauty in khaddar as in the Manchester calicoes and Japanese goods, they would never get swaraj.

They had a clear duty before them—they must join the Congress; they must collect one crore of rupees for the Tilak Swaraj Fund and they must introduce twenty lakhs of charkhas in the country. If India could achieve this, she could certainly get swaraj in one year. If they could do it swaraj must come to them. In Madras and Bengal, even the most prominent people wore khaddar; why could they not do it in Bombay?

Mahatma Gandhi said he wanted the co-operation of ladies in his task and he wanted their blessings too. But, in the first place, they must be fit to do so. It was not possible for them to bless him unless they purified themselves by wearing Indian clothes and discarding foreign ones. Unless they

wore swadeshi clothes, they could not give him their blessings. He appealed to them to set before themselves the ideal of Sita; let them suffer like Sita; let them live like Sita—simply and plainly. Only then could India attain swaraj. Let them wear only country-made clothes and let them give their blessings and co-operation to the workers in the cause of their country and then they would have *dharmarajya* in this country. It was the aim of the Congress to join together, heart and soul, Hindus and Muslims to fight for swaraj. In Bengal and Orissa, women had contributed their share liberally towards the Tilak Fund. He appealed to his Parsi sisters to help liberally the Swaraj Fund. He appealed to his sisters to give their share to the Swaraj Fund.

In conclusion, he prayed to God that Hindus and Muslims, Parsis and Jews would join together and do their best for this country and do their duty.

The Bombay Chronicle, 11-4-1921

279. *MESSAGE FOR LAST DAY OF SATYAGRAHA WEEK*

[Before *April 13, 1921*][1]

Today is the last day of the sacred week. Those who believe in God should make it a point to keep a fast and offer prayers on this day. It is the earnest desire of my heart that this should turn out to be the last 13th of April to see us in a state of subjection. But it is not in my hands to bring this about, and not in God's either. Even God will not grant us swaraj. It is for us to win it and there is only one way of doing so. The moment we understand what it is and follow it, swaraj will be ours. We want to see foreign cloth boycotted in the course of this very year. To ensure this, everyone should examine his person and his wardrobe and should forthwith renounce the use of foreign cloth. No one must ask what others do. We should learn to make do with the fewest clothes, should ourselves ply the spinning-wheel and urge others to do likewise.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 14-4-1921

[1] The message was intended for publication in the Press on April 13.

280. NOTES

Suspend Non-co-operation

Mr. Syed Riza Ali has addressed a public letter advising me to suspend Non-co-operation, so as to give Lord Reading[1] a chance of studying the situation in a calm atmosphere. In the first place, I see there is nothing in the atmosphere to prevent a study of the situation. In the second place, what disturbance there is, is either fomented by the authorities, or the situation is so mishandled as to give rise to bloodshed. In the Central Provinces the Government are foisting the drink traffic on a public that is enraged against it. Of Rae Bareilly, not having read newspapers, I have not sufficient data to be able to say anything. In any case, Mr. Riza Ali should address his appeal to the permanent officials who are provoking the people and creating alarm in the country. Thirdly, it is not within the power of any one man, even if he wished it, to suspend a movement adopted by the nation through its representative assemblies. Fourthly, what does Mr. Riza Ali mean by suspension of non-co-operation? Should the title-holders temporarily recall their titles, the lawyers resume practice, the schoolboys return to Government schools, the spinners put away their spinning-wheels, carpenters cease making new wheels, and tipplers renew their acquaintance with the publicans? Does Mr. Riza Ali desire that national schools should for the time being close their doors? Unthinkable as it may seem, it is evident that Mr. Riza Ali does not understand the scope of non-co-operation, he does not realize that it is like a virtue whose practice cannot be suspended at will. If Englishmen mean well by India, if Englishmen, who are dependent upon India for their maintenance, will be true to their salt, they must be reconciled to the abolition of the drink traffic and the total destruction of the traffic in foreign cloth and, therefore, also Lancashire cloth. Even when the Khilafat is fully protected, and the Punjab wound healed, the drink revenue cannot be revived nor the use of foreign cloth resumed. What surprises one is that there are intelligent and educated public workers in the country who do not see that this Government must proceed from wrong to wrong, so long as it does not cleanse itself

[1] Who arrived in India on April 1, 1921, as the Viceroy and Governor-General of India

of the original sins. No doubt it can, if it will, even without redressing the two wrongs, co-operate with the people in the two great dynamic movements—the battle against the drink evil and reinstatement of the spinning-wheel in all its ancient dignity and purity. It will then break the edge of the two wrongs. Such a co-operation by the Government with the people will, however, increase the capacity of the people to ensure rectification of the two wrongs, and for that very reason the Government will not allow the peaceful progress of the drink campaign and boycott of foreign cloth by increased home-manufacture through the spinning-wheel.

MEN, MONEY AND MUNITIONS

These were the words in which Mr. Das summed up the All-India Congress Committee's resolution about one crore members, one crore rupees, and twenty lakhs of spinning-wheels. This programme is neither elaborate nor intricate. It requires practically no sacrifice. It does require organization, will, and industry. We have twenty-one Congress provinces, and, happily, each province has workers capable of organizing their respective provinces for the Congress programme. I would strongly advise them to devote themselves to the work of registering members, collecting subscriptions, and introducing spinning-wheels. Let the workers remember that there is no time to lose. We must be able to reach every adult male and female in our respective provinces and give them a chance of coming to the Congress register. We must give a chance even to boys and girls of understanding to subscribe to the Tilak Memorial Swaraj Fund, and take to every family the life-giving message of the spinning-wheel. The poorest province need not feel any doubt about its ability to cope with its share of the programme. Orissa is, I believe, the poorest province. I asked the workers there whether they would shoulder their share of the burden. They agreed, nor was there any need for them to hesitate with the Lord of the Universe having his seat in Orissa.[1] They could collect their quota, if it came to the worst, from the pilgrims who visit Puri as also from the rich *mahants* and *pandas*[2], who, I feel sure, will gladly pay if properly approached. But our hope must centre in the pies of the poor rather than upon windfalls from single places. Nothing gave me greater confidence and greater hope than the sight of thousands of the very

[1] Here Gandhiji refers to the fact that in Puri is located the temple of Jagannath

[2] Brahmin priests at places of pilgrimage who play host to pilgrims

poor men at Sakhigopal[1] emptying their pockets of their pies and *paisas*. The Biharis are even collecting *muthis*[2]. With a proper depot for receiving and using such gifts, the crore rupees should be collected without any difficulty whatsoever.

I suggest workers meeting the heads of all the artisan classes. We want carpenters, blacksmiths, washermen, masons, scavengers, shoemakers, tanners, etc., to understand and take part in this movement. They do not need any previous training in schools to appreciate the necessity of swaraj. They easily understand the intimate connection between swaraj and the spinning-wheel. With our existing caste organizations, which are really trade guilds, we should have no difficulty in reaching the majority of the men and women who are members of these important organizations.

It should further be remembered that both men and money are wanted for one purpose, to manufacture and distribute munitions, i.e., spinning-wheels. We must bring about complete boycott of foreign cloth during this year, and if possible before the end of July next. One crore of rupees and twenty lakhs of spinning-wheels is the minimum aimed at by the Congress. It does not include the spinning-wheels that were already working before the 31st December last. Of coarse counts we require 6 lbs. of cloth per head per year. We, therefore, need 1,800 million pounds per year for the nation. In order to manufacture this quantity of cloth in a year, of say three hundred working days, and if a spindle give ½ lb. per day i.e. 150 lbs. per year, we require 12 million spindles. What the Congress expects by the end of June is 2 million or a sixth of the total requirement. It is not an extravagant presumption to make that if we succeed in introducing two million spinning-wheels during three months, the momentum received by the movement will double the number of wheels during the next three months without much effort. We have probably fifty million families in India counting six members for a family. The problem, therefore, is one of only reaching two million out of this large number of families.

If the existing workers have the faith that I have in the spinning-wheel, they will do well to learn spinning and understand the structure of a spinning-wheel so as to be able to distinguish a good wheel from a bad one. They must not on any account introduce a wheel that does not satisfy the test already suggested

[1] Village in Orissa which Gandhiji visited in the last week of March 1921

[2] Handfuls of corn or similar useful things

by me in the issue of the 6th intstant. I need hardly point out that the workers will produce less impression, if any at all, if they do not religiously eliminate foreign cloth from their wardrobe. We are not going to bring about a complete boycott of foreign cloth this year if we do not ourselves make the beginning at once and set an example. One big thing well and truly done must result in giving us confidence, hope, and courage.

The Use of the Crore Rupees

A newspaper, I am told, has put the question as to what the Congress will do with its crore. The natural answer is 'for the use stated in the Congress resolution', i.e., for the attainment of swaraj through non-violent non-co-operation. The only activity involving financial obligations is that of spinning, organizing national service, in some cases supporting lawyers, who might have suspended practice and cannot be included in the national service, and for supporting national educational institutions. The latter three, however, really bear again on spinning. For all the workers and all the schools and colleges must be mainly occupied in promoting hand-spinning and hand-weaving if we are to achieve a complete boycott of foreign goods before the end of the year. These are the only uses that I can conceive in connection with the All-India Tilak Memorial Swaraj Fund. Seventy-five per cent of the funds are to be controlled by the provinces collecting them. And subject to the instructions framed by the All-India Congress Committee, the provinces have unfettered discretion as to their use for the attainment of swaraj.

Amazing Misconceptions

There is a homely proverb in Gujarati which means, a noted banker continually adds to his wealth, as a notorious criminal continually comes in for undeserved blame. Whether I am to be regarded as a reformer or a criminal, the situations I find myself in are most curious and often embarrassing. The people credit me with supernatural powers when the only powers I have are derived from my scrupulous regard for truth, an unquenchable industry, fair play to opponents, readiness always to admit mistakes, and an incessant appeal to reason. But the simple-minded masses will not believe me when I tell them I possess no extraordinary powers. Similarly those who are not accustomed to absolutely honest dealings in politics persist in crediting me with all kinds of wickedness. The *Morning Post* believes that the strike in Fiji was due to the efforts of a sadhu sent there by me. Now I do not know

who the alleged sadhu is. I have certainly sent no one to Fiji to advise a strike. At the same time the strike having been declared in Fiji, the strikers have my sympathy. All the evidence in my possession shows that Fiji is a huge exploitation camp in which the poor Indian labourers are used by the sugar-planters for their fabulous profits.

"The Times of India"

Somewhat similar to the misconceptions I have alluded to is that of *The Times of India*, to whose two recent articles a friend has drawn my attention. Not being able to read newspapers regularly, I do not know how much more I must be misrepresented by other journals, when *The Times of India*, which is supposed to know me better, I hope, innocently misunderstands me. One article credits me with having suspended non-co-operation in that I advised the All-India Congress Committee to concentrate on men, money, and the spinning-wheel. I fear I cannot take the credit, for I have not advised suspension; and I have already shown in answer to Mr. Riza Ali how it cannot be suspended. In the other article brought to my notice, I am not now 'the Mr. Gandhi of old' and, therefore, the reader is told, I will not admit defeat which non-co-operators are said to have suffered in the first stage.

I see not only no defeat so far but I am amazed at the awakening among the people. I hold that it is a great thing to have created a strong public opinion against the institutions on which a Government builds its credit. *The Times of India* considers non-co-operation 'to be an easy descent to hell.' I respectfully urge that it is a difficult ascent to heaven. If it was a movement to produce anarchy, surely it could be precipitated any moment. *The Times of India* and other critics who, I believe, are anxious to understand the inwardness of the struggle, will do well to appreciate the fact that not only I but *all* the leaders are doing their utmost to prevent anarchy. It is no use isolating me from the rest. The critics who continue to suspect the Ali Brothers do themselves and the cause a great injustice. The Brothers' position is perfectly clear and intelligible. To them violence is lawful under given circumstances. As Maulana Mahomed Ali often puts it, war is bad but there are worse things than war. The British Government has no two opponents more honourable than the Brothers. They mean no ill in a spirit of wantonness. They are honestly and industriously endeavouring to secure a peaceful settlement. But should their effort prove vain, either for want of response from the Government or the people, as lovers of their

faith, they will not hesitate to precipitate war if they could. I refuse to be considered so simple as to be readily taken in by my companions. I believe my companions to be incapable of deceiving me. I believe them to be godfearing, brave, and honourable men, whose association I prize as a privilege. As for my own attitude, whilst my faith would not permit me to invite or encourage a war of violence, I do contemplate with equanimity a state of war in preference to the present state of effeminate peace imposed by force of arms. And it is for that reason that I am taking part in this movement of non-violent non-co-operation even at the risk of anarchy being the ultimate result. The critics of non-co-operation might, if they will, see in every-one an intense desire to prevent anarchy and bloodshed. In any case, whether non-co-operators are understood or not, they cannot afford to lose patience. They must continue to walk along the chosen and narrow path.

ONE MAN ONE VOTE

A question has cropped up whether the Congress constitution allows of plural voting. In my opinion the new constitution is based on the principle of 'one man one vote'. We have avoided property qualification. And it seems to me that one person cannot have his name registered on more than one register.

REPRESSION IN C. P.

Lala Bhagwandinji has been tried and, having declined to defend himself, has been sentenced to eighteen months' imprisonment with hard labour. I have not seen the charge-sheet against him, but this I know that he was Superintendent of the Swaraj Ashram at Nagpur and was doing excellent work. Now the Government has directed its attention to Mr. Wamanrao Joshi of Amraoti. Mr. Joshi is a selfless and enthusiastic worker possessing considerable influence in his district. It seems to be the intention of the C. P. Government to cut off 'tall poppies'. But I hope they will find that there are more tall poppies than they can conveniently cut off.

Young India, 13-4-1921

281. *THE NATIONAL FLAG*

A flag is a necessity for all nations. Millions have died for it. It is no doubt a kind of idolatry which it would be a sin to destroy. For a flag represents an ideal. The unfurling of the Union Jack evokes in the English breast sentiments whose strength it is difficult to measure. The Stars and Stripes mean a world to the Americans. The Star and the Crescent will call forth the best bravery in Islam.

It will be necessary for us Indians—Hindus, Mohammedans, Christians, Jews, Parsis, and all others to whom India is their home—to recognize a common flag to live and to die for.

Mr. P. Venkayya of the National College, Masulipatam, has for some years placed before the public a suggestive booklet describing the flags of the other nations and offering designs for an Indian National Flag. But, whilst I have always admired the persistent zeal with which Mr. Venkayya has prosecuted the cause of a national flag at every session of the Congress for the past four years, he was never able to enthuse me; and in his designs I saw nothing to stir the nation to its depths. It was reserved for a Punjabi to make a suggestion that at once arrested attention. It was Lala Hansraj of Jullunder who, in discussing the possibilities of the spinning-wheel, suggested that it should find a place on our Swaraj Flag. I could not help admiring the originality of the suggestion. At Bezwada I asked Mr. Venkayya to give me a design containing a spinning-wheel on a red (Hindu colour) and green (Muslim colour) background. His enthusiastic spirit enabled me to possess a flag in three hours. It was just a little late for presentation to the All-India Congress Committee. I am glad it was so. On maturer consideration, I saw that the background should represent the other religions also. Hindu-Muslim unity is not an exclusive term; it is an inclusive term, symbolic of the unity of all faiths domiciled in India. If Hindus and Muslims can tolerate each other, they are together bound to tolerate all other faiths. The unity is not a menace to the other faiths represented in India or to the world. So I suggest that the background should be white and green and red. The white portion is intended to represent all other faiths. The weakest numerically occupy the first place, the Islamic colour comes next, the Hindu colour red comes last, the idea being that the strongest

should act as a shield to the weakest. The white colour moreover represents purity and peace. Our national flag must mean that or nothing. And to represent the equality of the least of us with the best, an equal part is assigned to all the three colours in the design.

But India as a nation can live and die only for the spinning-wheel. Every woman will tell the curious that with the disappearance of the spinning-wheel, vanished India's happiness and prosperity. The womanhood and the masses of India have been awakened as never before at the call of the spinning-wheel. The masses recognize in it the giver of life. The women regard it as the protector of their chastity. Every widow I have met has recognized in the wheel a dear forgotten friend. Its restoration alone can fill the millions of hungry mouths. No industrial development schemes can solve the problem of the growing poverty of the peasantry of India covering a vast surface 1,900 miles long and 1,500 broad. India is not a small island, it is a big continent which cannot be converted like England into an industrial country. And we must resolutely set our face against any scheme of exploitation of the world. Our only hope must centre upon utilizing the wasted hours of the nation, for adding to the wealth of the country, by converting cotton into cloth in our cottages. The spinning-wheel is, therefore, as much a necessity of Indian life as air and water.

Moreover, the Muslims swear by it just as much as the Hindus. As a matter of fact, the former are taking to it more readily than the Hindus. For the Muslim woman is *purdanashin*[1] and she can now add a few *paisas* to the poor resources that her husband brings to the family. The spinning-wheel, therefore, is the most natural, as it is the most important, common factor of national life. Through it we inform the whole world that we are determined, so far as our food and clothing are concerned, to be totally independent of the rest of it. Those who believe with me will make haste to introduce the spinning-wheel in their home and possess a national flag of the design suggested by me.

It follows that the flag must be made of *khaddar*, for it is through coarse cloth alone that we can make India independent of foreign markets for her cloth. I would advise all religious organizations, if they agree with my argument, to weave into their religious flags, as for instance the Khilafat, a miniature National Flag in the upper left hand corner. The regulation size of the Flag should contain the drawing of a full-sized spinning-wheel.

Young India, 13-4-1921

[1] One who observes *purdah*

282. ORISSA AND ANDHRA

It was my very first visit to Orissa and, save for Bezwada and Nellore in 1916, to Andhra also. I would like to put on record some of the ineffaceable scenes and memories of these provinces. It was a crowded programme and I can only rapidly go through the most important stations.

I was prepared to see skeletons in Orissa but not to the extent I did. I had seen terrible pictures but the reality was too terrible. What can be the meaning of swaraj to these men, women and children, who were merely skin and bone and who lined a road in holy Puri on that memorable 26th day of March? They were not one or two, but many, and yet they were not all. They were the ablest of the starving—those who were able to walk fairly long distances. They had come to see one who had sent them rice and from whom they expected more. They cried, and they said in pathetic tones, 'we want food.' Some said, 'when will the prices be reduced?' I understood that the meaning of swaraj to many was cheap food and clothing,—the latter not so much. A rag sufficed to cover their lower limbs. But food they must have.

I went to this scene from a big bungalow where I was accommodated in the midst of plenty. I passed and repassed the huge temple that houses the Lord of the Universe. I met on the way well-fed *mahants* and *pandas* and hundreds of pilgrims who could afford to spend a few hundred rupees.

The incongruity was great, and my grief all the greater and more pointed.

They took me to an *anathalaya*—a home for orphans. It was established by a humane superintendent of police. I saw there well-looking boys and girls—some spinning and some mat-making. Why could not all the fleshless ones do likewise? They need not then live on begging, the house-leavings, or a handful of rice. They could earn their own living if only they could spin. But who would give them the wheels? Straight came the answer: 'The Congress of course.' The Congress could teach them to gain swaraj through spinning. There is no other occupation that millions can take up, not even mat-making. For millions of mats will not sell. Yarn is the only commodity next to eatables that would have a ready market. I met the Congress leaders. I recited the story to them. Some of them were witnesses with me of

the scenes I have described. They agreed that the Congress funds must be utilized chiefly for the spread of the spinning-wheel. And the money they could easily get from the *mahants* and the pilgrims. The Congress Committee even in poor Orissa could thus be self-supporting and could bring swaraj nearer by filling the hungry mouths.

They have workers too. Pandit Gopabandhu Das, an ex-M.L.C., an ex-pleader, and many other things besides, is a selfless leader. He and his band, they tell me, live on rice and dhall. They rarely get ghee nowadays. After non-co-operation, the workers have reduced themselves to the lowest honorarium, even as little as ten rupees per month.

No wonder if I believe that with such earnest men swaraj is possible of attainment during the year.

Pandit Gopabandhu has an open-air school at Sakhigopal, twelve miles this side of Puri. It is a grove-school. It is worthy of visit. I passed a most delightful day in the midst of the boys and their teachers. It is a serious experiment in open-air teaching. Some of the boys are powerful athletes.

Orissa has a good grievance. As the able author of the book called *The Ooriya Movement* says, Orissa has been vivisected for political purposes. Part belongs to Bengal, part to Bihar, part to the Central Provinces, and part to Andhra. Nothing belongs to Orissa itself. The Congress has recognized the Ooriya-speaking people as one province. Bihar, Bengal, Central Provinces have no quarrel. But the Andhras dispute the Ooriyan claim to Berhampur. I have ventured to suggest some simple rules for their guidance. One golden rule of universal application that we must learn from our present struggle is that the stronger must yield to the weaker. In case of doubt the weaker must have the verdict.

I must close the Orissa impressions with the vivid memory of the thousands of poor people who came to a public meeting at Sakhigopal and emptied their knots of pies and *paisas*. They were like the widow's mite, charged with the most fruitful blessings. My faith grew stronger to see those thousands urging one another to pay.

Andhra Desh is unlike Utkal. It is full of vigour. I could see no fleshless bones there. The people are strong, powerful, insistent, generous, and loving. They have faith in the future of their own province and India. Men as well as women have plenty of gold ornaments. It is fatal to show those ornaments to me. I made no secret of the fact that I wanted them for the memory of Tilak Maharaj and for Swaraj. They gave gladly,

both men and women. They gave in six days nearly Rs. 50,000 with promises of much more. If they wished, the Andhra people could find perhaps the crore from their ornaments.

I told the Andhra people that in frankness, nobility of bearing and freedom of movement combined with modesty, their women reminded me of the women of Maharashtra. That is a great compliment. I abide by the opinion. Annapurna Devi, a girl of Ellore recently married and educated in Calcutta, gave practically the whole of her ornaments save those which were the sign of her wedded life. She was dressed from top to toe in khaddar. The generosity of the men and women of Andhra was catching.

The Punjabi sisters must give the [pride of] place to the Andhra sisters in fine spinning. I thought there were no more lovable spinners than the Punjabi women. But the Andhra women spin 100 counts. They clean and card their own cotton. I have brought with me some specimens of fine woven yarn which would beat any from Japan, France, or Lancashire. The art was about to die when the swadeshi movement came to the rescue. Some of these ladies were good enough at Masulipatam to give me a demonstration of their powers. It was a soul-stirring sight in that leaf-cottage. They cleaned and carded and spun. For me the wheel gave the music of the spheres.

I must however descend from the soul-stirring to the soul-killing discoveries. At Cocanada, just after the great public meeting, on my return to the bungalow at about 9 p.m. I had a visit from some women and girls. The light was very dim as I entered. There was something uncanny about their movements and their looks. Somehow or other the usual greeting, "Do you spin? what will you give me for the Tilak Swaraj Fund?" would not come to my lips. On the contrary, I asked my host who the ladies were. He did not know. He inquired, and after some hesitation the answer came, "We are dancing girls." I felt like sinking into the bowels of the earth. My host soothed me by saying that there was a ceremony attached to the commencement of life. It made matters worse for me. It gave the damnable thing an air of respectability. I cross-examined. They said in the politest tones they had come to have *darshan*. "Will you[1] take up some other occupation?" "Yes, if it gives us our livelihood." I had not the heart to close with them there and then. I felt ashamed of my sex. I spoke straight the next

[1] The source has "they" here.

morning at Rajahmundry, the next halting place. It was the one most painful experience in Andhra. I suppose the sin is common enough in one shape or another in the rest of India. All I can say is that, if we will have swaraj through self-purification, we may not make women a prey to our lust. The law of the protection of the weak applies here with peculiar force. To me the meaning of cow protection includes the protection of the chastity of our women. We will not have a regenerate India unless we learn to respect our women as we respect our mothers, sisters and daughters. Let us cleanse ourselves of the sins that kill the man in us and make us brute.

To turn to pleasanter things again. My visit to Masulipatam brought tears of joy to my eyes. It was my day of silence. I had asked Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramaiya[1] to procure freedom from all noise and demonstration when I entered Masulipatam. The people had, therefore, been warned beforehand. It was early morning when we motored in. People lined the decorated streets, but not a sound was heard. All were noiselessly standing in their places. And as I entered the portals of the national college, no sound, save that of a beautiful hymn struck upon a violin accompanied by a flute, greeted me. I appreciated the gentle love, and I realized the capacity of the people for discipline, and their quick response to varying demands on their patriotic spirit. I praised God for his abundant mercy with tears of joy.

I was taken to a real *parnakuti*, a leaf-cottage. And whilst I was congratulating the teachers and managers on the method, art and industry they showed in their appointments, I could not help remarking that their activity was not completely national until every one of the students and the teachers devoted practically the whole of their time and attention to spinning and weaving, and the making of their institution a spinning and weaving institute *par excellence*. Whilst I was developing my theme, Mr. Krishnarao, who was listening to me all the time and rarely partaking in the discussion, with a spiritual sparkle in his eyes said: "Then you consider spinning to be a sacramental rite." "I do," said I. "Thank you for the expression. I shall henceforth make use of it." Spinning is a visible, sacred symbol of national purity, strength, and prosperity. It is a duty enjoined upon all, whether Hindu or Muslim, Christian, Jew, or Parsi. The Andhra National College is an old institution of which the Andhras have

[1] 1880-1959; physician and public worker; President of the Congress, 1948; author of *History of the Indian National Congress*

every reason to be proud. It is an institution which is a product of the Bengal awakening of 1907 and has weathered many a storm. I hope that it will emerge from the present awakening a purer and stronger body. It certainly possesses all the material for becoming a centre, radiating the purest activity in keeping with the present spirit.

Andhra Desh contains a fiery reformer and a warm champion of the suppressed classes. Mr. Ramchandrarao is a Brahmin whose pure soul will not tolerate the curse of untouchability. He has been slaving on behalf of his clients. He is rightly impatient to remove the serfdom of his pariah brother and would gladly advise him to non-co-operate with the other Hindus. Equally ardent as I claim to be on behalf of our suppressed brothers, I warned him against launching out on non-co-operation until a pure and selfless soul rose in their midst; for non-co-operation was a movement of self-purification, self-help, self-reliance; it compelled co-operation of the right type.

The Andhras have captivated me. Bihar has long been my favourite. I came to have faith in Bihar long before non-co-operation was born. Andhra Desh may come a good second, if it does not beat Bihar. Andhra Desh has a self-effacing leader. It has hardy, staunch workers. It has resources, it has poetry, it has faith, it has the spirit of sacrifice. It has many national schools, it has given many lawyers to the cause, it has the greatest possibilities in hand-spinning and hand-weaving, and grows fine cotton. It has two mighty rivers watering the hinterland. It has ports which were at one time famous. It easily takes the lead, or at least disputes it with Bihar. My conviction remains that even if the so-called major provinces fall, in the event of terrorism (as distinguished from repression) commencing, Bihar and Andhra will save the situation by outdoing the Sikhs in the bravery of the soul, i.e., suffering. I may be wrong in my estimate. Let us all strive to outdo the rest. It is a race in which competition is not only a virtue, it is a duty.

Of an experiment in civil disobedience forced on two beautiful villages and their leader, I must write on another occasion. I must also deal another time with the Hindu-Muslim problem of Nellore. I must close these impressions by noting with gratefulness the fact that in a neighbouring village near a spinning and weaving Ashram[1] conducted by Mr. Hanamantrao and his

[1] Presumably the Ashram at Pallipad, five miles from Nellore, which Gandhiji declared open on April 7

associates, the Brahmin villagers invited me to walk through their village although I was accompanied by *Panchama* associates. It was a village whose Brahmin street had never before had *Panchamas* walking through it.

Young India, 13-4-1921

283. SPEECH AT PUBLIC MEETING, AHMEDABAD

April 13, 1921

Gandhiji in the course of his speech said :

We are no longer fighting for mere righting of the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs. We want swaraj which should be *Ramarajya*. This *Rakshasrajya* means continuation of terror and exploitation of the weak. This *Ramarajya* we want to achieve by self-purification. Prayers must have gone out from us during the National Week to instil feelings of justice and mercy in us and to give us power to non-co-operate with vice and to keep us away from violence and anger. We have conducted vigorously our campaigns with regard to withdrawal from Government schools and courts, but we must at times cry halt. We have done what we could for students and pleaders. To work any more for them means economically a waste of time. We must now turn to our body; we must clothe it in swadeshi garments and for that we must take to spinning. It is no sacrifice, because it means saving of 60 crore rupees every year to India. So long as I see a single individual clothed in foreign material, the thought weighs heavily upon me that we are not observing the easiest of the conditions for swaraj. I find Gujarat the worst criminal in this respect. In other parts of India people have not taken wholly to foreign clothes. A few swadeshi things at least adorn their persons, but there is hardly any redeeming feature about dress in Gujarat. Congress has ordered one crore of rupees to be collected. This money is not to be spent on sending deputations and carrying on agitation. It is to be used for introducing the charkha into every household.

Gandhiji congratulated Ahmedabad on possessing so brave a man as Dr. Kanuga, who, though injured in the eye by a stone from a hooligan, did not give up picketing duty. Such incidents add greatly to the lustre of the struggle. Generals may fall; their deaths are to be cheered but the army has to march on. Swaraj is impossible to attain without such heroic courage.

He finally appealed to Gujarat to contribute its quota to the national fund and more to cover up the deficit of starving Orissa and march on vigorously removing defects at each stage.

The Bombay Chronicle, 19-4-1921

284. SPEECH AT SUPPRESSED CLASSES CONFERENCE, AHMEDABAD[1]

April 13, 1921

Mr. Gandhi regretted in the beginning the small attendance,[2] and said that incidents such as the present took away what little faith he had in conferences as an effective agency of social reform. If therefore he occupied the audience shorter than they expected, it would be because his remarks would not reach all he meant to address and not because his enthusiasm for the work was in any way damped. He was also thankful for the fact that the conference had brought him the pleasure of meeting friends on the same platform. It was not usual for him nowadays to meet friends, co-operation with whom used to be a pleasure and privilege but from whom the present conditions had unfortunately cut him off. It was a happy thing, however, that on the question of untouchability he was in the same boat as they.

Coming to the subject, he said :

I do not know how I am to convince those who oppose the reform, of the wrong position they have taken. How am I to plead with those who regard any contact with the members of the suppressed community as entailing defilement and of which they cannot be cleansed without necessary ablutions and who thus regard omission to perform the ablution a sin? I can only place before them my innermost convictions.

I regard untouchability as the greatest blot on Hinduism. This idea was not brought home to me by my bitter experiences during the S[outh] African struggle. It is not due to the fact that I was once an agnostic. It is equally wrong to think—as some people do—that I have taken my views from my study of Christian religious literature. These views date as far back as the

[1] This fourth conference of the so-called untouchables was held on April 13 and 14.

[2] The report of the speech says : "There was a large attendance of ladies and gentlemen from the town, though the number of the untouchables was much less than expected, a rumour having spread in the town that Government would arrest those of them who attended."

time when I was neither enamoured of, nor was acquainted with, the Bible or the followers of the Bible.

I was hardly yet twelve when this idea had dawned on me. A scavenger named Uka, an untouchable, used to attend our house for cleaning latrines. Often I would ask my mother why it was wrong to touch him, why I was forbidden to touch him. If I accidentally touched Uka, I was asked to perform the ablutions, and though I naturally obeyed, it was not without smilingly protesting that untouchability was not sanctioned by religion, that it was impossible that it should be so. I was a very dutiful and obedient child and so far as it was consistent with respect for parents, I often had tussles with them on this matter. I told my mother that she was entirely wrong in considering physical contact with Uka as sinful.

While at school I would often happen to touch the 'untouchables', and as I never would conceal the fact from my parents, my mother would tell me that the shortest cut to purification after the unholy touch was to cancel the touch by touching any Mussulman passing by. And simply out of reverence and regard for my mother I often did so, but never did so believing it to be a religious obligation. After some time we shifted to Porbandar, where I made my first acquaintance with Sanskrit. I was not yet put into an English school, and my brother and I were placed in charge of a Brahmin, who taught us *Ramaraksha*[1] and *Vishnu Puja*[2]. The texts "*Jale Vishnuh sthale Vishnuh*" (there is the Lord present in water, there is the Lord present in earth) have never gone out of my memory. A motherly old dame used to live close by. Now it happened that I was very timid then, and would conjure up ghosts and goblins whenever the lights went out, and it was dark. The old mother, to disabuse me of fears, suggested that I should mutter the *Ramaraksha* texts whenever I was afraid, and all evil spirits would fly away. This I did and, as I thought, with good effect. I could never believe then that there was any text in the *Ramaraksha* pointing to the conduct of the 'untouchables' as a sin. I did not understand its meaning then, or understood it very imperfectly. But I was confident that *Ramaraksha*, which could destroy all fear of ghosts, could not be countenancing any such thing as fear of contact with the 'untouchables'.

The *Ramayana* used to be regularly read in our family. A Brahmin called Ladha Maharaj used to read it. He was stricken

[1] Hymns to Rama beseeching protection

[2] Hymns to Vishnu

with leprosy, and he was confident that a regular reading of the *Ramayana* would cure him of leprosy, and indeed, he was cured of it. 'How can the *Ramayana*,' I thought to myself, 'in which one who is regarded nowadays as an untouchable took Rama across the Ganges in his boat, countenance the idea of any human beings being 'untouchables' on the ground that they were polluted souls?' The fact that we addressed God as the 'purifier of the polluted' and by similar appellations, shows that it is a sin to regard anyone born in Hinduism as polluted or untouchable—that it is Satanic to do so. I have hence been never tired of repeating that it is a great sin. I do not pretend that this thing had crystalized as a conviction in me at the age of twelve, but I do say that I did then regard untouchability as a sin. I narrate this story for the information of the *Vaishnavas* and orthodox Hindus.

I have always claimed to be a *sanatani* Hindu. It is not that I am quite innocent of the scriptures. I am not a profound scholar of Sanskrit. I have read the Vedas and the *Upanishads* only in translations. Naturally therefore mine is not a scholarly study of them. My knowledge of them is in no way profound, but I have studied them as I should do as a Hindu and I claim to have grasped their true spirit. By the time I had reached the age of 21, I had studied other religions also.

There was a time when I was wavering between Hinduism and Christianity. When I recovered my balance of mind, I felt that to me salvation was possible only through the Hindu religion and my faith in Hinduism grew deeper and more enlightened.

But even then I believed that untouchability was no part of Hinduism; and, that if it was, such Hinduism was not for me.

True Hinduism does not regard untouchability as a sin. I do not want to enter into any controversy regarding the interpretation of the shastras. It might be difficult for me to establish my point by quoting authorities from the *Bhagavat*[1] or *Manusmriti*. But I claim to have understood the spirit of Hinduism. Hinduism has sinned in giving sanction to untouchability. It has degraded us, made us the pariahs of the Empire. Even the Mussulmans caught the sinful contagion from us, and in S[outh] Africa, in E[ast] Africa and in Canada, the Mussulmans no less than Hindus came to be regarded as pariahs. All this evil has resulted from the sin of untouchability.

I may here recall my proposition, which is this: So long as the Hindus wilfully regard untouchability as part of their religion,

[1] A *purana* describing the avatars of Vishnu

so long as the mass of Hindus consider it a sin to touch a section of their brethren, swaraj is impossible of attainment. Yudhishthira would not enter heaven without his dog. How can, then, the descendants of that Yudhishthira expect to obtain swaraj without the untouchables? What crimes for which we condemn the Government as Satanic have not we been guilty of towards our untouchable brethren?

We are guilty of having suppressed our brethren; we make them crawl on their bellies; we have made them rub their noses on the ground; with eyes red with rage, we push them out of railway compartments—what more than this has British Rule done? What charge that we bring against Dyer and O'Dwyer may not others, and even our own people, lay at our door? We ought to purge ourselves of this pollution. It is idle to talk of swaraj so long as we do not protect the weak and the helpless, or so long as it is possible for a single swarajist to injure the feelings of any individual. Swaraj means that not a single Hindu or Muslim shall for a moment arrogantly think that he can crush with impunity meek Hindus or Muslims. Unless this condition is fulfilled we will gain swaraj only to lose it the next moment. We are no better than the brutes until we have purged ourselves of the sins we have committed against our weaker brethren.

But I have faith in me still. In the course of my peregrinations in India I have realized that the spirit of kindness of which the poet Tulsidas sings so eloquently, which forms the cornerstone of the Jain and *Vaishnava* religions, which is the quintessence of the *Bhagavat*, and which every verse of the *Gita* is saturated with—this kindness, this love, this charity, is slowly but steadily gaining ground in the hearts of the masses of this country.

Many a fracas between Hindus and Mussulmans is still heard of. There are still many of those who do not scruple to wrong one another. But as to the net result, I feel that kindness and charity have increased. The Hindus and Mohammedans have become godfearing. We have shaken ourselves free from the hypnotism of law courts and Government schools and no longer labour under any other hallucination. I have also realized that those whom we regard as illiterate and ignorant are the very people who deserve to be called educated. They are more cultured than we, their lives are more righteous than ours. A little study of the present-day mentality of the people will show that according to the popular conception swaraj is synonymous with *Ramarajya*—the establishment of the Kingdom of Righteousness on earth.

If it can bring any comfort to you, my untouchable brethren,

I would say that your question does not cause so much stir as it used to do formerly. That does not mean that I expect you to cease to have misgivings about the Hindus. How can they deserve to be not mistrusted having wronged you so much? Swami Vivekanand used to say that the untouchables were not depressed, they were suppressed by the Hindus who in turn had suppressed themselves by suppressing them.

I suppose I was at Nellore on the 6th of April.[1] I met the untouchables there and I prayed that day as I have done today. I do want to attain *moksha*. I do not want to be reborn. But if I have to be reborn, I should be born an untouchable, so that I may share their sorrows, sufferings, and the affronts levelled at them, in order that I may endeavour to free myself and them from that miserable condition. I, therefore, prayed that if I should be born again, I should do so not as a Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaisya, or Sudra, but as an *Atishudra*[2].

Today is much more solemn than the sixth. It is hallowed by the memory of the massacre[3] of thousands of innocents. And I prayed, therefore, also today that if I should die with any of my desires unfructified, with my service of the untouchables unfinished, with my Hinduism unfulfilled, I may be born again amongst the untouchables to bring my Hinduism to its fulfilment.

I love scavenging. In my Ashram, an eighteen-year-old Brahmin lad is doing the scavenger's work in order to teach the Ashram scavenger cleanliness. The lad is no reformer. He was born and bred in orthodoxy. He is a regular reader of the *Gita* and faithfully performs *sandhyavandana*[4]. His pronunciation of Sanskrit verses is more faultless than mine. When he conducts the prayer his soft, sweet melodies melt one into love. But he felt that his accomplishments were incomplete until he had become also a perfect sweeper, and that if he wanted the Ashram sweeper to do his work well he must do it himself and set an example.

You should realize that you are cleaning Hindu society. You have therefore to purify your lives. You should cultivate the habits of cleanliness, so that no one may point his finger at you. Use alkali ash or earth if you cannot afford to use soap, to keep yourselves clean. Some of you are given to drinking and gambling which you must get rid of. You will point your finger at the Brahmins and say even they are given to these vices. But they are

1 Gandhiji was at Nellore on April 7, 1921.

2 Shudra of Shudras

3 At Jallianwala Bagh on April 13, 1919

4 Morning and evening prayers with a set formula

not looked upon as polluted, and you are. You must not ask the Hindus to emancipate you as a matter of favour. Hindus must do so, if they want, in their own interests. You should, therefore, make them feel ashamed by your own purity and cleanliness. I believe that we shall have purified ourselves within the next five months. If my expectations are not fulfilled, I will think that although my proposition was fundamentally correct, yet I was wrong in my calculation; and I will again say that I had erred in my calculation.

You claim to be Hindus; you read the *Bhagavat*. If, therefore, the Hindus oppress you then you should understand that the fault does not lie in the Hindu religion but in those who profess it. In order to emancipate yourselves you shall have to purify yourselves. You shall have to get rid of evil habits like drinking.

If you want to ameliorate your condition, if you want to obtain swaraj, you should be self-reliant. I was told in Bombay that some of you are opposed to N.C.O. and believe that salvation is only possible through the British Government. Let me tell you that you will never be able to obtain redress by discarding Hindu religion and courting the favour of a third party. Your emancipation lies in your own hands.

I have come in contact with the untouchables all over the country; and I have observed that immense possibilities lie latent in them of which neither they nor the rest of the Hindus seem to be aware. Their intellect is of virginal purity. I ask you to learn spinning and weaving, and if you take them up as a profession, you will keep poverty from your doors. As regards your attitude towards the *Bhangis* I will repeat what I said at Godhra.[1] I cannot understand why you should yourselves countenance the distinction between *Dheds* and *Bhangis*. There is no difference between them. Even in normal times their occupation is as honourable as that of lawyers or Government servants.

You should now cease to accept leavings from plates, however clean they may be represented to be. Receive grain only—good, sound grain, not rotten grain—and that too only if it is courteously offered. If you are able to do all I have asked you to do, you will secure your emancipation, not in four or five months, but in so many days.

The Hindus are not sinful by nature—they are sunk in ignorance. Untouchability must be extinct in this very year. Two of the strongest desires that keep me in flesh and bone are the eman-

[1] *Vide* Vol. XIV, pp. 71-2.

cipation of the untouchables and the protection of the cow. When these two desires are fulfilled, there is swaraj, and therein lies my own *moksha*. May God give you strength to work out your salvation.

Young India, 27-4-1921 & 4-5-1921

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

CONGRESS RESOLUTION ON NON-CO-OPERATION[1]

Whereas in the opinion of the Congress the existing Government of India has forfeited the confidence of the country; and

Whereas the people of India are now determined to establish swaraj; and

Whereas all methods adopted by the people of India prior to the last Special Session of the Indian National Congress have failed to secure due recognition of their rights and liberties and the redress of their many and grievous wrongs, more specially with reference to the Khilafat and the Punjab;

Now this Congress while reaffirming the resolution on non-violent non-co-operation passed at the Special Session of the Congress at Calcutta declares that the entire or any part or parts of the scheme of non-violent non-co-operation, with the renunciation of voluntary association with the present Government at one end and the refusal to pay taxes at the other, should be put in force at a time to be determined by either the Indian National Congress or the All-India Congress Committee and that in the meanwhile, to prepare the country for it, effective steps should continue to be taken in that behalf:

(a) by calling upon the parents and guardians of schoolchildren (and not the children themselves) under the age of 16 years to make greater efforts for the purpose of withdrawing them from such schools as are owned, aided or in any way controlled by Government and concurrently to provide for their training in national schools or by such other means as may be within their power in the absence of such schools;

(b) by calling upon students of the age of 16 and over to withdraw without delay, irrespective of consequences, from institutions owned, aided or in any way controlled by Government, if they feel that it is against their conscience to continue in institutions which are dominated by a system of government which the nation has solemnly resolved to bring to an end, and advising such students either to devote themselves to some special service in connection with the non-co-operation movement or to continue their education in national institutions;

(c) by calling upon trustees, managers and teachers of Government affiliated or aided schools and municipalities and local boards to help to nationalize them;

(d) by calling upon lawyers to make greater efforts to suspend their practice and to devote their attention to national service including boy-

[1] Passed at the Nagpur session on December 30, 1920

cott of law courts by litigants and fellow lawyers and the settlement of disputes by private arbitration;

(e) in order to make India economically independent and self-contained by calling upon merchants and traders to carry out a gradual boycott of foreign trade relations, to encourage hand-spinning and hand-weaving and in that behalf by having a scheme of economic boycott planned and formulated by a committee of experts to be nominated by the All-India Congress Committee;

(f) and generally, inasmuch as self-sacrifice is essential to the success of non-co-operation, by calling upon every section and every man and woman in the country to make the utmost possible contribution of self-sacrifice to the national movement;

(g) by organizing Committees in each village or group of villages with a provincial central organization in the principal cities of each Province for the purpose of accelerating the progress of non-co-operation;

(h) by organizing a band of national workers for a service to be called the Indian National Service; and

(i) by taking effective steps to raise a national fund to be called the ALL-INDIA TILAK MEMORIAL SWARAJ FUND for the purpose of financing the foregoing National Service and the non-co-operation movement in general.

This Congress congratulates the nation upon the progress made so far in working the programme of non-co-operation, specially with regard to the boycott of Councils by the voters, and claims in the circumstances in which they have been brought into existence, that the new Councils do not represent the country and trusts that those who have allowed themselves to be elected in spite of the deliberate abstention from the polls of an overwhelming majority of their constituents, will see their way to resign their seats in the Councils, and that if they retain their seats in spite of the declared wish of their respective constituencies in direct negation of the principle of democracy, the electors will studiously refrain from asking for any political service from such Councillors.

This Congress recognizes the growing friendliness between the police and the soldiery and the people, and hopes that the former will refuse to subordinate their creed and country to the fulfilment of orders of their officers, and, by courteous and considerate behaviour towards the people, will remove the reproach hitherto levelled against them that they are devoid of any regard for the feelings and sentiments of their own people.

And this Congress appeals to all people in Government employment pending the call of the nation for resignation of their service, to help the national cause by importing greater kindness and stricter honesty in their dealings with their people and fearlessly and openly to attend all popular gatherings whilst

refraining from taking any active part therein and, more specially, by openly rendering financial assistance to the national movement.

This Congress desires to lay special emphasis on NON-VIOLENCE being the integral part of the non-co-operation resolution and invites the attention of the people to the fact that NON-VIOLENCE in word and deed is as essential between people themselves as in respect of the Government, and this Congress is of opinion that the spirit of violence is not only contrary to the growth of a true spirit of democracy but actually retards the enforcement (if necessary) of the other stages of non-co-operation.

Finally, in order that the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs may be redressed and swaraj established within one year, this Congress urges upon all public bodies, whether affiliated to the Congress or otherwise, to devote their exclusive attention to the promotion of non-violence and non-co-operation with the Government and, inasmuch as the movement of non-co-operation can only succeed by complete co-operation amongst the people themselves, this Congress calls upon public associations to advance Hindu-Muslim unity and the Hindu delegates of this Congress call upon the leading Hindus to settle all disputes between Brahmins and non-Brahmins, wherever they may be existing, and to make a special effort to rid Hinduism of the reproach of untouchability, and respectfully urges the religious heads to help the growing desire to reform Hinduism in the matter of its treatment of the suppressed classes.

Report of the Thirty-fifth Session of the Indian National Congress

APPENDIX II

VICEROY'S SPEECH ON KHILAFAT[1]

GENTLEMEN,

I am very glad to have had this opportunity of meeting you here this afternoon and at having had laid before me one more representation on behalf of the Muslim community with regard to the present situation. I need hardly remind you, though perhaps it is worth while doing so, that I and my Government have repeatedly brought your contentions to the notice of His Majesty's Government and of the Peace Conferences which have been sitting in Europe on this question. May I remind you that early in the stages of the Peace Conference the Secretary of State, Lord Sinha and the Maharaja of Bikaner, who were then representing India at the Peace Conference, stoutly fought your case before the Peace Conference. But inasmuch as none of these gentlemen could be said to represent strictly your community, I asked certain other

[1] This was delivered in Calcutta on February 24, 1921, to a deputation representing elected Muslim members in the Bengal Legislative Council and Assembly, who had urged modification of the Turkish Peace Terms.

gentlemen to go actually before the Peace Conference itself and plead the Mohammedan cause, and they were His Highness the Aga Khan, Mr. Aftab Ahmad and Mr. Yusuf Ali, and these gentlemen were heard. Now not only have we done this, but every memorial which any sections of your community have forwarded to me has been forwarded to the Secretary of State and has been supported in the most strenuous terms, not only by official documents from my Government, but by personal telegrams from myself. So that I can assure you, from first to last and long before the non-co-operation movement began, that we, as a Government, and I, as the head of the Government, strongly supported your contentions, not only before His Majesty's Government but also before the Peace Conference. And lately in order that we should leave no stone unturned for your case to be represented, not only adequately, but to your own satisfaction, we have again asked certain gentlemen unofficially to go to Europe and present your case there—His Highness the Aga Khan, Mr. Hasan Imam, and Mr. Chhotani, and Mr. Chhotani is accompanied by Dr. Ansari, who will be acting as his secretary.

I should think that a recapitulation of what we have done and what we have attempted to do, such as I have laid before you this afternoon, ought to convince you and, I hope, does convince you, that we have left nothing undone which we could do in order to support your case. I am not acquainted with what is going on in London at the present moment; I have no knowledge, either official or private, of the Conferences which are taking place; but I can assure you that, from first to last, we have espoused your cause and we have fought it in a way which, if I was at liberty to place before you the communications which we have sent home, I think would satisfy every individual.

In conclusion I must again express my great sympathy with you and my determination to the last moment to press every point which we can in favour of your representations.

Speeches by Lord Chelmsford, Vol. II

APPENDIX III

VICEROY'S SPEECH ON NON-CO-OPERATION[1]

MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN,

This is the fourth time on which I have had the privilege and pleasure of being the guest of the Calcutta Club. Naturally at the end of five years one looks back upon sins of omission and commission and it is a matter of regret to me that in 1917 when you were so good as to invite me to be your guest, the preoccupations of the work which I was doing with Mr. Montagu

1 Delivered on February 23, 1921, at a dinner given in his honour by the Calcutta Club.

at the time prevented me from accepting your kind invitation. Otherwise I should have been your guest every year that I paid a visit to Calcutta. I hope that this practice which you have followed in my case will be followed in the case of my successors because I can conceive no more convenient method of bringing the Viceroy into contact with prominent men, and prominent men into touch with the Viceroy, than these annual dinners. In April 1916, on my assumption of office, I paid a short informal visit to Calcutta to leave, as I said at that time, my card at the former capital. Today I have been able to do no more than spare a few days in order to leave my P. P. C. card. I hope, however, that you, gentlemen, who belong to Calcutta, will have realized from my constant visits to Calcutta my fondness for your great city and my regret that fate has rendered it impossible for me to live amongst you as all my predecessors have done.

Now, as I look back upon the past five years, I realize the great changes that have taken place. There is an old Latin tag *coelum non animum mutat qui trans mare currunt.* They change their sky and not their mind who cross the sea. I do not believe myself that this was true even of the days when the poet wrote, because environment has a great influence upon the mind of those who are subjected to change. The principle of it is undoubtedly not true of those who have crossed the floor of a House from the Opposition to the Ministerial Bench, because, naturally, for the first time they cease to be critics and become the criticized. This is inherent in the nature of Parliamentary institution everywhere, but it is inevitable that a man who, for the first time, is made acquainted with the reasons for Government action should see greater justification for what the Government does than in the old days when he was not so well acquainted with facts and was inclined to think that nothing that the Government could do was right.

Now I am sure you will forgive me, on this last occasion of a visit to your Club, if I dwell for a few moments on the unrestful times through which we are passing. I think I may assume that the mere fact of your presence here tonight proves you to be co-operators with Government. We are not the only country which is subject to unrest at the present moment; indeed, look where you like over the world, unrest is almost the order of the day. But you may naturally ask: Granted that this is so, what is your policy with regard to the present situation? Let me summarize the position as I see it. I understand that those who have refused to co-operate with Government do so on the broad ground that I and my Government are Satanic! I am glad to think I still have a sense of humour. I have had many epithets applied to myself in my time, but the epithet of "Satanic" has broken entirely new ground. Apart, however, from what I conceive to be its peculiar inappropriateness to myself, it surely must appear singularly ill-chosen when Indians are at the present moment forming the bulk of the Provincial Governments and a large proportion of the Government of India. I pass on however. The Reforms have been inaugurat

and responsibility has been in large measure transferred to Indian hands. How amazing it is then that at such a time those who have for years been asking for greater share in the Government should now, like children, be refusing to play! It reminds me of an American quatrain which I came across in the course of my reading the other day:

"Mother, may I go and swim?
Yes, my dearest daughter
Hang your clothes on a hickory limb,
But don't go near the water."

I cannot help feeling that this quatrain sums up the situation so far as the non-co-operators are concerned. And now as to our policy with regard to the non-co-operation movement. The Reforms and the Reformed Councils are the keynote of our policy. Indians now share responsibility with the Government. Therefore I think the Government may well claim from Indians help in combating this agitation. Non-co-operation is spread by propaganda: it behoves us then, British and Indians, to counter it by propaganda. Non-co-operation takes hold of grievances where they may exist: it behoves us, so far as in us lies, to remedy these grievances. Non-co-operation has failed in many of the objects which it set out to attain. An answer in the Imperial Legislature the other day showed how poor the response had been to the demand for the surrender of titles. The existence of the Imperial Legislature and the Provincial Councils shows in this respect too the authors of non-co-operation have not had their way. I much regret that there are many who have felt themselves obliged to stand out from the Councils. The Councils would have been the better for their help and their views in their deliberations, but the outstanding fact remains that the Councils have been established, are composed of admirable material and are doing their work. Non-co-operation was attempted in the *hijrat* movement into Afghanistan. The trail of death and suffering imposed by that exodus upon the unfortunate misguided people who took part in it has, I believe, killed any attempt to revive any such exodus from India. Non-co-operation succeeded temporarily in inducing emotional boys to leave their schools and colleges—but here again as soon as the emotional ebullition had passed, the students have returned in large numbers to their class-rooms. We have then every reason to take heart with regard to the success of the policy which we have adopted. But the non-co-operators having failed with the classes, especially the educated classes, are now devoting their attention to the masses. Here again, we must endeavour by co-ordinated effort to teach the masses aright.

There is a Muslim aspect of the present situation. No one could have done more than I to bring Muslim views and sentiments of the community to the Peace Conferences which have been considering the Turkish Peace Terms, and no one—not a Muslim—could have shown more dislike than I to the terms of the Turkish Peace Treaty. I say then that we have every reason to be ex-

pecially tender and sympathetic to those Mohammedans who have been led into the non-co-operation movement by their views with regard to the Turkish Peace Treaty. But a moment may come when our policy fails, and when the two alternatives of order on the one hand, or anarchy on the other, alone face us. In such an event there can be only one course for the Government to pursue and that is to uphold the cause of order. We shall then ask all responsible men to range themselves on the side of order, and here I am confident that the Reformed Councils will play their part. We, as a Government, will place all the facts before them and all our cards on the table, and I am confident that when we prove to them that the alternative is between order and anarchy, there will be only one response made and that is that "we will support you in any action that you may consider necessary to maintain order in the country."

This is my last visit to Calcutta, and I feel that I cannot leave without paying an acknowledgment to Lord Ronaldshay and his colleagues. I should like to acknowledge the loyal co-operation of the Bengal Government with my Government. I should like to recognize the wisdom and sagacity which have marked their administration, and personally thank Lord Ronaldshay for the friendship and support which he has always accorded me. Differences there may have been from time to time, but these differences do not detract from that general policy of loyal co-operation which I have always experienced at the hands of Lord Ronaldshay and his colleagues.

Speeches by Lord Chelmsford, Vol. II

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SABARMATI SANGRAHALAYA: Library and Records containing documents relating to Gandhiji's South African period and Indian period up to 1933; *vide* Vol. I, p.349.

(*The*) *Searchlight*: English daily published from Patna.

Speeches by Lord Chelmsford, Vol. II, the Government Monotype Press, Simla, 1921

The Tribune: English daily published from Ambala.

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CHRONOLOGY

(*November 19, 1920—April 13, 1921*)

November 19 : Gandhiji, in letter to *The Bombay Chronicle*, denied report that he favoured adoption of Urdu as national script.

November 20 : Spoke at public meeting in Jhansi.

November 21 : Gave interview to Associated Press of India.

November 23 : At Agra, addressed public meeting and students' meeting.

November 26 : Spoke to Benares Hindu University students and at public meeting.

November 27 : Spoke to Benares Hindu University students and at public meeting.

November 28 : At Allahabad, spoke at public meeting.

November 29 : Addressed women's meeting at Allahabad. Later, in public meeting, asked Hindus not to suspect the Ali Brothers.

November 30 : Addressed students' meeting at Allahabad.

December 1 : In Allahabad, spoke at opening of Tilak Vidyalaya.

December 2 : Addressed public meetings in Phulwari Shariff and in Patna.

December 3 : Spoke at students' meeting in Patna.

December 4 : Spoke at women's meeting in Patna and at public meeting in Arrah.

December 5 : Spoke at public meeting in Gaya.

December 6 : Spoke at public meeting in Chapra.

December 8 : Spoke at Muzaffarpur.
At Bettiah, spoke on cow-protection.
Writing in *Young India*, discussed Lord Ronaldshay's comments on *Hind Swaraj* and defined his conception of swaraj as being synonymous with *moksha*.

December 9 : News received that Judicial Committee of Privy Council had rejected Kalinath Roy's appeal against his conviction by Martial Law Court in the Punjab.
Gandhiji spoke at Motihari.

December 11 : Spoke at public meeting in Monghyr, enumerated constituents of non-co-operation.

December 12 : Spoke at Bhagalpur.

December 13 : In Calcutta, spoke at opening of National Madrassa and at public meeting.

December 14 : In Calcutta, spoke at students' meeting.

December 15 : In Dacca, spoke at public meeting.

December 18 : In Nagpur, spoke at public meeting.

December 22 : Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru assumed charge as Law Member of Viceroy's Executive Council.
In Nagpur, Gandhiji presided over Weavers' Conference and *Antyaj* Conference.

December 26 : Thirty-fifth session of Indian National Congress commenced at Nagpur under the presidentship of C. Vijayaraghavachariar.

December 28 : Gandhiji moved resolution on new Congress creed in meeting of Subjects Committee.
Later, spoke on above resolution in plenary session.

December 29 : Lord Sinha assumed office as Governor of Bihar and Orissa.
Gandhiji, in speech on foreign propaganda at the Congress session at Nagpur, said that the British Committee and the journal *India* be wound up.

December 30 : Spoke on non-co-operation resolution in Congress session.

December 31 : Spoke on Tilak Memorial Swaraj Fund in Congress Session.

1921

January 1 : Surendranath Banerjea knighted.
At Nagpur, Gandhiji attended All-India Congress Committee and Working Committee meetings.

January 6 : Gandhiji, in speech at public meeting in Chhindwara, explained Nagpur Congress resolution.

January 9 : Lord Reading's appointment as Viceroy and Governor-General announced.

January 10 : The Duke of Connaught arrived in Madras.

January 12 : Model rules of Provincial Congress Committee, drafted by Gandhiji, published in *Young India.*
In Madras, the Duke of Connaught opened new Legislative Council.

January 13 : Gandhiji spoke to students of Gujarat Mahavidyalaya at Ahmedabad.

January 15 : Col. and Mrs. Wedgwood left Madras for Colombo *en route* to England.

January 19 : At Nadiad, Gandhiji addressed meetings of students, teachers and merchants.
At Vadtal, spoke at public meeting and meeting of sadhus.
In open letter in *Young India* addressing "Young Bengalis", asked them to practise tolerance and non-co-operation and to take to spinning.

January 20 : In Bombay, spoke at students' meeting.

January 23 : In Calcutta, spoke at students' meeting under presidentship of C. R. Das, and at a women's meeting at the residence of C. R. Das.

January 26 : In Calcutta, spoke at meeting of merchants.
Writing on his book *Hind Swaraj* in *Young India,* said that just then he was not aiming at the swaraj described therein.

January 27 : Spoke at opening of Tilak National School in Calcutta.

January 28 : The Duke of Connaught arrived in Calcutta.

January 29 : Gandhiji spoke to post-graduate and law students at Calcutta.

January 30 : At Gujranwala, Punjab Students Conference passed resolution welcoming Congress resolution on non-co-operation.
Gandhiji, C. R. Das and Mahomed Ali sent a joint message of congratulations to above conference on their resolution.
Gandhiji attended birth anniversary celebrations of Swami Vivekananda at Belur Math, near Calcutta.

February 1 : At Calcutta, the Duke of Connaught inaugurated new Bengal Legislative Council.
Gandhiji spoke at meetings held in Mirzapur Square and Wellington Square, Calcutta, to express disappointment with Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms.

Before *February 2 :* Gandhiji, in letter to Duke of Connaught, explained that non-participation in welcome to him was

a demonstration not against him but against the system he had come to uphold and asked him to study and appreciate the view-point of non-co-operation.

February 4 : Spoke at opening of National College in Calcutta.

February 6 : In Patna, spoke at opening ceremony of Bihar National University and National College and at public meeting.

February 10 : At Banaras, spoke at founding of Kashi Vidyapith. Spoke at Fyzabad.

February 13 : At Delhi, spoke at opening ceremony of Tibbia College.

February 15 : At Bhiwani, spoke at Hariana Rural Conference presided over by Lala Lajpat Rai.

February 16 : At Rohtak, addressed Rural Conference, visited Jat School and laid foundation-stone of Vaishya High School.

February 17 : At Calicut, Yakub Hasan and three others were arrested and sentenced to 6 months' imprisonment.

February 19 : Gandhiji spoke at mass meeting in Gujranwala.

February 20 : At Nankana Saheb, near Lahore, 160 Akali Sikhs were massacred on the *gurudwara* premises by faction led by Mahant Narandas.

February 25 : At Shri, near Lyallpur, Gandhiji spoke on Nankana Sahib tragedy and counselled patience in acquiring control over *gurudwaras*.

February 26 : In Lucknow, spoke at District Khilafat Conference.

February 28 : The Duke of Connaught left India.

March 3 : Gandhiji along with Shaukat Ali visited *gurudwara* at Nankana Saheb and appealed to Sikhs to dedicate their bravery to service of the country.

March 4 : Gandhiji addressed message to Lahore Sikhs on Nankana tragedy.

March 5 : Spoke at Multan.

March 8 : At Jullundur, received address from municipality. Spoke at meetings in Hoshiarpur, Hariana and Ambala.

March 16 : In Bombay, spoke at mass meeting and at National College; gave interview to *The Daily Herald*.

Writing in *Young India*, fixed one crore of rupees as the sum to be collected for Tilak Memorial Swaraj Fund by June 30, 1921.

March 17 : Spoke at Arvi.

March 18 : Spoke at Nagpur mass meeting.

March 19 : Spoke at Amraoti.

March 20 : Discussing the forthcoming Satyagraha Week, in *Navajivan*, advised people to spend it in pure *tapashcharya*.

March 23 : Spoke at two meetings in Cuttack.
In open letter to Parsis, in *Young India*, asked them to associate themselves with the temperance movement in the country.

March 24 : In Cuttack, spoke at meeting of Muslims and at mass meeting.

March 29 : In Berhampur, replied to welcome address presented by municipality and spoke at mass meeting.

March 30 : In Vijayanagaram, spoke at public meeting and pleaded for Hindi being made lingua franca of India.
Wrote in *Young India* that the Congress Constitution, if honestly worked, could oust Government.

March 31 : In Bezwada, moved four resolutions at A.I.C.C. meeting.

April 1 : Lord Reading arrived in Bombay.
In Bezwada, Gandhiji spoke in reply to address presented by Municipal Council.
Later spoke at A.I.C.C. meeting.

April 2 : Lord Chelmsford left India.
In Cocanada, Gandhiji spoke in reply to address of welcome presented by Municipal Council.

April 3 : Spoke at Rajahmundry and at Ellore.

April 5 : In Masulipatam, spoke in reply to address presented by municipality.

April 6 : National Week commenced. Gandhiji spoke at Chirala.

April 7 : In Nellore, declared open Tilak Vidyalaya; spoke at public meeting.

April 8 : In Madras, spoke at public meeting and appealed for unity between Brahmins and non-Brahmins.

April 10 : In Bombay, spoke at public meeting held under auspices of Swarajya Sabha and Central Khilafat Committee.

April 13 : In article in *Young India*, recommended adoption of a National Flag "to live and die for".

In Ahmedabad, in speech at public meeting, declared: "We want swaraj which should be *Ramarajya*"; later, spoke at Suppressed Classes Conference.

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